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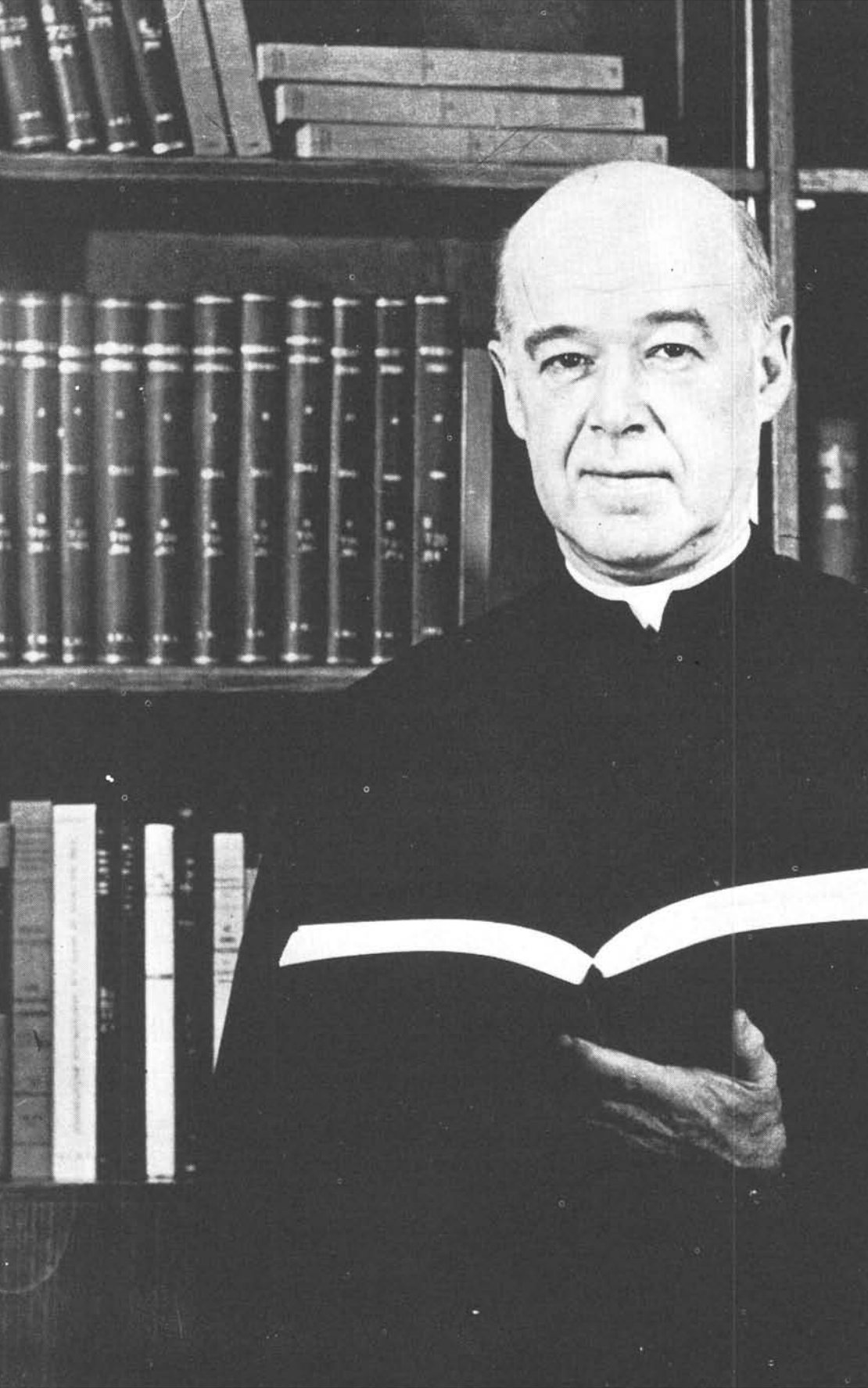
This volume is dedicated  
to the memory of  
The Reverend Alexander J. Denomy C.S.B.  
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## Alexander J. Denomy (1904-1957)

ALEXANDER Joseph Denomy was born in Chatham, Ontario, June 21, 1904. His boyhood days were spent in Windsor, where he made his High School and College studies at Assumption, graduating with his B.A. degree in 1923, when he was 19 years old. The same year he joined the Basilian Fathers, making his novitiate in Toronto. After his Religious profession in August 24, he returned to Assumption High School as teacher of French for one year, and then took his course in theology at St. Basil's Seminary in Toronto. Ordained to the priesthood on June 30, 1928, he took graduate studies at the University of Toronto, obtaining his M.A. in Romance Languages. After a period of teaching in St. Michael's College School, of which he was the acting Principal for half a year, he resumed his graduate studies at Harvard University, obtaining his doctor's degree with high distinction in 1934, and winning a Sheldon Travelling Fellowship which enabled him to spend an additional year at the Sorbonne. Returning to Toronto in 1935, he began his life-long connection with the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, in which he held for twenty-two years the chair of Comparative Literature.

A competent research professor, Father Denomy published books and articles which form the considerable group listed below. Equally valuable for scholarship was his long tenure of office as managing editor of *Mediaeval Studies*, extending from volume V in 1943 to volume XVIII in 1956. Public recognition of his worth came with his appointment to the advisory board of *Speculum* in 1947, the award of a Guggenheim Fellowship in the same year, membership in the Royal Society of Canada in 1948, and appointment as Corresponding Member of the Mediaeval Academy of America in 1951. But deteriorating health gradually forced him to curtail his researches and his teaching. He died on July 19, 1957.



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# Common Nature: A Point of Comparison Between Thomistic and Scotistic Metaphysics

JOSEPH OWENS C. SS. R.

NO matter how much it throws the study out of correct historical perspective,<sup>1</sup> an investigation today of any major question in the metaphysics of John Duns Scotus can hardly avoid a comparison or a contrast with the corresponding position in the writings of St Thomas Aquinas. Modern interest in Scholastic metaphysics inclines more or less inevitably to revolve around the two most outstanding of the mediaeval thinkers, Aquinas and Scotus. Efforts have been made to show that the two are in substantial agreement on fundamental issues, differing only in details or in mode of expression.<sup>2</sup> The predominating tendency, however, is to see a radical difference between their respective metaphysics. The present article seeks to examine the doctrines of the two mediaeval writers on a basic metaphysical issue, the doctrine of essence just in itself and apart from the universality that it has in the human intellect and the individuality that it possesses in the outside world. The purpose is to see if the teaching found in the two thinkers is at all compatible metaphysically or if on the other hand it reveals a diversity that is fundamental and a gap that is unbridgeable.

On this point, fortunately, the historical framework for the comparison is available in clear-cut lines. Both writers develop their doctrines of essence taken just in itself against a background already laid down by Avicenna. Both follow the general divisions of the Arabian thinker, and both use to a large extent the terminology taken from the Latin translation of his works. Hence, even though the two doctrines on this point are not formally confronted with each other in the works of Duns Scotus, they are nevertheless presented in both writers against a common background that should be of considerable help in examining their agreement or diversity.

## I. THE AVICENNIAN ESSENCE

First, it will be advantageous to take a brief glance at the Avicennian doctrine of the essence just in itself. The teaching is outlined in texts like the following:

... animal est in se quoddam, et idem est utrum sit sensibile aut sit intellectum in anima. In se autem hujus nec est universale nec est singulare. Si enim in se esset universale, ita quod animalitas, ex hoc quod est animalitas, est universale, oporteret nullum animal esse singulare, sed omne animal esset universale. Si autem animal ex hoc quod est animal esset singulare, impossibile esset esse plus quam unum singulare, scilicet ipsum singulare cui debetur animalitas, et esset impossibile aliud singulare esse animal.<sup>3</sup>

Basing his reasoning on the evident facts of predication, Avicenna is showing very clearly that a nature or essence, for instance 'animal', is of itself neither

<sup>1</sup> "Chercher à comprendre les positions fondamentales du Docteur Subtil n'est aucunement le situer dans son temps. L'intérêt du philosophe ne peut pas ne pas faire tort ici à la vérité de l'histoire." E. Gilson, *Jean Duns Scot* (Paris Vrin, 1952), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Instances may be found cited in Johannes Kraus, *Die Lehre des Johannes Duns Scotus von der Natura Communis* (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1927), p. 3. As an in-

stance in contemporary American study: "It is the personal opinion of the author that the doctrine of St. Thomas and that of Duns Scotus are fundamentally compatible." Allan B. Wolter, *The Transcendentals and their Function in the Metaphysics of Duns Scotus* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1946), p. 31, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Avicenna, *Logica*, III (Venice, 1508), fol. 12r1.

singular nor universal. The notion 'animal' is predicated, say of a horse. A horse is an animal. If the notion 'animal' involved in itself universality, then a particular horse, because it is an animal, would be universal. If on the other hand the notion 'animal' in itself required singularity, then it would be identified with one particular instance only, and could not be predicated of any other individual.

The conclusions are manifestly based upon what is experienced in predication. They show that the animality in the individual horse perceived through sensation, and the animality in the universal understood through the intellect, is the same animality. It is something that just in itself does not involve either universality or singularity. Neither universality nor singularity is essential to it. Rather, both universality and singularity, and anything else not contained within the very notion of animality, are all accidental to it. Avicenna states this expressly:

Animal autem in se est quoddam intellectum in mente quod sit animal, et secundum hoc quod intelligitur esse animal non est nisi animal tantum. Si autem praeter hoc intelligitur esse universale aut singulare aut aliquid aliud, jam intelligitur praeter hoc quoddam, scilicet id quod est animal, quod accidit animalitati.<sup>4</sup>

Examining these considerations from a metaphysical viewpoint, and with express reference<sup>5</sup> back to the logical treatment, the Arabian shows that the nature expressed in the definition is just in itself neither one nor many, and neither existent in the mind nor existent in reality:

Equinitas etenim habet diffinitionem quae non eget universalitate. Sed est cui accidit universalitas, unde ipsa equinitas non est aliquid nisi equinitas tantum. Ipsa enim ex se nec est multa nec unum nec est existens in his sensibilibus nec in anima.<sup>6</sup>

Unity, therefore, is a conception that has no place in regard to a nature taken just in itself. Only when the nature is seen in conjunction with something accidental to it, can the question of unity be placed:

Cum ergo subiectum quaestionis posita fuerit ipsa humanitas secundum quod est humanitas veluti aliquid unum, et interrogaverint nos secundum aliquod contrariorum dicentes, quod aut est unum aut multa, tunc non erit necesse respondere aliquod illorum. Ipsa enim humanitas ex hoc quod est ipsa humanitas est quiddam praeter aliquid illorum in cuius diffinitione non accipitur nisi humanitas tantum. Sed si proprietas eius est esse unum vel multa, sicut proprietas quae eam sequitur, tunc sine dubio appropriabitur per hoc, sed tamen ipsa non erit ipsum appropriatum ex hoc quod est humanitas; ergo ex hoc quod ipsa est humanitas non est ipsum unum vel multum, sed est aliud quiddam cui illud accidit extrinsecus.<sup>7</sup>

To ask whether the nature taken just in itself is one or many, is to ask a question that allows no direct reply, because it is not properly placed. The question of unity can be asked and answered only after the nature is considered as appropriated to a condition accidental to it as such. The nature just in itself has no unity. Yet this denial of unity does not at all imply that it is a plurality. The very question, rather, cannot be applied to it. Hence, if one asks whether humanity as humanity is different in Plato from humanity in Socrates, one is asking about humanity in an absolute sense, that is, in a sense that has freed it from any of the accidental conditions that may follow upon it. So one

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Metaph.*, V, 1B (ed. cit.), fol. 86v2.

<sup>6</sup> *Metaph.*, V, 1A: fol. 86v1.

<sup>7</sup> Loc. cit., fol. 86v2.

has to answer no to the question, the denial being understood in this absolute sense. Humanity in Socrates is not different from humanity in Plato. But this answer does not exclude numerical difference. It does not at all imply that Socrates and Plato are the same individual. They have the same nature, humanity, but they are numerically different. The numerical differences are extrinsic to the humanity as such, and so do not prevent it from being the same humanity, as humanity, in both individuals:

Unde si quis interrogaverit an humanitas quae est in Platone ex hoc quod est humanitas sit alia ab illa quae est in Socrate, et necessario dixerimus non, non oportebit consentire ei, ut dicatur: ergo haec et illa sunt una numero; quoniam negatio illa absoluta fuit, et intelleximus in ea quod illa humanitas ex hoc quod est humanitas est humanitas tantum. Sed hoc quod ipsa est alia ab humanitate quae est in Socrate quiddam extrinsecum est. Ipse vero non interrogavit de humanitate nisi ex hoc quod est humanitas. Cum autem dixit, humanitas quae est in Platone ex hoc quod est humanitas, iam posuit ei respectum ex hoc quod est humanitas; attribuit ergo ei respectum extraneum ab ea, cum dixit, quae est in Platone, aut quae est illa quae est in Platone.<sup>8</sup>

There can be no question, then, of applying the notion of unity to a nature just in itself. A nature can be called "one" only after it is considered in a respect that is extrinsic to it as such. Unity is accordingly an accidental property, lying outside the nature taken just in itself:

Unitas autem est proprietas quae cum adiungitur equinitati fit equinitas propter ipsam proprietatem unum. Similiter etiam equinitas habet praeter hanc multas alias proprietates accidentes sibi.<sup>9</sup>

This denial of unity in the nature as such is found unqualified in Avicenna. It is not restricted to one kind of unity, individual unity, at least expressly. Avicenna in this connection makes no mention of any other kind of unity that would be immune from his present conclusions. He speaks as though numerical unity is the only unity with which he is concerned. He shows no interest in leaving open the way for an exception to be made in regard to some other kind of unity that might belong to the nature as such without involving numerical unity. He does not make any explicit denial of the possibility of such a doctrine, but at the same time he does not positively teach it. He speaks as though to deny individual unity to the nature as such is to deny unity to it without feeling any necessity to leave room for further qualification.

Does the same reasoning, however, hold in regard to the being of the nature as such? Is its being, like its unity, something accidental to it? Does the denial of being in sensible things and being in the intellect mean also a denial of all being whatsoever in the nature as such? Certainly, in the text already quoted,<sup>10</sup> being in reality and being in the intellect are expressly treated in the same way as unity and plurality. Elsewhere, however, the nature itself is seen with a priority of its own in being when compared with its being in reality and its being in the intellect:

. . . poterit autem animal per se considerari, quamvis sit cum alio a se; essentia enim eius est cum alio a se, ergo essentia eius est ipsi per se. Ipsum vero esse cum alio a se est quiddam quod accedit ei vel aliquid quod comitatur naturam suam sicut haec animalitas et humanitas; ergo haec consideratio, scilicet ex hoc quod est animal praecedit in esse, et animal quod est individuum propter accidentia sua, et universale quod est in his

<sup>8</sup> *Metaph.*, V, 1B; fol. 86v2.

<sup>9</sup> *Metaph.*, V, 1A; fol. 86v1.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra*, n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Metaph.*, V, 1C; fol. 87r1.

sensibilibus, et intelligibile sicut simplex praecedit compositum, et sicut pars totum; ex hoc enim esse nec est genus nec species nec individuum nec unum nec multa. Sed ex hoc esse est tantum animal et tantum homo, nec comitatur illud sine dubio esse unum vel multa, . . .<sup>11</sup>

So in the Latin translation of Avicenna, the nature or essence taken just in itself appeared as a kind of being, an *esse* that is prior to being in reality and to being in the mind. By virtue of this being (*ex hoc esse*) the nature is merely what it is in itself, merely animal, for example, or merely man. By virtue of this being it is neither one nor many, neither individual nor universal. Such being is not viewed expressly as giving rise of itself to any unity. It is a being that of itself renders the nature neither one nor many, neither existent in sensible things nor existent in the intellect. It is a being that will have to coincide entirely with nature or essence, for it implies nothing that is accidental to the essence. In fact, Avicenna calls it the proper being of essence. It is the *certitudo* of the thing, the essence itself: "Et hoc est quod fortasse appellamus *esse proprium*; nec intendimus per illud nisi intentionem *esse affirmativi*, quia verbum *ens* signat etiam multas intentiones, ex quibus est *certitudo* qua est unaquaeque res; et est sicut *esse proprium rei*."<sup>12</sup>

The essence taken just in itself has then its own proper being, which is not the being of the thing in reality nor its being in the intellect. These latter two are accidental to it, while the proper being is essential to it. The Avicennian essence or nature, accordingly, as found described in Latin translation, is something that of itself has being but not unity. After the development of the general doctrine on the transcendent properties of being that had taken place among the Latin thinkers of the thirteenth century, the Avicennian teaching on essence could hardly be left in the status that allowed a nature being but denied it unity. Where being was found, a corresponding unity must also be present. Where unity was altogether lacking, to that same extent would there be dearth of being. A mediaeval Latin thinker, working in this Avicennian background after the middle of the thirteenth century and developing the doctrine more profoundly, would have to make his choice. He would either have to accept the denial of unity in the essence at its face value and neglect the Avicennian teaching on the proper being of that essence, or else he would be forced to allow the essence its own proper being or entity and so would have to set up a unity corresponding to that entity, qualifying or explaining away the Avicennian assertions that unity does not apply to the nature taken as such. This is the point that is crucial in the texts of St Thomas and Duns Scotus as they develop their respective doctrines of essence as such against the common background seen in the Arabian theologian.

In regard to terminology, one might note that in the translation of Avicenna the Latin term *commune* is used synonymously with *universale*.<sup>13</sup> Nor does the Latin text make the term *universale* exclude altogether a sense in which it is synonymous with the nature just in itself, and distinct from the universal in its true sense.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Metaph.*, I, 6C; fol. 72v1.

<sup>13</sup> E.g.: "Equitas ergo ex hoc quod in diffinitione eius conveniunt multa est communis. Sed ex hoc quod accipitur cum proprietatibus et accidentibus signatis est singularis." *Metaph.*, V, 1A; fol. 86v1. "... sine conditione communis aut proprii aut unius aut multi, . . ." Ibid., V, 1C; fol. 87r1. "... de animali ex hoc quod est animal non debet praedicari proprietates nec communitas, nec est verum dicere quod de

animali ex hoc quod est animal debet non praedicari proprietates vel communitas." Ibid., V, 1D; fol. 87r2. "... manifestum est ergo non esse possibile ut una natura habeat esse in his sensibilibus, ita ut in actu sit universalis id est ipsa una sit communis omnibus . . ." Ibid., V, 2B; fol. 87v1.

<sup>14</sup> "... ergo universale ex hoc quod est universale est quoddam, et ex hoc quod est quiddam cui accidit universalitas est quiddam aliud; . . ." *Metaph.*, V, 1A; fol. 86v1.



## II. THE COMMON NATURE IN ST THOMAS AQUINAS

In the early treatise *De Ente et Essentia* St Thomas Aquinas develops his notion of essence in a quite noticeable Avicennian framework.<sup>16</sup> After having shown how the nature that is predicated of the individual is taken in abstraction without precision,<sup>17</sup> St Thomas notes that the nature or essence so accepted can be considered in two ways. First, there is the absolute consideration, the consideration of it just in itself, and in this consideration it is neither one nor many:

Natura autem uel essentia sic accepta potest dupliciter considerari. Uno modo secundum rationem propriam, et hec est absoluta consideratio ipsius, et hoc modo nichil est uerum de ea nisi quod conuenit sibi secundum quod huiusmodi, . . . Vnde si queratur utrum ista natura sic considerata possit dici una uel plures neutrum concedendum est, quia utrumque extra intellectum humanitatis, et utrumque potest sibi accidere. Si enim pluralitas esset de intellectu eius, nunquam posset esse una cum tamen una sit secundum quod est in Socrate. Similiter si unitas esset de ratione eius, tunc esset una et eadem Socratis et Platonis et non posset in pluribus plurificari.<sup>17</sup>

The reasoning of St Thomas is based upon the facts of predication and follows the general lines of that of Avicenna in the texts quoted above.<sup>18</sup> It uses the same examples of humanity and Plato and Socrates, and the term "absolute" in its application to the nature just in itself, the nature as freed from all subsequent conditions. The study of predication shows that unity and plurality are both outside the nature considered absolutely or just in itself, and both are accidental to it—*utrumque potest sibi accidere*. The Avicennian framework is undeniable. But one point of difference, at least in expression, is rather striking. The consideration of essence just in itself is not expressed as something that involves a proper *being* of the essence, but is a consideration according to the proper *ratio* of that essence. It is an absolute consideration of the essence, rather than a proper being of the essence. The text seems to be framed carefully in a way that avoids any implication of *being* in the essence absolutely considered. It can accordingly go on to place unity outside that nature without embarrassment from any implicit commitment of being upon which unity would necessarily follow.

Such is the absolute consideration of the nature. On the other hand, nature or essence can be considered as it has being. Its being may be two-fold. It may exist in singular things, or it may exist in the mind. But neither way of being belongs to the nature considered just in itself. Accordingly, the nature absolutely considered abstracts from all being whatsoever, though without prescinding from any being to which it is open:

Hec autem natura habet duplex esse: unum in singularibus et aliud in anima; et secundum utrumque consequitur dictam naturam accidens, et in singularibus habet etiam multiplex esse secundum singularem diuersitatem. Et tamen ipsi nature secundum primam considerationem suam, scilicet absolutam, nullum istorum esse debetur. Falsum enim est dicere quod essentia hominis, in quantum homo, habeat esse in hoc singulari; quia si esse in hoc singulari conueniret homini in quantum est homo, et nunquam esset extra hoc singulare; similiter etiam si conueniret homini in quantum est homo non esse in hoc singulari, nunquam esset in eo. Set uerum est dicere quod homo in quantum est homo non habet quod sit in hoc singulari uel

<sup>16</sup> The Avicennian background is pointed out in detail by M.-D. Roland-Gosselin, *Le "De Ente et Essentia" de S. Thomas d'Aquin* (reprint, Paris: Vrin, 1948), pp. 9-28.

<sup>16</sup> *De Ente et Essentia* (ed. Roland-Gosselin), c. II; pp. 12.5-23.7.

<sup>17</sup> *De Ente*, c. III; pp. 24.1-25.4.

<sup>18</sup> *Supra*, nn. 3-8.



in illo uel in anima. Ergo patet quod natura hominis absolute considerata abstrahit a quolibet esse, ita tamen quod non fiat precisio alicuius eorum. Et hec natura sic considerata est que predicatur de indiuiduis omnibus.<sup>19</sup>

In this text the Avicennian position that nature as such is existent in neither sensible things nor the mind<sup>20</sup> is followed closely enough, but the conclusion drawn is that the nature absolutely considered abstracts from any being whatsoever—a *quolibet esse*. No room seems left for a proper being of the essence as such. This is quite in accord with St Thomas' doctrine elsewhere, which regards every aspect of being as coming to the essence from without, and none whatsoever as belonging to it just in itself.<sup>21</sup> It brings the denial of unity in the nature absolutely considered into full conformity with the already accepted Scholastic teaching on the transcendent properties of being. Where a transcendent property like unity is denied, there being also must be denied. Were any being present, a corresponding unity would necessarily follow.

Further, the text goes on to state that the nature absolutely considered is what is predicated of all individuals. This doctrine is worthy of serious note. It follows directly upon the assertion that the nature so considered abstracts from all being whatsoever, though without precision. The connection of the two statements should be apparent enough. Predication requires identity of subject and predicate. It asserts that the one is the other. If the nature to be predicated of the individual had of itself any being whatsoever, it could not actually be predicated, for the required identity in reality would be rendered impossible. Any being of its own would at once set up the nature as a reality distinct in some real way from the individuating principle, and so would prevent the identity necessary for predication. Predication requires a genuine identity in reality between nature and individual. Such identity is possible because of the entire lack of being in the essence considered absolutely just in itself and in abstraction from any existence. The two doctrines, accordingly, go together. If the nature just in itself is assigned a proper being of its own, then the nature just in itself cannot be what is predicated of the individuals. If on the other hand the nature just in itself is what is predicated, in strict cogency that nature has to be considered as devoid of all being in itself, and the Avicennian denial of unity has to be followed up with a corresponding denial of all being to it when it is taken as just in itself.

The doctrine of a nature that can exist in the two-fold way and that is predicated of the individuals continues in the later Thomistic works. For instance, St Thomas, using the two senses of the term "universal" that were allowed in the Avicennian background,<sup>22</sup> writes:

. . . universale potest accipi dupliciter. *Uno modo* potest dici universale ipsa natura communis, prout subjacet intentioni universalitatis. *Alio modo* secundum se. . . . Ista autem natura, cui advenit intentio universalitatis, puta natura hominis, habet duplex esse: unum quidem materiale, secundum quod est in materia naturali; aliud autem immateriale, secundum quod est in intellectu. . . .

Sic igitur patet, quod naturae communi non potest attribui intentio universalitatis nisi secundum esse quod habet in intellectu: . . . Ipsae autem naturae, quibus accedit intentio universalitatis, sunt in rebus. Et propter

<sup>19</sup> *De Ente*, c. III; pp. 25.9-26.11.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. text supra, n. 6.

<sup>21</sup> E.g.: ". . . ita quod quaecumque rationem essendi aliquid habeat, non sit sibi nisi a Deo, se defectus essendi sit ei a seipso." *In II Sent.*, d. 37, q. 1, a. 2,

Solut.; ed. Mandonnet, II, 946. ". . . illud quod habet esse ab alio, in se consideratum, est non ens, si ipsum sit aliud quam esse quod ab alio accipit; . . ." *De Pot.*, III, 13, ad 4m; ed. Mandonnet, *Quaest. Disp.*, II, 97a.  
<sup>22</sup> Cf. text supra, n. 14.

hoc, nomina communia significantia naturas ipsas, praedicantur de individujs; . . .<sup>23</sup>

The nature just in itself, the nature that is predicated of individuals and that may receive being in reality and being in the mind, is designated in this text as the "common nature". The expression may be found used in that sense in works of St Thomas through the different periods of his teaching career.<sup>24</sup> It denotes the essence or quiddity of the thing, and is signified by the definition. The distinction in reality of essence from being, a distinction consistently maintained throughout the Thomistic writings, makes possible the predicability of the common nature in regard to all the individuals.

### III. THE COMMON NATURE IN DUNS SCOTUS

In three parallel places<sup>25</sup> Duns Scotus treats explicitly and at length of the nature taken just in itself. In all three he is concerned with the problem of individuation. He aims to show that a nature or essence, except that of God, is not of itself individual, but is common. To be individual it requires something outside itself as such, a mode that is accidental to it. This doctrine he develops in the Avicennian framework that the nature just in itself is something neither individual nor universal, and to which individuality and universality are both accidental. Using the same example as the Arabian, equinity,<sup>26</sup> Scotus writes:

Modus ponendi est Avicennae 5 Metaphys. cap. 1. *Equinitas est tantum equinitas*, hoc est, ex se non habet hoc esse singulare, nec esse universale;

<sup>23</sup> *In II de An.*, lect. 12, (ed. Pirotta) nos. 378-380. Cf.: *De Pot.*, V, 9, ad 16; ed. Mandonnet, *Quaest. Disp.*, II, 203-204. CG, I, 26. *In VII Metaph.*, lect. 13, (ed. Cathala) nos. 1570-1571.

<sup>24</sup> Cf.: ". . . natura communis recipitur in aliquo, et fit hoc aliquid." *In I Sent.*, d.8, q.4, a.1, ad 2; ed. Mandonnet, I, 219. "Natura communis, si separata intelligatur, non potest esse nisi una: quamvis habentes naturam illam plures possent inveniri." CG, II, 52; ed. Leonine, XIII, 387a31-33. ". . . per additionem alicuius materialis natura communis individuatur ad hanc hypostasim." CG, IV, 40; ed. Leonine, XV, 139a21-23. ". . . natura enim communis est quam significat definitio indicans quid est res; unde ipsa natura communis, essentia vel quidditas dicitur. Quidquid ergo est in re ad naturam communem pertinens, sub significatione essentiae continetur: . . . Si enim quidquid est in substantia particulari ad naturam communem pertineret, non posset esse distinctio inter substantias particulares ejusdem naturae. Hoc autem quod est in substantia particulari praeter naturam communem, . . ." *De Pot.*, IX, 1c; ed. Mandonnet, II, 300a. "In substantiis vero simplicibus nulla est differentia essentiae et subjecti, cum non sit in eis materia individualis naturam communem individuans; . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 300b. ". . . (natura enim communis de se non subsistit nisi in singularibus); aliud est quod per principia individuantea supposita naturae communis ab invicem distinguuntur." *De Pot.*, IX, 5, ad 12: ed. cit., II, 316a. "Secundum vero quod supponitur alicui naturae communis, sic dicitur res naturae; sicut hic homo est res naturae humanae: . . ." ST, I, 29, 2c. "Unitas autem sive communitas humanae naturae non est secundum rem, sed solum secundum considerationem; unde iste ter-

minus homo non supponit pro natura communis, nisi . . ." ST, I, 39, 4, ad 3. ". . . natura communis distinguitur et multiplicabitur secundum principia individuantea, . . ." ST, I, 76, 2, ad 3. "Intelligitur enim natura communis seclusis principis individuanteibus, . . ." ST, I, 76, 2 ad 4. "Nam cognitiva apprehendit individuum, ut existens sub natura communis; quod contingit ei, in quantum unitur intellectivae in eodem subjecto; unde cognoscit hunc hominem prout est hic homo et hoc lignum prout est hoc lignum. Aestimativa autem non apprehendit aliquod individuum, secundum quod est sub natura communis, . . ." *In II de An.*, lect. 13, (ed. Pirotta) no. 398.

However, the expression "common nature" is not restricted by St Thomas to the technical meaning of specific nature as such. It is used by him in senses wider than the specific, e.g.: ". . . natura communis habeat aliquod esse in unoquoque eorum . . ." *In I Sent.*, d. 19, q. 5, a. 2, ad 1m; ed. Mandonnet, I, 492. ". . . naturam communem entis . . ." CG, I, 65; ed. Leonine, XIII, 179a42-43. ". . . naturam communem cum omnibus . . ." ST, I, 84, 2c.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1-6; ed. Quaracchi, II, 223-276. *Rep. Par.*, II, 12, 3-8; ed. Vives, XXIII, 20-41. *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13; ed. Vives, VII, 402-426. These are the pertinent loci in the printed works.

<sup>26</sup> The example "humanity" is also taken as found in Avicenna: "Ad illud Avic. de humanitate, dico, quod per hoc quod equinitas est tantum equinitas, ly tantum non excludit illa quae sunt de per se ratione equinitatis, cuiusmodi est entitas rata, sed excludit illa quae sunt per se passionem entis, ut unum, actu, etc. . . ." *Op. Ox.*, I, 3, 5, no. 13; Quar., I, 394 (no. 440a). Cf. *ibid.*, no. 7; p. 389 (no. 435a).

sed natura potest habere esse sub universalitate, ut in anima, et potest habere majorem unitatem realem quam specificam; ideo neutrum est ex se, . . .<sup>27</sup>

Of itself, then, an essence or nature is neither singular nor plural, just as in Avicenna. However, the unity that Scotus is denying the common nature<sup>28</sup> is a unity that is greater than specific unity. This greater unity, obviously, is the unity found in the individual as individual. Such unity does not belong to the nature as such. So much the Avicennian background makes clear. But Scotus is qualifying the excluded unity in a way that leaves room for a unity that is lesser than individual unity and that is not excluded from the nature as such. In fact, his first effort in the process of showing positively that a material substance is not of itself individual is to establish the presence of this real though lesser than individual unity in things. It is found in things apart from any working of the human intellect. It receives the technical name *unitas minor*, lesser or minor unity.

A number of arguments are used to show the presence of this real though minor unity in things.<sup>29</sup> First, a real measure with its own real unity is required for things that constitute a species. That measure and so that unity have to be prior to the individuals in the species. Such unity is therefore prior to and different from numerical unity. Then, any comparison, similarity, equality, contrariety, and so on, must have a real unity as a foundation. This unity cannot be numerical unity, for nothing that is numerically one can be similar or equal to itself. If all real unity were numerical, all diversity would be equal and the intellect could not abstract anything more common from Plato and Socrates than it could from Plato and a line, and the universal would be a pure figment of the mind.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the senses distinguish different kinds of things, even

<sup>27</sup> *Rep. Par.*, II, 12, 5, no. 11; Vives, XXIII, 30b. Cf. text infra, n. 38.

<sup>28</sup> Scotus uses "common nature" as a technical expression very rarely: "Item, quae conveniunt individuis, ut agere, generari, etc. aut insunt eis per naturam communem, aut per differentias individuales; si primo modo, tunc primo insunt universali; . . ." *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13, 19; Vives, VII, 419b. ". . . quidquid per se inest uni individuo, cuius simile inest alii individuo, inest per naturam communem, . . ." *Ibid.*, no. 22; p. 422b. ". . . sic natura cui intellectus tribuit intentionem speciei, quae dicta est esse in re, est communis, . . ." *Ibid.*, no. 19; p. 420a. The notion "common", though, is clearly and forcefully contrasted with the notion of "universal" in the complete sense: ". . . est ergo in re commune, quod non est de se hoc, et per consequens ei de se non repugnat esse non hoc. Sed tale commune non est universale in actu, quia deficit ei illa indifferentia, secundum quam complete universale est universale, secundum quam scilicet ipsum idem aliqua identitate est praedicabile de quolibet individuo, ita quod quodlibet sit ipsum." *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, no. 9; Quar. II, 231 (no. 233). Yet the use of the term "common" in the full sense of "universal" is not entirely excluded: ". . . loquitur de communi praedicabili, non praecise de communi quod determinatum est de facto, licet non repugnet sibi esse in alio, quale commune praecise potest poni in creatura realiter." *Ibid.*, p. 232. Cf. text infra, n. 40.

Conversely, Scotus allows the use of the term "universal" to designate the nature

taken absolutely: "Primo modo dicitur natura absolute sumpta *universale*, quia non est de se haec, et ita non repugnat sibi ex se dici de multis. Secundo modo non est universale, nisi sit actu indeterminatum, ita quod unum intelligibile numero sit dicibile de omni supposito, et illud est complete universale. *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 18, no. 6; Vives, VII, 456-457. "Sed *singulare* addit aliquam *entitatem* supra *entitatem universalem*, . . ." *Op. Ox.*, II, 9, 1 & 2, 3, no. 10; Quar. II, 451 (no. 497).

However, the regular contrast in this respect in Duns Scotus is that of the "common" with the individual and the universal. Even though Scotus does not use the technical expression "common nature" as frequently as does St Thomas, the peculiar importance of the doctrine designated by that name has given the common nature a fundamental place in the vocabulary of Scotistic tradition: ". . . den Skotisten hingegen galt sie jederzeit als Grundpfeiler ihres Systems." J. Kraus, *Die Lehre des Johannes Duns Scotus von der Natura Communis*, p. 143. ". . . the doctrine of *Natura Communis*—the main bastion of Scotist theory of knowledge and metaphysics." Theodore Crowley, in *Philosophical Studies* (Maynooth), III (1953), 136. <sup>29</sup> *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, nos. 3-6; Quar. II, 225-228 (no. 233). *Rep. Par.*, XII, 5, nos. 8-10; Vives, XXIII, 29-30; *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13, nos. 10-12, and 18, nos. 1-2; Vives, VII, 410-412 and 453.

<sup>30</sup> "Sic nec omnis unitas realis minor unitate numerali est universalis, sed est unitas naturae praesuppositae operationi intel-



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when they fail to distinguish those things as numerically different. They distinguish things, therefore, according to a specific unity.<sup>31</sup> Finally, even if there were no intellect, fire would cause fire. There would be a real formal unity between the two, and so the generation would still be univocal. The intellect through its consideration, therefore, does not make the generation univocal, but merely recognizes that it is such.

The burden of all these arguments is that there has to be a real basis for comparison among individuals, so that the universals will not be pure figments of the mind and the value of human science destroyed. This requires a specific unity of individuals, a specific unity that is really present in the things and that is independent of any work of the human intellect. The minor unity, however, is never found in reality outside the existent individuals.<sup>32</sup> In the real individual the nature acquires a unity that is proper to the individual, over and above its own minor unity. So in any individual the nature has a two-fold unity; first, a unity that belongs to it not of itself but only on account of the individual in which it is found, and secondly, another and lesser unity that belongs to it of itself: "Et sic dupliciter dicitur illa unitas minor, una, quia essentialiter est una unitate minori numerali, et tamen denominative est una numero, quia in hoc uno numero."<sup>33</sup>

Denominatively, then, the humanity that is in one individual differs from the humanity in another individual, for each is denominated *one* from the numerical unity of the respective individuals. This difference, however, is not at all incompatible with the specific unity of human nature as such, a unity that includes all human nature wherever it is found, and that is really present as a unity outside the mind:

Respondeo, si loquamur realiter, humanitas quae est in Socrate, non est humanitas quae est in Platone, et est realis differentia ex differentiis individualibus unitive contentis, inseparabilibus hinc inde. Si autem circumscribamus differentiam hinc inde, sic ut nec natura intelligitur una maxima unitate in se, sed tantum illa unitate minori, quae est communis; sic nec est divisa ab humanitate Platonis divisione numerali, nec aliqua, quia non specifica, . . .<sup>34</sup>

lectus, et ideo intellectus movetur magis ad abstrahendum unum conceptum specificam a Socrate et Platone, quam a Socrate et lapide, . . ." *Rep. Par.*, XII, 5, no. 13; Vives, XXIII, 31b. ". . . et ita omnia essent aequae distincta, et tunc sequitur quod non plus potest intellectus abstrahere a Socrate et Platone aliquid commune quam a Socrate et linea, et esset quodlibet universale purum figmentum. . . . si tantum est in hac re unitas realis numeralis, quaecumque entitas est in re, illa est ex se una numero; ergo istud et illud secundum omnem entitatem in eis sunt primo diversa, et in nullo aliquo modo convenientia." *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, nos. 5-6; Quar., II, 227-228 (no. 233).

<sup>31</sup> ". . . entitas autem singularis non est propria ratio gignendi phantasma, sed tantum entitas naturae praecedens illam entitatem singularem." *Op. Ox.*, III, 14, 3, no. 9; Vives, XIV, 529a. ". . . ergo illud primum obiectum habet aliquam unitatem realem, non unitatem singularitatis, quia tunc nihil, nisi hoc singulare videretur; nec universalitatis, quia obiectum visus praesupponitur omni actui rationis, universale non." *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13, no. 11; Vives, VII, 411b.

<sup>32</sup> Sicut tamen in aliis unitive contentis non est separatio realis, nec etiam poten-

tialis; sic natura cui intellectus tribuit intentionem speciei, quae dicta est esse in re, est communis, sicut commune est potentiale in re, nunquam separabitur ab alia perfectione unitive secum contenta, vel ab illo gradu, in quo accipitur differentia individualis. . . . contradictio includitur, quod separaretur propter unitivam continentiam." *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13, nos. 19-20; Vives, VII, 420a.

<sup>33</sup> *Rep. Par.*, II, 12, 5, no. 13; Vives, XXIII, 32a. Cf. *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 5 & 6, no. 10; Quar., II, 265-266 (no. 286).

<sup>34</sup> *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13, no. 21; Vives, VII, 421b. Cf. text from Avicenna, supra, n. 8. This full explanation of the community given to a nature by minor unity is found only in the earlier work, and is a good instance of Gilson's remark: "Lorsqu'on étudie la pensée de Duns Scot sur un point important de philosophie et surtout lorsqu'on cherche à discerner la formation de sa doctrine, on se trouve toujours ramené quel que soit l'ouvrage dont on soit parti, à chercher ce qu'il a déjà dit dans ses *Quaestiones in metaphysicam Aristotelis*." "Avicenne et le Point de Départ de Duns Scot." *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, II (1927), 91.

To try to conceive the common nature as existing separately from the individuating mode would be attempting to conceive a contradiction, for when really existing the nature is part of a composite that contains the individual difference unitively. Conceived as existing without that individuating mode the common nature would be thereby conceived as an individual, for what really exists is individual. The nature accordingly would be conceived as common and not common, as individual and not individual. If in spite of the self-contradictory character of the objection, however, one wishes to urge the question, Scotus answers that if the individual differences were *per impossibile* struck away, then the humanity that is in this individual and the humanity that is in the other individuals would thereby merge into one real humanity, for there would be nothing to differentiate them.

This means that the community of nature is a real community outside the mind, and is the real foundation of all universal predication and scientific knowledge.<sup>55</sup> It does not at all imply that the common nature exists as common outside the mind, for it exists in reality only as already individuated. But does the doctrine require that the common nature have a proper being of its own, a being that is in some way prior to real existence as well as to existence in the intellect? Does the real minor unity involve a corresponding real being?

Certainly, according to the general principle that unity follows upon being, to have a real unity outside the mind the nature should have an entity of its own, differing from individual being just as much as minor unity differs from major unity. Minor unity will necessarily presuppose a corresponding entity, for unity follows upon entity: "Sicut unitas in communi per se consequitur entitatem in communi, ita quaecumque unitas per se consequitur aliquam entitatem; . . ."<sup>56</sup> The community of nature, in fact, is present according to the proper entity and unity of the nature just in itself:

Et ideo concedo quod quaerenda est causa *universalitatis*, non tamen quaerenda est causa *communitatis* alia ab ipsa *natura*; et posita communitate in ipsa natura secundum propriam entitatem et unitatem, necessario oportet quaerere causam *singularitatis*, quae superaddit aliquid illi naturae cujus est.<sup>57</sup>

Community, then, is placed by Scotus in the nature itself prior to any individuation or universality. The community pertains to the proper entity and the proper unity of the nature just in itself. Against the Avicennian background there could hardly be any difficulty in regarding the nature as having a proper entity of its own, for Avicenna had given the nature its own proper being. But what of the Arabian's categorical denial of unity to that nature? This has to be explained as referring to numerical unity only, just as the denial of universality is restricted to the complete sense of universality as effected by the intellect:

<sup>55</sup> For opinions on whether this community of nature is to be called positive or negative, cf. J. Kraus, *Natura Communis*, pp. 65-68. From the standpoint of individual reality, the community of course appears as negative, and is explained by indifference to being in this or that singular thing. But from the viewpoint of the common nature itself, which is prior to that of individuality, the entity and minor unity of the nature as such are positive, and accordingly the community caused by that minor unity would appear to be positive.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 5 & 6, no. 9; *Quar.* II, 264 (no. 285a). Cf.: "... cumque enim gradui reali entitatis, correspondet realis

unitas." *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13, no. 19; *Vives*, VII, 420a. "... sicut unum convertitur cum ente, ita omnis modus unius, cum aliquo gradu entis, cui est proprius . . ." *Ibid.*, no. 9; p. 410a.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, no. 10; *Quar.*, II, 232 (no. 240). Cf.: "... et secundum illam entitatem habet unitatem sibi proportionalem, . . . illa unitas est propria passio naturae secundum suam entitatem primam, . . . *Ibid.*, no. 7; p. 230 (nos. 235d-236). "... cum in qualibet unitate minore unitate numerali sit dare entitatem positivam, quae sit ratio per se illius unitatis . . ." *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 2, no. 4; *Quar.* II, 236 (no. 248).

Qualiter autem potest hoc intelligi, potest aequaliter videri per dictum Avicennae, V. *Metaph.*, ubi vult quod *equinitas sit tantum equinitas, nec ex se una, nec plures, nec universalis, nec particularis*. Intellige, non est ex se una unitate numerali; nec plures, pluralitate opposita illi unitati; nec universalis actu, eo modo quo aliquid est universale factum ab intellectu, non ut obiectum intellectus; nec est particularis de se; licet enim nunquam sit realiter sine aliquo istorum, non tamen est *de se* aliquod istorum, sed est *prius naturaliter* omnibus istis.<sup>38</sup>

As in Avicenna the *esse proprium* of the essence enjoyed a priority over its being in reality and its being in the mind, so the Scotistic common nature, though it can never exist except in the individual in reality or in the universal in the intellect, nevertheless has its own quidditative entity that is prior to numerical unity or plurality and to singularity or universality. Of itself it is the object of the intellect and the object of metaphysical consideration. As such it has sufficient being to give rise to the truth of quidditative propositions:

Et secundum istam prioritatem naturalem est *quod quid est et per se* obiectum intellectus, et per se ut sic consideratur a Metaphysico, et exprimitur per definitionem; et propositiones *per se primo modo* sunt verae ratione *quidditatis* sic acceptae. . . .<sup>39</sup>

A corresponding truth as well as a corresponding unity follow accordingly upon the nature taken just in itself. These transcendent properties have to be based upon a proper entity of the nature. Accordingly, the Scotistic common nature will not be predicable of the individual:

Tamen in creaturis est aliquod commune unum unitate *reali* minori unitate *numerali*; et illud quidem commune non est ita commune quod sit *praedicabile* de multis, licet sit ita commune quod non repugnet sibi esse in alio quam in eo in quo est.<sup>40</sup>

The complete identity in reality of nature with individual that was found in St Thomas Aquinas<sup>41</sup> is lacking here. The one is not the other:

<sup>38</sup> *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, no. 7; *Quar.* II, 228-229 (no. 235a). Scotus explains Avicenna's way of speaking on the ground that a *propria passio* is not included in the formal aspect of the nature: "Ad Avicennam dico quod praecisissime considerat *quidditatem* in quantum nihil includit quod non pertinet ad per se rationem quidditatis eius; et hoc modo *equinitas* est tantum equinitas, et nec una nec plures, quantumcumque unitas eius non sit alia res addita, sed necessario consequatur istam entitatem, sicut et omne ens secundum quancumque entitatem consequitur propria unitas, non tamen ista unitas est intra *formalem rationem* quidditatis ut quidditas est, sed est quasi *passio* consequens quidditatem, et omne tale apud eum vocatur *accidens*." *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 4, no. 20; *Quar.* II, 256 (no. 272). Cf. text supra, n. 26.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, no. 7; *Quar.* II, 229 (no. 235a). Cf.: "... natura est prius naturaliter quam haec natura, et unitas propria consequens naturam ut natura prior est naturaliter unitate eius ut haec natura, et sub ista ratione est de ea consideratio metaphysica et assignatur definitio eius et sunt propositiones per se primo modo: ..." *Op. Ox.*, II, 33, 5 & 6, no. 10; *Quar.* II, 265 (no. 286). "Prima ergo intellectio est naturae ut ei non cointelligitur aliquis modus, ..." *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, no. 7; II, 229 (no. 235b).

This entity of the common nature is described as a positive entity: "... nullus negat entitatem *positivam* esse rationem unitatis specificae, a qua entitate positiva sumitur ratio differentiae specificae ... cum in qualibet unitate minore unitate numerali sit dare entitatem *positivam*, quae sit ratio per se illius unitatis ..." *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 2, no. 4; II, 235 (no. 248). It is the proper and primary entity of the nature: "... nec est ex se haec intranee, nec secundum entitatem propriam necessario includam in ipsa natura secundum primam entitatem suam." *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, no. 7; II, 230 (no. 236). Scotus has no hesitation in speaking of an *esse quidditativum* and an *esse possibile* "... non de existentia, sed de *esse quidditativo*." *Quaest. Metaph.*, I, 1, no. 49; Vives, VII, 37a. "Secundo modo consideratur absolute secundum *esse quidditativum*, et sic insunt ei praedicata essentialia." *Super Universalia Porphyrii*, XI, no. 2; Vives, I, 136a. "... de *esse quidditative* sive de *esse possibili*, non autem de *existentia actuali*." *Op. Ox.*, I, 2, 1 & 2, no. 56; ed. Vaticana, II, 162. 6-7.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 1, no. 9; *Quar.*, II, 231-232 (no. 238b).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. supra, n. 19.



... non potest haberi in actu universale, quo ipsum est dicibile de alio sic, hoc est hoc, nisi per intellectum. . . . Tamen non potest secundum istam realem unitatem minorem esse simul hoc et hoc, . . .<sup>42</sup>

Because it has an entity of its own, distinct from the individuality, the Scotistic common nature is not completely identified in reality with the individual, and so cannot be predicated of the individual. Predication requires an identity that allows one to say "this is this". The common nature does not have that identity with the individual in Duns Scotus, as it had in St Thomas. In St Thomas, there is no real distinction between the thing and the nature absolutely considered, for the nature absolutely considered is not in itself a reality. In Scotus, however, the one individual thing is composed of different realities, and so exhibits a distinction unknown in the philosophy of St Thomas. No matter how much the individual is one thing, it can be distinguished for Scotus into different realities:

... potest distingui, quantumcumque sit una res, in plures realitates formaliter distinctas, quarum haec formaliter non est illa, sed haec est formaliter entitas singularis et illa est entitas naturae formaliter.<sup>43</sup>

The specific entity of the common nature is, accordingly, formally distinct from the other entity that constitutes the individuation. Each is of itself an entity, each is a reality. The formal distinction, no matter what it may be elsewhere in the philosophy of Duns Scotus, is here expressly a distinction between two realities and two entities.<sup>44</sup> The thing remains numerically one, and contains unitively both the nature and the individuating entity.<sup>45</sup> Though the thing is one, the realities that compose it are more than one, independently of any consideration of the human intellect. The formal distinction is here sufficient

<sup>42</sup> *Rep. Par.*, II, 5, 12; Vives, XXIII, 31a. Cf.: "Unde dico, quod species non praedicat totam naturam individui integraliter, sicut nec genus speciei." *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13, no. 13; Vives, VII, 413a. ". . . sed non est idem cum individuo, sed quodammodo pars ejus, cum individuum addat super eam, formam individualement, ut dictum est." *Ibid.*, no. 15; p. 414b.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 5 & 6, no. 15; Quar., II, 270 (no. 289). The distinction follows upon the proper unity and entity: "Contra, illud quo aliquod ens habet entitatem, eo, tamquam fundamento proximo unitatis, est unum unitate correspondente tali entitati, et per consequens distinctionum [sic] a quocumque ente non habente hanc unitatem; . . ." *Quodl.*, III, no. 11; Vives, XXV, 122a.

<sup>44</sup> "If the notion 'really distinct' is reserved for a distinction between two individual things, then it cannot be applied to the Scotistic formal distinction: "Furthermore, the individual difference and the nature are not distinct as *res* and *res*, that means, they are not really distinct." P. Boehner, "Scotus' Teaching according to Occam. II. On the *Natura Communis*," *Franciscan Studies*, VI (1946), 365. In this respect it has been called real *secundum quid* ". . . the formal distinction belongs to the category of real distinctions not *simpliciter* but *secundum quid*, and hence one has a plurality of distinct realities." M. J. Gajewski, *The Formal Distinction of Duns Scotus* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1944), p. 101. However, the fact that in this instance the for-

mal distinction falls between entities does not at all require that in other instances it should likewise fall between entities, e.g., in the transcendentals or the divine attributes.

<sup>45</sup> The nature does not contain the individuating mode unitively, nor the individuating mode the nature, but the one thing contains both: ". . . natura non continet unitive gradum illum, sed compositum ex natura, et illo gradu." *Quaest. Metaph.*, VII, 13, no. 20; Vives, VII, 420b. ". . . ista proprietas individui nunquam est res alia a forma specifica, tamen semper est non idem formaliter, licet aliquid possit continere unitive utrumque." *Rep. Par.*, II, 12, 8, no. 3; Vives, XXIII, 37b. "Sed in proposito nec entitas specifica includit per identitatem entitatem *individualement*, nec e converso, sed aliquid tertium tantum, cuius ista ambo quasi sunt *primo per se partes*, includit ambo ista *per identitatem*; et ita tollitur ista composito perfectissima quae est ex *re et re*, non tamen omnis; universaliter enim quaecumque natura non est *de se haec*, sed determinabilis ad essendum *haec*, sive determinetur per aliam *rem*, quod est impossibile in quocumque, sive per aliam *realitatem*, non est *simpliciter simplex*." *Op. Ox.*, II, 3, 5 & 6, no. 16; Quar., II, 271 (290a).

On the sources for Scotus' doctrine of universality and the interpretations given it by modern commentators, see T. Barth, "Individualität und Allgemeinheit bei J. Duns Skotus," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, XX (1957), 106-112.

to prevent the real identity of nature and individual that is necessary for predicating the common nature of the individual thing.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

In both St Thomas and Duns Scotus the common nature is the essence taken just in itself as neither particular nor universal, neither one nor many, neither existent in singulars nor existent in the mind. In both thinkers the doctrine is developed against the Avicennian background that essence is of itself indifferent to all these qualifications. In Avicenna, however, the essence as such had been described as having a being of its own but no unity of its own. It is on this point that the Thomistic and Scotistic doctrines show their fundamental divergence. In St Thomas the denial of unity is accepted without qualification. Accordingly, the common nature cannot have any proper being of its own. The *esse proprium* of the Avicennian essence does not appear in the Thomistic development. Because it has no being of its own whatsoever, the essence when taken without precision can be predicated of every individual that comes under it. It has no being at all that could make it different in reality from the individual in which it is found. It can be perfectly and adequately identified in reality with any and every individual that comes under it, for it presents no being of its own that would render it at all different from any one of them, or that would make it in any way a different thing when it is known and so becomes existent in the mind. In this way the common nature for St Thomas is predicable of the individual and is completely identified with it in reality. There can be no distinction in reality whatsoever between individual and nature in Thomistic metaphysics.

For Duns Scotus, on the contrary, the Avicennian denial of unity to the common nature is qualified. Only numerical unity is denied to it as such. A unity lesser than numerical, minor unity, is found in the common nature as the necessary basis for universality and for specific resemblance and diversity. This minor unity follows upon a corresponding entity of the common nature, an entity that is positive in itself and formally distinct in reality from the individuating mode. It is true that the common nature never exists outside the individuals and outside the mind, yet when existent either in the mind or in the individuals it always remains formally distinct in its own entity from both the individuality and the universality. The result is that the Scotistic common nature can never be predicated of the individual, for it can never be completely identified with the individual in the way required by predication.

From the metaphysical viewpoint, therefore, the fundamental difference between the two doctrines of essence is clear-cut. For St Thomas, a finite essence just in itself has no being or entity whatsoever. A finite essence always remains other than any being it may possess. For Scotus, an essence just in itself has a positive entity of its own. Upon this entity there follow in a finite essence a minor unity and a formal distinction from the individuating entity. Neither this minor unity nor this formal distinction can even be conceived in terms of Thomistic philosophy. Similarly the requirement of unitive continence to make the individual one with its nature is alien to Thomistic thought. The notion of unitive continence can arise only when the nature is in reality distinct in some way from its individuating principle, and the two have to be united in reality to form something numerically one. Only in infinite being are nature and individuality identical, as for St Thomas only in God do essence and being coincide.

On the doctrine of essence, then, the two great mediaeval thinkers show a radical difference of thought, presenting a gap that cannot be bridged. For St Thomas finite essence has of itself no being, it is other than being. For

Scotus the essence as such has its own proper entity, but a finite essence is different in reality from its individuating mode. In St Thomas, the basic metaphysical distinction in creatures falls between essence and being. In Scotus, it falls between essence and individuality. This fundamental difference has far reaching consequences in the development of the two doctrines. On the Thomistic basis the objectivity of human cognition is assured by the complete lack of being in the essence of the sensible thing that is known. In itself the thing remains exactly the same when it becomes existent in the intellect, for of itself it has no being that could render it in any way different. The thing that exists in reality outside the mind remains exactly the same thing when it acquires being in the mind. For Scotus, the common nature has its own proper unity prior to both existence in reality and existence in the mind, and so offers a real basis for the universal mode of human cognition. In St Thomas, real composition in the angels is shown by the distinction between their essence and their being. In Scotus, the real composition is established by the distinction between their essence and their individuating mode. For St Thomas, the Anselmian argument for the existence of God is invalid because it does not start from really existent things. For Scotus, the existence of infinite being is demonstrated from the quiddity or possibility of things. The essence as such has an entity of its own, and so can be the starting-point for the demonstration of infinite being. In St Thomas, the finite essence has of itself no being, and so cannot be the starting-point of a procedure that is to arrive at the primary being. In these and other similar problems the radical difference between the notions of essence makes itself sharply felt throughout the two respective metaphysical procedures.

# Richard Rolle's *Carmen Prosaicum*, an Edition And Commentary

GABRIEL M. LIEGEY

ON FOLIO 1 of Ms. 396 of the Public Library of Douay, in an index of the works of Richard Rolle to be found in the volume, there is listed in fourth place the "*Carmen prosaycum eiusdem extractum de melo*." This work appears on folio 193 of the volume, headed by "*Incipit carmen prosaicum eiusdem Riccardi*". It ends on folio 195, followed by "*Explicit carmen prosaicum Riccardi de Ampulle extractum a quodam tractatu qui dicitur melum*". This *Carmen* of the Hermit of Hampole has remained unedited, even though the author's influence on English Letters is generally known and conceded. Over twenty years ago, Professor R. W. Chambers declared that "Rolle's date, his style and his popularity give him a supreme place in the history of English Prose. In English or in Latin he was, during the latter half of the Fourteenth Century and the whole of the Fifteenth probably the most widely read of all English writers. Investigation of English wills and of documents bearing on the ownership of books seems to show a dozen owners of manuscripts of Rolle for one or two of the *Canterbury Tales*."<sup>1</sup> The parent work of the *Carmen*, the *Melos Amoris* or *Melum* as it is called in some of the manuscripts, is yet unedited, despite the inviting comment by the greatest of all Rolle scholars that the *Melos* is "the most important and individual of Richard's compositions".<sup>2</sup>

The *Carmen Prosaicum* is a compilation of word for word passages taken from the *Melos* to represent Rolle's treatment of divine ecstasy. It is written in a form peculiar to Rolle and interesting for the light it throws on the author, his work, and their relation to English and Latin literary history. The *Carmen* is as certainly Rolle's as is the *Melos*. It is difficult to say who chose the extracts and put them together, but it is quite easy to see the intent. The *Melos* is about fifty times the length of the *Carmen*. It is a discursive, but attractive, series of postills on the nature of divine love, the favorite subject of the hermit who has been called the father of English mysticism. There is no doubt that the *Melos* is Rolle's most characteristic work, and enough of it appears in the *Carmen* to give us an insight into what made it so attractive to the Medieval, and perhaps later, world. The *Melos* appears in verse and prose, but only sections of the former which suited the purpose of the Medieval editor, descriptions of the effects of divine love, or ecstasy, were selected for the *Carmen*.

From the very first line to the last in this ecstatic work are sung the motifs so dear to Rolle that they were repeated over and over again. The Lord is the champion of the weak, poor, and humble. The mighty, proud, and fleshly may appear to prosper in the world, but they are really preparing destruction for themselves in eternity. Only the poor, humble, and penitent can take the first step toward the heavenly goal. After progress in the path of virtue, the pilgrim through grace begins to hear the wonderful song of joy. The joyful one, by seeking the Creator, glows, and, fortified by the heavenly heat, he is carried aloft to feast on a sweetness which dispels all grief. This is love, and by it the lover is led to God. This love and the desire for it increase so greatly that the lover seeks to die, so that he may truly taste sweetness, sing with the

<sup>1</sup> *On the Continuity of English Prose* (London, 1932), p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle of Hampole and Materials for His Biography* (New York, 1927), p. 118.

Since the preparation of this article the *Melos* has been published: *The Melos Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole*, ed. E. J. F. Arnould, Basil Blackwell, (Oxford, 1957).

angelic host, and burn with an eternal ardor when he sees God face to face. Nothing else in life can approximate the joy of this lover on this earth, yet his joy is only a foreshadowing of the real, heavenly happiness.

Rolle is supported in his ecstatic life on earth by God, and he declares that he truly feels and tastes this free gift of God, burning, singing, and tasting the sweetness. By this gift he is removed from all sadness. He dates this heavenly visitation from the time that he turned his heart from fleshly cares and, washed in tears of repentance, overthrew the wanderer in vice. Freed from wanton play and lifted to secrets, he attempts to reveal to the righteous how they may avoid the venom of vice. The process, as can be seen, follows the usual purgative, illuminative, and unitive steps, so characteristic of the writers of the mystic way. He does not wish to be considered proud nor a boaster for having retired from the comfort of riches and begs that, if he lies, God be not given to him and the crown be withheld. Finally, in the figure of Pauline or chivalric warfare, he describes his quest to capture Christ alone, with the result expressed in a reversal of the words of Job. 'My grief was changed into a harp and my weeping voice into an organ. When the fallacious river of life is ended, and when the pastures of heaven are reached, I will be led to the divine home, desiring the sweetness of internal sing.'

Rolle's account of his progress in ecstasy, which he hopes may be shared by the reader, reveals little that is new in the account of the mystical way. Even his images and symbols, that seem so characteristic of him, have been used before and are undoubtedly reflections of his wide and deep reading. Nevertheless he is not only attempting to reveal this suprasensuous experience in terms of sense in order that man may comprehend, but, in the account, his lyric soul seeks to have itself heard, and therefore it too flows into writing which is poetic in a way that is peculiar to him. This can be seen quite easily in the parent work, the *Melos*, for time and again at a point in his exposition he seems so moved that he bursts into song, abandoning his prose for verse. Whoever chose the portions for the *Carmen* was certainly aware of this lyricism as the title and form of the contents show. Though Rolle's mysticism is of great interest, the form of this expression of it is, perhaps, to students of Medieval literature the more attractive aspect. It is one that is most unique and must be evaluated in the light of Medieval canons of style.

As the format of the text shows, the *Carmen* is written in an unusually alliterated Latin arranged in a verse pattern<sup>2a</sup> which I believe is modelled upon English rather than on Latin habits of versification. It is well known that in the time of Rolle alliterated English was not a rarity, especially in his native North. His attraction to alliteration must have been strong, for some of his English writings, in both prose and verse, bear its stamp. His *Gastly Gladnesse*, for example, seems to fit into the English tradition of alliterated prose.<sup>3</sup> This work, called by Miss Allen a prose lyric, is similar in theme to portions of the *Melos*, but, oddly enough, it does not carry its alliteration to as great extent nor in the same manner as does the Latin work. I single out *Gastly Gladnesse* from among Rolle's large output of English works, for I believe to be true in the main what Miss Allen has said of it. "Perhaps the exactness of tradition in the case of this little piece shows the strong and individual character, word by word, of the style. In style and subject it gives the quintessence of Rolle's work."<sup>4</sup> There is no doubt that *Gastly Gladnesse* "gives the quintessence of Rolle's work" with regard to subject. With regard to style, however, I would

<sup>2a</sup> Concerning the *Melos* E. J. F. Arnould asserts that "there is no verse in that work" and "it does not appear that the use of alliteration in Rolle was regulated by any system, and it often solely consists in a series of words beginning with the same

sound", *op. cit.*, p. Iviii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English. A Survey of the Traditions* (Manchester, 1935), pp. 15-19.

<sup>4</sup> H. E. Allen, *English Writings of Richard Rolle* (Oxford, 1931), p. 144.

make some distinctions. Generally it is in the Rolle manner, but in special points the style so differs from that of "the most important and individual of Richard's compositions", the *Melos*, that a study of the differences is important to students interested in the art of Medieval literary practice.

The English work begins:

Gastly gladnes in Jhesu, and joy in hert,  
with swetnes in sawle of þe savor of  
heven in hope, es helth intil hele;  
and my lyfe lendes in luf, and lyght-  
sumnes unlappes my thoght. I drede  
noght, þat me may wyrk wa, sa mykel  
I wate of wele. It war na wonder if  
dede war dere, þat I myght se hym þat  
I seke. Bot now it es lenthed fra me,  
and me behoves lyf here, til he wil  
me lese.<sup>5</sup>

This selection may be regarded as fairly typical of Rolle's practice of alliterating in English prose. The *Melos*, however, shows much more alliteration than does this or any other English writing of Rolle, and, besides, indicates that the device is used somewhat more functionally than merely decoratively. At the end of the very first chapter, marked by this practice, we may find exemplified not only this peculiar technique but also, as I hope to show, the reason for it. Having asserted in the chapter that the solitary, gifted with a foretaste of heavenly happiness, will receive more eternal bliss than one not so gifted in this world, he argues:

Ibique absque ambiguo apparebit quis,  
audacter intuens inter amantes oculos  
auctoris, altiore accipiet habitationem  
in aula eterna cum angelis olimpi. Num-  
quid non reverentius resident in regno,  
qui hic gratia repleti in requie revera  
regis reficiuntur quam qui sic non solantur  
in celica sophia? Equabunt enim gratiam gratie,  
quia amantibus ardentius grandior erit gloria  
coram glorificante.

Liquide loquor; non timeo temptantes,  
nam tales in turbine trucidabuntur.

At this point, as if giving way to a feeling of joy, seeing himself triumphant over those who do not believe in the superiority of solitary life, he takes heart and jubilantly breaks out into what is unmistakably verse. Having just said "liquide loquor", which proves his own artistic consciousness, he protests in what I believe was meant to be cast in this pattern:

Silere non scio; sic caritas me cogit,  
Ut cuncti cognoscant quod capax consisto  
Cantabilis clamoris.  
Et sonum suscipio, celicum insignem,  
Dum discedere dilexi a diuitum dolore  
Et sancte subsisterem solitarie sedendo,  
Canens et calidus ac iubilans ingenter.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *English Writings*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> *S.*, fol. 1. All quotations from the *Melos* and the *Carmen Prosaicum* are taken from

MS Sloane 2275, which has been collated with all the other known MSS.

The entire *Melos* is fashioned according to the scheme of this short sample, an alternation of what is meant to be prose with what is meant to be verse. Only verse portions of the *Melos* were selected by the medieval editor to form the *Carmen*.

Alliterated prose is not new in Rolle's time, either in Latin or in English. But alliterated verse, such as I suggest the *Carmen* projects, may be the only sample of its kind in Latin. It is, moreover, an indication of the interesting situation, in which a learned poet of the fourteenth century in England found himself, as he experimented in the many verse forms that were known at the time. Rolle, as an Oxford student, was certainly aware of *metrum*. From Medieval Latin verse he learned *rhythmus*, as his *Canticum Amoris* shows.<sup>7</sup> His English lyrics, though heavily alliterated, lean toward the more regular structure of the rhymed verse of his day. Finally, at least one English lyric and the *Melos* exhibit his familiarity and aptitude with the Alliterative Middle English Verse pattern seen in the *Carmen*.

Rolle's custom of breaking out into verse during the course of a prose composition has already been described in reference to the *Melos*. In one of his English epistles also, the *Ego Dormio*, this occurs, and verses appear which bear out Rolle's affinity to Middle English Alliterative Verse. In this work he has just asserted that "men thynk it swete to synne; but þair mede, þat is ordand for þam, es bitterer þan þe gall, sowrar þan þe atter, war þan al þe waa þat we may here se or fele." He then sings the following short lyric whose form, to my way of thinking, is that which is used in the *Melos* and therefore appears in the *Carmen*.

[Alle perishes and passes þat we with eghe see]  
 It wanes into wretchednes, þe welth of þis worlde.  
 Robes and ritches rotes in dike,  
 Prowde payntyng slakes into sorow,  
 Delites and drewryse stynk sal ful sone,  
 Pair golde and þaire tresoure drawes þam til dede.  
 Al þe wikked of þis worlde drawes til a dale,  
 Pat þai may se þare sorowyng, whare waa es ever stabel.  
 Bot he may syng of solace, þat lufes Jhesu Criste.  
 Be wretchesse fra wele falles into hell.<sup>8</sup>

It seems clear that this is a four-stress line, the stresses falling in most instances upon syllables that are alliterated. There is no uniformity in the number of arrangement of the unstressed syllables. There is, however, the constancy of four heavily stressed syllables to the line, and each line contains some pattern of alliteration. The rhythmical structure of this line, like that of all Middle English Alliterative Verse, has a clear connection with forms of Old English Verse. In the later form, however, the rhythm of the line depends solely upon stress which does not necessarily fall on a long as well as an accented syllable. In addition, each stress in the line may alliterate, as in the second line; or two alliterations may appear in one line, as in the fourth, fifth, and seventh lines. Sometimes there is no binding of half-lines by alliteration, as in lines six, nine, and ten. These Middle English innovations are found not only in Rolle, for *Gawain and the Green Knight* or *Piers Plowman* presents the same features. They do indicate that Rolle was well aware of a native literary tradition wherein authors sang "with lel letteres loken".

In his writings Rolle shows his knowledge of the contemporary, secular *cantica* or *cantilena*, probably in both English and Latin, and it is quite unlikely

<sup>7</sup> Cf. edition and commentary prepared by present writer for *Traditio*, Vol. XII (1956).

<sup>8</sup> *English Writings*, p. 64.

that, experimenter in verse as he was, he was not aware of their forms as well. In the *Melos* he speaks of secular love poems when he denies to their composers the power that is given to those who sing of Christ: "Quamquam namque muliercularum amatores cantica carnalis dilectionis blanda ualde et mundanis amabilia componere satagunt, profecto in modum amantium Christum suauius non componunt."<sup>10</sup> The coarse, sensuous popular love song of his day<sup>10</sup> could well have been the object of his disgust when he writes:

Constat quapropter quod captus ad canendum  
In carmine creatori cantilenam non querit,  
Qua quatitur carnalis, qui languet laqueari  
Per lubricam letitiam et laxari a loris,  
Ut lenocinium lambat et in lutum labatur,<sup>11</sup>

whereas the Courtly Love lyrics, picturing the lovelorn, dying singer so popular in his day,<sup>12</sup> could be noticed in the following:

Pauci profecto in hoc [auctoris amore] penetrantur,  
Quod patet, cum clamant communiter cuncti  
Canticum carnale, et multi se mutilant,  
Monstrantes se mori affectibus humanis,  
Mollitie mulieris mox malignati,  
Et morsu amaro cum mortuis commixti.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, he testifies to trampling upon all fleshly song, turning it to the service of Christ:

Sed et cantum carnalium concito calcaui,  
Ad Christum conuertens quod cantabatur,  
Ut currerem constanter ad brauium beatum  
Et ardens apparerem in oculis amati  
Integro amore.  
Etenim audiui in infimo orbe,  
Quod impii errantes immunde amabant  
Et cantilenas quidem de feminis fecerunt,  
Ficte fundati florentes ut fenum.  
Hoc reputaui rursum ruinam,  
Nam quales cum canerent pectus paraui,  
Ut hec non attenderem hac intentione,  
Qua ipsi in canticum impure clamabant.<sup>14</sup>

On his own testimony then, from the *Melos* alone, Rolle heard contemporary love songs and quickly crushed under foot the song of the fleshly, "ad Christum conuertens quod cantabatur." It is not surprising, therefore, that in the English lyric of the *Ego Dormio* he turned to Christ even a verse form that was popular in his day, just as he utilized a Latin measure popular with secular Latin verse writers for his Latin hymn to the Virgin. But it is surprising that he would adapt an English verse form to Latin, as he did in the *Melos*. Of course, this is no great feat in itself, for some measure of success must be demanded also of experimenters in literary forms. In the verse portions of the *Melos* Rolle may well be the first to try this unusual system of versification. Whether he is or not, he seems to be at ease, and, in some instances, he is, to the present writer, more successful than in any of his other endeavors.

<sup>10</sup> S., fol. 1<sup>v</sup>-2.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. Rossel Hope Robbins, (Oxford, 1952) pp. 16-36.

<sup>12</sup> S., fol. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Robbins, pp. 120-226.

<sup>14</sup> S., fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> S., fol. 35<sup>r</sup>.



The *Melos* is probably the most alliterated Latin ever written. Not only in the selections which I have designated as verse does this old device appear, but even in those parts wherein a regular rhythm cannot be perceived it is used quite freely. From the first to the last chapter it meets the eye, rising and falling in quantity, it seems, as the passion of the writer glows and cools. Its use in impassioned Latin writing is not unique with this English writer, for, as Professor Jules Marouzeau has said, it "est fréquente dans les textes latins qui portent la plus la marque romaine; elle y apparaît véritablement comme un procédé national et populaire."<sup>15</sup> He shows that it is found in formulas, sayings, proverbs, prayers, and invocations. He claims further that it is an essential element of the primitive form of Latin poetry, the *carmen*, and of later poetry, especially in the emotional passages. Moreover, he shows that it was in use from the time of the classical writers even in their prose.<sup>16</sup> Cyprian, Prudentius, Augustine, Vergilius Maro, Columbanus, Aldhelm, and John of Hoveden are among the writers who continue the steady flow of alliteration in Latin down to Rolle's own day.<sup>17</sup>

Rolle's own countryman, Aldhelm, seems to be a likely model whom Rolle could imitate with respect to alliteration in Latin. His letters *Ad Leutherium*, *Ad Wihtfridum*, and *Ad Geruntium* exhibit a free use of it, but his *Ad Ehfrid(r)um* is surpassed in this respect perhaps only by the *Melos*. Here there seems to be a conscious attempt at ostentation:

"Primitus pantorum procerum praetorumque pio potissimum paternoque praesertim privilegio panagericum poemataque passim prosatori sub polo promulgantes stridula vocum simphonia et melodiae cantilenaque carmine modulaturi ymnizemus, . . ."<sup>18</sup>

In his verse he seems to be held to a much more moderate use of the figure, as can be seen from a few lines of his *De Virginitate*, which, in passing, carries admonitions quite similar to Rolle's on the subject of feminine vanity:

Lucida stelligeri qui condis culmina caeli  
Necnon telluris formans fundamina verbo,  
Pallida purpureo pingis qui flore virecta . . .<sup>19</sup>

Nearer Rolle's own time John of Hoveden is seen paying careful attention to the same device. Indeed, as Mr. Raby has illustrated in his edition of the poems of Hoveden, Rolle must have been acquainted with, at least, the "Philomena" of this thirteenth century English poet. In this work we find lines like:

Scribe carnem stellatam stillulis  
Instar caeli stellati stellulis.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout Hoveden's *Canticum Amoris* there is constant alliteration as there is in Rolle's poem of the same title. The citation of Aldhelm's and Hoveden's Latin alliteration, despite similarities in theme between their works and Rolle's, is not intended to imply that the latest of the three learned the device from

<sup>15</sup> *Traité de Stylistique Appliquée au Latin* (Paris, 1935), p. 42.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Traité de Stylistique*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Sister Angela Elizabeth Keenan, *Thasci Caecili Cypriani de Habitu Virginitatis* (Washington, 1932), p. 34; Emory B. Lease, *A Syntactic, Stylistic and Metrical Study of Prudentius* (Baltimore, 1895), p. 63; Constantin I. Balmus, *Etude sur le Style de Saint Augustin dans les Confessions et la Cité de Dieu* (Paris, 1930), pp. 277-282; and Sister M. Inez Bogan, *The Vocabulary and Style of the Soliloquies*

and *Dialogues of St. Augustine* (Washington, 1935), pp. 135, 139; *Virgilii Maronis Grammatici Opera*, ed. Iohannes Huemer (Lipsiae, 1886), pp. 77, 120; *Epistolae S. Columbani Abbatis*, P.L. LXXX, col. 283; *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Rudolfus Ehwald, M.G.H., Auct. Antiq. XV, p. xxii.

<sup>18</sup> Ehwald, p. 488.

<sup>19</sup> Ehwald, p. 352.

<sup>20</sup> *Poems of John of Hoveden*, ed. F.J.E. Raby (London, 1939), p. xxv. See pp. xxiv-xxvi for discussion of Rolle's relationship.

them. I cite them merely to show that the tradition existed in England. In fact, it should be noted that Aldhelm and Hoveden, though using alliteration, nevertheless restricted themselves in their verse to rhythms generally found in Medieval Latin. In Rolle's *Melos*, however, he not merely uses alliteration but adapts the rhythm of Middle English Alliterative Verse to form an unusual Latin verse pattern. Though, to my knowledge, no other English writer of Latin verse has done this, yet writers in England did bend Latin to the shape of the English verse they were writing. Such a performance could well have suggested to Rolle the form we are discussing.

The following selection is representative of a type of English verse which Rolle may have known.

Surge mea sponsa, swete in siȝt,  
And se þi sone þou ȝafe souke so scheene;  
Þou schalt abide with þi babe so bright,  
And in my glorie be callide a queene . . .<sup>21</sup>

Here the Latin is made to conform to a native verse pattern, offering no disturbance by its presence in the four-lift line, and alliterated according to the practices of Middle English Alliterative Verse.

By the time this poem was written the combination was centuries old, witness three Anglo-Saxon poems, the *Aldhelm*, *Summons to Prayer*, and the *Phoenix*. The seventeen lines of the incomplete *Aldhelm* are curiously arranged in half-lines, some of which are Anglo-Saxon; some Latin, some containing single Greek words, and some composed of combinations of the languages. Professor Dobbie says that the "poem is unique in Anglo-Saxon literature in having a great number of Latin and Greek words scattered through the text."<sup>22</sup> He believes that "it is probably to be regarded simply as an exercise in metrical and linguistic ingenuity."<sup>23</sup> In his description of the other two poems he says: "The *Summons to Prayer* consists of thirty-one lines written in alternating Anglo-Saxon and Latin half-lines, the first half of each line being in Anglo-Saxon, the second half in Latin. A similar alternation of the two languages is to be found in the concluding lines (ll. 667-677) of the *Phoenix*, in the Exeter Book."<sup>24</sup> In these poems the Latin or Greek words are fitted into the Anglo-Saxon meter in the manner of the following:

þus me gesette	sanctus et iustus
beorn boca gleaw,	bonus auctor,
Ealdelm, aeþele sceop,	etiam fuit
ipselos on æðele	Angolsexna,
byscop on Bretene.	Biblos ic nu sceal,
ponus et pondus	pleno cum sensu . . . <sup>25</sup>

In this poem and in the others, the Latin words are chosen to alliterate with the Anglo-Saxon words. The alliterating syllable of the Latin word is also its accented syllable. With only three exceptions, line 23 of *Summons to Prayer* and lines 13 and 14 of *Aldhelm* containing Latin words whose alliterating syllable is unaccented, it might be said that the author seemed very careful to choose his Latin words wherein alliteration and word accent occurred in the same syllable. Though in the *Melos* the word stress falls not necessarily on the alliterated syllable but only in accord with the principles of penultimate accent, the last quoted line of *Aldhelm* could appear in Rolle's verse without any change

<sup>21</sup> *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (London, 1867), p. 1.  
<sup>22</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (N.Y. 1942), p.xci.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p.xcii.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p.lxxiii.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

whatever in the rhythmic pattern of the line. If, then, the rhythm of the English portions of these Anglo-Saxon poems determined the rhythm of the Latin portions, and if the rhythm of the Latin portions is like that of Rolle's Latin verse, why can we not conclude that the same native rhythm determined the verse pattern used in the *Melos* and should be heard as follows in the opening lines of the *Carmen*?

x x x / x / x x / x x / x  
 O paruulorum pater, qui punis potentes,  
 / x / x x x x / x x / x x  
 Pactum pepigi properare pacifice  
 x / x x x / x  
 Ad panem paradisi.  
 x / x x / x x / xx x / x  
 Tu pastum pretende, ne peream pergendo.  
 / x x / x x / xx x / x  
 Porta pingatur, ut pareat perpure,  
 xx / x x / xx / x x x / x  
 Quia puto quod paries pie perdurabit.

From an examination of the verses of the *Carmen* the following observations appear to be true:

1. Each full line has four stresses falling on the normally accented syllables of the alliterated words.
2. The necessary articulative words usually do not alliterate. When they do alliterate, they may count in the pattern as in line 10, or they may not count as in line 12.
3. Alliteration is not only consonantal, but may be vocalic as in lines 10-15. Words beginning with *h* alliterate with words beginning with a vowel. A voiceless consonant may alliterate with the corresponding voiced consonant as in line 10. The alliteration is by sound, not sight, as in line 25 or 29.
4. Alliteration does not necessarily change with each line, as can be seen in lines 1-5. It may, however, change from half-line to half-line as in lines 59, 61, 63.
5. The root of a word sometimes carries the alliteration as in line 44.
6. Frequently there appears in the course of the normal pattern of four-stress lines an extra segment equivalent to a half-line. It contains two stressed and a varying number of unstressed syllables. In sense it is connected with the preceding or the succeeding lines, often having the nuance of connection which the Adonic in *metrum* has with the preceding Sapphic strophes. Carrying the same rhythm as does the ordinary half-line it presents no difficulty in a transition from and to the normal line. Generally it carries the same alliteration as does the line before or after it, but sometimes it carries its own. Contrast, for instance, lines 3 and 177. Perhaps it should not stand by itself, as I have placed it, but should be considered as part of the preceding or following line. If this latter scheme is followed, then line 3, for example, should be part of line 2, and line 177 part of 178. Thus it would become what to Rolle may have been a form of *Schwellverse* which in Old English was wont to "occur in nearly all long poems."<sup>28</sup>

I have chosen to print these extra units as separate verses, for they are usually rhetorical units, and this fact, coupled with that of their own alliteration as in lines 131, 139, 177, 186, and 245, suggested to me an intent of the author to have them so considered. The effect of these additions in many

<sup>28</sup> Max Kaluza, *A Short History of English* (1911), p. 109.  
*Versification*, trans. A. C. Dunstan (London,

instances may be described as Kaluza describes that of the Old English *Schwellverse*: "In order to express a mood of solemn exaltation the poet interrupts the calm flow of the short alliterative verses and swells the music of his verse by introducing a fuller anacrusis."<sup>27</sup>

7. The verses are generally marked by a caesura.
8. The verses are generally rhetorical as well as metrical units. Though the same alliteration may be sustained for an entire period as in lines 7-10, nevertheless members of periods may carry different alliterative schemes as in lines 46-52. Thus there seems to be an intent to write verse, as the coincidence in the latter instance of alliteration with thought shows.
9. The unstressed syllables seem to admit of no schematic arrangement. In the *Carmen* there are lines having as few as six and as many as eighteen.

Miss Allen has referred to the *Melos* as "that strange tumult of alliterative phrases."<sup>28</sup> In the light of the foregoing observations, I believe that some of its strangeness disappears, making it quite clear that the verse was intended to be read, as I have indicated, in a rhythm clearly allied to the English Alliterative Verse tradition. But when Miss Allen, in another place, refers to the *Melos* as a work "in which the sense is hidden away in rhetoric of the most strained and fantastic variety",<sup>29</sup> any attempts at clarification lead us to the Medieval Latin tradition in which Rolle had been schooled and was widely and deeply read.

## II

When Rolle projected the composition of his *Melos*, he was by no means attempting a very uncommon subject. The joy of the lovers of Christ had been handled before. His *Melos* and other works on ecstasy do not set forth anything really new and, therefore, with regard to subject matter should not need abundant interpretation. His treatment, however, is, naturally, his, and, therefore, if the *Melos* "is almost as difficult to read as it must have been to write,"<sup>30</sup> the difficulty must arise from his manner rather than his matter. His manner has been traced to a "rhetoric of the most strained and fantastic variety." After a close study of the rhetorical aspects of the *Melos*, I believe that Rolle's English works, in verse and prose, show little of the dexterity and sensitivity in literary expression seen in the *Melos*. His years of study in the arts of the *trivium*, both at his grammar school and at Oxford; his wide and deep reading as evidenced in his writings; and, finally, his poetic genius conspire to shape this remarkable writer. It is not my purpose to defend here my opinion of his superiority in Latin, but only to attempt an explanation of a few of the pleasingly difficult characteristics of the *Melos*, which I hope will elucidate somewhat the *Carmen Prosaicum*.

It should be remembered that the usual text of the *Melos* is divided into fifty-eight chapters, thirty-two of which are headed by a scriptural text. Ordinarily a postill on the text forms the chapter or several chapters, and these postills, strung together loosely at times, form the *Melos*.<sup>31</sup> In each postill Rolle employs all the arts of speech known to him which will open up the kernel of the text. We find him disputing in strict form, exhorting in the manner of a preacher, glossing words of the text in exegetical fashion, meditating in the traditional form of a prayer, singing in the manner of a lyric poet.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted from *Engl. Stud.* 23, 381f. in *A Short History*, p. 112.

<sup>28</sup> *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, p. 306.

<sup>29</sup> *English Writings*, p. xxxiv.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

<sup>31</sup> In chapter forty-four can be found a

recognition of the postill form, when Rolle writes: "Reuolue et recole postillam precedentem et inuenies . . ." S., fol. 36. For postills in biblical exegesis cf. B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (N.Y., 1952), p. 316.

This procedure is in perfect accord with the advice of Pope Gregory I that

the expositor of sacred eloquence ought to imitate the course of a river. Indeed, the stream, while it flows in its bed, if it happens on concave valleys along its side, headlong changes the course of its flow into these; and when it has sufficiently filled them, it hastily pours itself again into its bed. Just so, no doubt, ought the expositor of the divine word act, so that, in his discussion, if, perchance, he should find closely associated with it an occasion for suitable edification, he should turn the waves of his speech to the neighboring valley; and when he has flooded sufficiently the field of the connected instruction, he should revert to the bed of his original discourse.<sup>32</sup>

In the *Melos* the flood of Rolle's discourse flows along the "bed" of ecstatic joy, but, happening upon pertinent "concave valleys", it streams into these related topics to entice the reader or listener to forsake the world and embrace the life that leads to heaven. The discourse flows in a style shaped by the author's schooling, reading, and genius and colored, more especially, by the affective nature of his personality. Rolle had been taught the three qualities of style, elegance, composition, and dignity, through analysis and imitation of the *auctores*. In his own writings these qualities achieve charm and grace as his genius and personality turn them from artisanship to art. It is beyond the scope and intent of this paper to make a thorough study of Rolle's style, for only one of these qualities, dignity, is relevant to the difficulty experienced in reading the *Melos*.

In the tradition of Classical rhetoric, Medieval teaching and practice relied for dignity of style upon an effective use of the figures of words and thoughts, for these were considered one of the surest means of avoiding commonplace language and of giving variety to style.<sup>33</sup> The *Melos* is indeed figured. And it is Rolle's figurative language that makes the *Melos* difficult but pleasing, for the figurative language produces an obscurity which, though not the end of his or usually anyone else's speech, is, nevertheless, one of its charms.

Aristotle has said that "the merit of diction is to be clear and not commonplace." But realizing that clarity should not be the sole aim of artistic speech, he adds:

The clearest diction is that made up of ordinary words, but it is commonplace . . . That which employs unfamiliar words is dignified and outside the common usage. By 'unfamiliar' I mean a rare word, a metaphor, a lengthening, and anything beyond the ordinary use. But if a poet writes entirely in such words, the result will be either a riddle or jargon; if made up of metaphors, a riddle and if of rare words, jargon.

We need then a sort of mixture of the unfamiliar and the ordinary, for the one kind will make the diction choice and refined, the rare word, for example, and the metaphor and the 'ornament', whereas the ordinary words give clarity.<sup>34</sup>

The opposition between dignified diction with its concomitant unfamiliarity on the one hand and ordinary diction aiming only at clarity on the other points up the distinction between imaginative expression and scientific delineation. Rolle's prime aim in writing of ecstasy was to excite his readers to love<sup>35</sup> and

<sup>32</sup> *Moralium Libri*, P.L. LXXV, 513.

<sup>33</sup> "Dignitas est, quae reddit ornatam orationem varietate distinguens. Haec in verborum et in sententiarum exornatione(s) dividitur." *Ad Herennium*, ed. Fridericus Marx, in *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae*

*Manserunt Omnia* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 125.

<sup>34</sup> Aristotle, *The Poetics*, trans. W. Hamilton Fyfe (N.Y., 1927), p. 85.

<sup>35</sup> "uniuersos excito ad amorem", *Incendium Amoris*, ed. M. Deanesly, (Manchester, 1915), p. 147. Cf. also pp. 157, 194.

this purpose demands imaginative writing. Moreover, because the writer is moved himself by the taste of divine joy, the language is affective at the same time that it is figured.

Emotion tends to submerge thought, and figured language is used to express primarily the emotional state, to open up to the reader the inner soul of the writer. Surely, in the following short sample can be seen Rolle's purpose of moving by means of his own feeling rather than of instructing. Here, though an event of Christ's life is told, it is clearly Rolle's joyful thanksgiving for the event that becomes the *raison d'être* of the wit, which, to my mind, matches what is so admired by readers of Seventeenth Century English poetry.

Imperator omnipotens ex paupere formam in qua non fuit perfectam  
prendidit. Et inuisibilis uita per uerum hominem assumptum uisibiliter ex  
uentre uirginali ad populos processit. Incunabilis ipse clauditur qui cuncta  
completre cognoscitur. Lumen indeficiens pannis inuoluitur . . . Magnus  
deus in celo, infans humilis in domo. Cum matre inops extitit qui cum  
patre omnia creauit. Fleuit infinita felicitas, et panis perpetuus fame  
affligebatur. Abstinit se ab omnibus qui cuncta continet.<sup>36</sup>

Here the paradoxes of Christianity are expressed in a way that shows the poet's feeling for the inherent ironic contrasts. Meditating upon the life, passion, and death of Christ, Rolle betrays his feelings in figured language that shows the poet, for surely he could not have felt that the bare facts of Christ's life were in need of repetition. The same technique can be seen in the following example of an *Oratio Christi*, remarkable for its poignant ironies of contrast. The Bible, the liturgy, and what passed from the liturgy into the literary tradition find paradox the language of feeling, especially with regard to the passion and resurrection of Christ.<sup>37</sup> The Bible, the *Impropria* sung during the *adoratio crucis* of Good Friday, and the "mortem nostram moriendo destruxit" of Holy Saturday are fused by Rolle's feeling into

O homo, qui es humus, te erigis in altum! En, ego excelsus perforor in  
plagis! Et sponte subii supplicium, quod cernis, pro culpa quam commisisti.  
Nocens sum nemini et turbor tormentis grauissimis. Sed gratis. Nam amor  
quem habeo ad te ab eterno me crucem scandere ne caderes coegit in  
chaos captiuorum. En, ego eternus per tempus terminor, ut tibi eternitas  
tradatur. Uita morior, ut te mortuum uiuificarem . . . Pro te incarnatus;  
pro te sum et natus; pro te crucifixus; pro te baptizatus; exprobat  
iniuriis; illatus opprobriis. Saturatus, captus, ligatus, consputus, uelatus,  
flagellatus, uulneratus, cruci affixus, aceto potatus, et demum immolatus.  
Latus meum apertum est. Cape cor meum. Curre complectere collum.  
Ostendo tibi osculum. Emi te in hereditatem meam. Non sis possessio  
alterius. Redde michi te totum, quia totum me dedi pro te.<sup>38</sup>

In this kind of writing can be heard the weeping of Rolle through the words of Christ. The figured language betrays his sorrow. The contrarieties are pointed, the sentences rise and fall in length as the feeling mounts or subsides. The contrasts of thought are assisted greatly by the contrasting alliteration: "homo humus" vs. "erigis in altum", "ego excelsus" vs. "perforor in plagis", "nocens nemini" vs. "turbor tormentis". The transverse, contrasting alliteration of "Uita morior, ut te mortuum uiuificarem" is word-play that is effective. When the contrasts are at an end, the alliteration becomes more constant, as in "Cape cor meum. Curre complectere collum." To move the reader to gratitude and

<sup>36</sup> S., fol. 23v.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Rosemund Tuve, *A Reading of*

*George Herbert* (Chicago, 1952).  
<sup>38</sup> S., fol. 25.

contrition, Rolle strikes him again and again with Christ's "Pro te". These are remarkably effective and apt figures, and they can hardly be said to make the *Melos* difficult. But throughout the *Melos*, in every portion that rises above the subdued style, "by far the greatest thing is the use of metaphor. That alone cannot be learnt; it is the token of genius."<sup>39</sup>

In a metaphor that Rolle uses constantly in all his works to describe the effects of divine love, namely *canor*, sensuous singing of course is not implied, as he himself says,<sup>40</sup> but rather is he implying the existing relationship between two effects. What divine love produces in the soul of God's lover is analogous to the effect which temporal music produces in man. Heightened feelings stir up such analogies, and their concrete symbols, formerly separated, come together under the stress of emotion and the stroke of genius into a sensuous term which attempts to describe the insensuous. A metaphor is in its final analysis a reasoning process wherein an analogy is perceived between two objects or two phases of two objects, both known to the writer, but one only known to the reader. By use of the analogy the unknown is made known to the reader. The truth of the metaphor will depend upon the truth of the analogy. But just because a metaphor is true, it does not necessarily follow that the reader will always understand. If the supposed known object is unknown to the reader; or if that part of the object which bears the brunt of the comparison is unknown, the analogy will never be perceived, much less will the unknown become known. For this reason rhetoricians have warned against the use of unintelligible images, or those which are highly specialized, the understanding of which is reserved to only a few. Images should not be far-fetched. But what is and what is not highly specialized is difficult to determine. Besides, what is common in one age might be considered highly specialized in another. As a result, the question "What is esoteric in imagery?" seems unanswerable, and yet it is fundamental to our inquiry into the style of the *Melos*, for, in my opinion, the chief cause of the difficult style of the work is Rolle's metaphoric language.

Rolle's metaphors are true but not easily intelligible to us. Perhaps the most difficult ones are those stemming from the Bible. These should not be considered highly specialized in a culture nourished by the Bible, but they are, nevertheless, at the bottom of the truly difficult passages of the *Melos*. Evidently the author's resolve while at Oxford to devote himself to Holy Scripture and not to profane learning was, as can be seen from his Scriptural commentaries and his metaphors in the *Melos*, carried out thoroughly. Images from the Sacred Page seem to have been stored in Rolle's memory, and the heat of his feeling caused them to fuse and flow into song. At times images perceived by two different senses melt into one, producing what modern critics call synaesthesia; while at other times metaphor develops into allegory. Metaphor and its related tropes constitute by far the largest percentage of the figured writing of the *Melos*.

Rolle's use of this figure of genius indicates a real sensitivity in language. For instance, when emphasizing the transiency of corporeal beauty he flashes a telling picture, as does Innocent III in his *De Contemptu Mundi*, of our bodies after death, in images deftly disagreeable: "Cadavera quippe sunt cunctorum, et corpus corruptibile inconuertibiliter corrui in corrosionem uermibus uilissimis uentilatum."<sup>41</sup> The force of "corrui," "corrosionem" in its association with "uermibus", the literal and the transferred value of "uilissimis", and finally, but best of all, the telling force of the periodically placed, lace-like remnant seen in "uentilatum" are signs of true genius. This kind of technique

<sup>39</sup> Aristotle, *The Poetics*, Fyfe, p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> "non humanum sed angelicum", S., fol. 36v. Chapters XLIV and XLV have a full

explanation of the song of the spirit.

<sup>41</sup> S., fol. 16v.

is too regular, too abundant, too natural in the impassioned portions of the *Melos* to have derived only from skillful artisanship. It is the language of a sensitive soul transcribed by a skillful pen.

Rolle's well known *canor*, *calor*, and *dulcor* used to describe the effects of union with God appear in pleasing dexterity when they flow in pairs from his *sensus communis*. *Calor* and *canor* merge in: "Fatigato corpore, cor iam in canore non calet quietum."<sup>42</sup> In another place *dulcor* is pressed into *canor* to describe how his soul "capax consisteret sonori saporis".<sup>43</sup> In the *Carmen* the trilogy may be seen in rapid succession from lines 20-26. Then from lines 26-40 they are repeated, and the image "lumen" is introduced as a climax. As Rolle is lifted aloft, he prays that his life may be love alone while he walks "ad alta ardens auctore". In the next selection the "lumen" figure again appears lighting up his path. Again he is carried to the heights, assured that he feels the "signum salutiferi saporis". The next passage from the *Melos* is a profession of assurance that the great gift comes from God with whose aid he enters "ostium apertum, hauriens ab altis sonum celestem". With line 102 the longest selection taken from the *Melos* begins with the verse "Uulnerata caritate". The passage is a spiritual autobiography showing Rolle's conversion "a carnalibus curis", his joy, his thanksgiving of praise. He disavows any boasting, for his yearning to describe his joy is prompted only by love and the hope that others may be moved to hasten "ad sedes suaves". The "uulneror" image stirs up other images of his warfare against the world, the flesh, and the devil, and the account of his victory he wishes to preach for the benefit of others. The following selection pictures his sorrow changed to joy, expressed again by *canor*. The "lumen" shines, his weeping is over, and *canor* carries the brunt of the ecstatic description. The short final section introduces the *calor* as he hastens to the green pastures "dulcedinem desiderans canoris interni".

Of course metaphors other than those just mentioned appear in almost every line. "Panem paradisi", "porta pingatur", "floreem formosum", "famelicos fauis fouente" of the first ten lines are samples. As the song progresses these may well be repeated, or new ones may take their place. Throughout the *Melos* they form the language of the impassioned portions. At times they may be bent to the exigencies of the verse pattern; at times they may be somewhat allusive and elusive. Their difficulty may be relative as is their pleasure. But we should not lose sight of their aesthetic value when we are agreeably surprised by the delight of a "callida iunctura", or a pleasing sound of a harmony of words, or their very aptness precisely because they are "unfamiliar".

It is difficult to say how much of this imagery is original, how much is indebted to the Vulgate, how much was suggested by some previous writer of the ecstatic vision. Rolle's mystical experience is not essentially different from that of the many writers on the subject who went before him, nor do the descriptions of the experience vary much fundamentally. For as Miss Underhill explains, the majority of the mystics

tend to express a comparatively small number of essential doctrines or fundamental ways of seeing things; and as regards their imagery, these fall into three great classes, representative of the three principal ways in which man's spiritual consciousness reacts to the touch of Reality . . . The first is craving which makes him a pilgrim and wanderer. It is the longing to go out from his normal world in search of a lost home, a "better country" . . . The next is that craving of heart for heart, of the soul for its perfect mate, which makes him a lover. The third is the craving for inward purity and perfection, which makes him an ascetic, and in the last resort a saint.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> S., fol. 3.

<sup>43</sup> S., fol. 27v.

<sup>44</sup> Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism, a Study*

in the *Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (London, 1911), pp. 150, 151.



Symbols connected with the pilgrimage, the betrothal, and the purifying fire are constantly recurring in the *Melos*. Though expressed slightly differently by writers of the mystic state because they are visualized through different temperaments, these symbols are fundamentally alike from St. Augustine to Rolle.

In St. Augustine's *Ennaratio* on Psalm XLI, "As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, O God", appear many of the symbols which seem so characteristically Rolle's. Longing, running, burning, light, and melody are symbols which Rolle uses in his commentary on the same psalm and which appear constantly in the *Melos*. One portion of this *Ennaratio*, describing the music in the Psalmist's soul, shows many similarities:

Et cum ille ambularet in tabernaculo, audito quodam interiore sono, ductus dulcedine, sequens quod sonabat, abstrahens se ab omni strepitu carnis et sanguinis, pervenit usque ad domum Dei . . . De illa eterna et perpetua festivitate sonat nescio quid canorum et dulce auribus cordis; sed si non perstrepat mundus.<sup>45</sup>

"Richard Rolle of Hampole, 'the father of English mysticism', was acutely aware of this music of the soul",<sup>46</sup> as his *canor* image indicates. Moreover, his very choice of the word *melos* for the title of his work which describes the mystical experience shows his reliance on the symbol of song.

To express the language of the soul St. Augustine must resort to translating his experience and action into images which are still current in the fourteenth century:

Quid autem amo, cum te amo? . . . Amo quamdam lucem, et quamdam vocem, et quemdam odorem, et quemdam cibum, et quemdam amplexum, cum amo Deum meum, lucem, vocem, odorem, cibum, amplexum interioris hominis mei . . .<sup>47</sup>

In a later passage of the same work (XI, 11) he describes the kindling of love in his heart when Wisdom's self gleams within him, the phenomenon of Rolle's *calor*:

Quid est illud quod interlucet mihi, et percutit cor meum sine laesione; et inhorresco, et inardesco? Inhorresco in quantum dissimilis ei sum; inardesco in quantum similis ei sum. Sapientia ipsa est, quae interlucet mihi, discindens nubilum meum, quod me rursus cooperit deficientem ab ea, calligine atque aggere poenarum mearum . . .

From writing such as this Rolle could have culled his *canor*, *calor*, and *dulcor*, and there is a temptation to say here that Rolle's reading of Augustine greatly influenced the imagery which he used in the *Melos* to express the joys of contemplation.<sup>48</sup> But in his works Rolle mentioned other writers besides Augustine whose imagery could be claimed as models for that of the hermit.

In an account of the contemplative life, St. Gregory uses the images of light, fire, and sweetness. He tells how the soul "tastes somewhat of the Uncircumscribed Light",<sup>49</sup> and also how "love burns the soul which it fills".<sup>50</sup> Though

<sup>45</sup> *Ennaratio in Psalmum XLI*, P.L., XXXVI, Col. 470.

<sup>46</sup> E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 92. On the preceding page Miss Underhill points out the use of this symbol by Hugh of St. Victor in his *Didascalicon de Studio Legendi* and by St. Francis of Assisi in his *Fioretti*.

<sup>47</sup> *Confessiones*, X, 8, P.L. XXXII, Col. 782-3.

<sup>48</sup> On this see Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism* (N.Y., 1923), p. 33.

<sup>49</sup> *Hom. in Ezechielem*, Lib. II, ii, P.L., LXXVI, Col. 955: "intelligendo et sentiendo de incircumscripto lumine aliquid degustat."

<sup>50</sup> *Moralium*, Lib. VI, 56, P.L., LXXV, Col. 761: "quem implet caritas incendit. Unde et in Evangelio Veritas dicit: Ignem veni mittere in terram (Luc. XII, 49)".

Gregory's figure in "charitas incendit" is very much to the point in our discussion of Rolle's imagery, I think that what could be the origin not only of Gregory's but, perhaps, of all such metaphors is even more important. Biblical exegesis constantly employs figurative language, and here it might well be the occasion for Gregory's image in the first instant, despite the fact that his wording suggests Luke being adduced as a support for the image. In another passage Gregory describes the mind of the elect in terms that seem familiar to Rolle: light, sweetness, and annoyance at the corruptible body.

Ecce enim electorum mens . . . plerumque in dulcedinem desiderio interesse spiritalibus angelorum ministeriis conatur; gustu incircumscripsi luminis pascitur . . . sed quia adhuc corpus quod corrumpitur aggravat animam (Sap. IX, 15), inhaerere diu luci non valet, quam raptim videt.<sup>51</sup>

Figurative language such as this seems necessary to "give utterance to the sweetness and joy which Gregory, like Augustine and Bernard and all the mystics, experienced in his contemplations and unions."<sup>52</sup>

Throughout the *Melos* the imagery of the *Canticle of Canticles* is used to describe the soul's mystic union. Rolle wrote a commentary on the first five half verses of this book of the Bible and postillated verses from it in his *Melos*. Bernard's eighty-six sermons on the *Canticle* carry imagery not very different from that of Augustine and Gregory, but his language seems more affective than theirs. In this respect Rolle is more like Bernard. Hugh of St. Victor,<sup>53</sup> William of St. Thierry,<sup>54</sup> and Bonaventure<sup>55</sup> could also be cited as possible influences on Rolle's imagery. But it seems hazardous to try to trace to any source the symbols of pilgrimage, betrothal, fire, song, light, sweetness, ascent, mountains, and wounds, for all of these seem common property to all who aspire to enter the Holy City. Augustine and Gregory could well have been the source for them all. Yet even these may inherit most of their imagery from Sacred Scripture, and without proof to the contrary it cannot be said that at least some of Rolle's images did not flow from the Sacred Page. Whatever his reading, it alone could not have shaped Rolle's style, for his education, his temperament, his artistic ability are also to be considered.

Rolle's style is a dignified one. Ordinary, clear language appears where anything but the subdued style would be out of place. In the emotional passages, however, both the moderate and the grand styles attract the reader, for in them ordinary language yields to metaphorical language, yielding at the same time, no doubt, somewhat with regard to clarity but gaining on the other hand in feeling. That metaphor is the language of feeling can undoubtedly be seen from the *Melos*; that it is the token of genius can be seen from only the few selections taken from it to form the *Carmen Prosaicum*.

### III.

The text of the *Carmen Prosaicum* as found in MS 396 of the Public Library of Douay comprises six selections from the *Melos Amoris*. The compiler did not attempt to achieve coherence by any alteration of the text of the *Melos*, being prevented from doing so most likely by the exigencies of alliteration and metrics. As a result, the second selection is introduced rather abruptly with a Scriptural text which in the *Melos* serves fittingly as the opening verse of a chapter. The

<sup>51</sup> *Moralium*, Lib. VIII, 50, P.L. LXXV, Col. 832-3. See also *ibid.*, Lib. XXIII, 43, P.L. LXXVI, Col. 277.

<sup>52</sup> Dom Butler, *Western Mysticism*, p. 114.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Hugh's *Soliloquium de Arrha Animae*, P.L., CLXXVI; *De Laude Charitatis*, P.L., CLXXV.

<sup>54</sup> Especially *Epist. Aurea ad Fratres de Monte Dei*, Lib. I, 11, P.L. CLXXXIV, Col. 307-354; also his *De Contemplando Deo*, P.L. CLXXXIV, Col. 365-380.

<sup>55</sup> Especially *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, *Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi ed., 10 vols., 1882-1892, Vol. V, 293-316.

third selection taken from the conclusion of a chapter in the *Melos* is there quite logically begun with "denique", but in the *Carmen* this beginning, probably found necessary for the metrics, does little for the sense. The insertion of "etenim" in line 102, not contained in any of the other texts, seems to be the only attempt at working the pieces into a whole. The addition of the fifth selection is done rather artlessly. "Talem tenorem" in line 207 might be considered loosely related to the "tanto tenore" in line 196 of the preceding section, but its full force is almost entirely lost when it is not specifically read with what immediately precedes it in the *Melos*:

Demum hoc dicet doloribus damnatus,  
Nunc mugiens in mundo, ut magnus magister:  
*Conuersa est in luctum cithara mea*  
*Et organum meum in uocem fletium.*  
Utique iam ego assumptus amori,  
Laudando leuantem me lubricum qui lauit,  
Carmen captiui in cantica conuerto,  
Dono doloris melodie mutato.<sup>56</sup>

In that passage Rolle has asserted that the captive of the world, though presently happy, shall in eternal punishment moan in the words of Job (30, 31), whereas he, already lifted to love, turns the lament into song. By inverting the terms of Job's lament he points up the contrast between his song and the groan of the wicked. When we come, however, to the first line of the fifth selection, line 207, and the remainder of it depending upon the image from Job, we miss a great deal of their force through the omission of the short passage which I have quoted. The transition from the fifth to the sixth selection is not too difficult, if the final sentence is completed as I have given it in the text. But without the added "proficiscor" the participles "intendens" and "preditus" dangle, and we are left with just a fragment whose connection with the five lines immediately preceding is tenuous. This final section consists of only two and one-half lines and is immediately followed by the *explicit* written in what appears to be the same hand. Such action of leaving the sense hanging is difficult to understand especially in view of the "distinguished origin" Miss Allen has found for the manuscript<sup>57</sup> and her conjecture that "since the autograph of Rolle's *Melum* was (at least in the later Middle Ages) at Syon, across the river from Shene, this might be expected to be a good text."<sup>58</sup>

After an examination of the extant manuscripts of the *Melos* I have decided against using the Douay MS as the basis for a text of the *Carmen Prosaicum*. A collation of the manuscripts convinces me that the British Museum Sloane MS 2275 is the most consistently accurate, and I have, therefore, chosen it as the basic text, using the Douay MS merely as a guide to what portions of the *Melos* were selected.

The *Melos* has come to us in twelve manuscripts, two of which, the Cambridge Emmanuel College MS 35 and the Trier Stadtbibliothek MS 685, do not contain the portions selected for the *Carmen*. The Oxford Lincoln College MS 89 lacks those portions of the *Carmen* before line 152. The other nine manuscripts have all the contents of the *Carmen*, and it seemed proper to indicate their variant readings since I have not always adhered strictly to the Sloane text. Where preferred readings of other manuscripts have been adopted, due notice has been given. Notations of obvious scribal errors are omitted except where they are of interest. The spelling of the Sloane MS has been for the most part normalised in the text but that of the other manuscripts has been preserved in the Apparatus.

<sup>56</sup> S., fol. 18<sup>v</sup> - 19.

<sup>57</sup> *Writings*, p. 37.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

The pointing of the MSS has been ignored in favor of modern practices. The arrangement of the text in verse form is that of the present editor.

The *Melos* manuscripts used in this study are:

1. (B) Bodleian 861, fol. 51-81
2. (C) Oxford Corpus Christi College 193, fol. 206<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>v</sup>
3. (D) Douay Public Library 396, fol. 193-95
4. (H) Hereford Cathedral Library O. viii. I, fol. 112-46
5. (J) Cambridge St. John's College 23, fol. 41-161
6. (L) Oxford Lincoln College 89, fol. 1-25<sup>v</sup>
7. (S) British Museum Sloane 2275, fol. 1-52
8. (T) Trinity College, Dublin 159, fol. 1-106
9. (U) Upsala University, Sweden, C.I, fol. 34-80
10. (X) Lincoln Cathedral Library 209, fol. 105-214<sup>v</sup>

S and X are so closely related that in the *Apparatus* they can often be paired together; they are then cited as *a*. When the other eight concur they are cited as *b*. For individual variations each is assigned the letter given in the listing.

The selections appearing in the *Carmen* are found in *S* as follows:

1. Lines 1-75, *S*., Chapter XVI, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>-13
2. Lines 76-85, *S*., Chapter XX, fol. 15
3. Lines 86-101, *S*., Chapter XXIII, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>
4. Lines 102-206, *S*., Chapter XXIV, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>-18
5. Lines 207-240, *S*., Chapter XXV, fol. 19
6. Lines 241-243, *S*., Chapter XXV, fol. 19<sup>v</sup>

My sincere gratitude is owing to the Trustees of the British Museum for permitting me to edit the *Carmen* from their manuscript Sloane 2275. I wish to thank also the Keeper of Manuscripts of the British Museum and those of the other libraries who have freely and generously assisted me with microfilms and photostats of the text and other aids connected with this edition.

## CARMEN PROSAICUM

O paruulorum pater, qui punis potentes,

*S*., 12<sup>v</sup>.

Pactum pepigi properare pacifice

Ad panem paradisi.

Tu pastum pretende, ne peream pergendo.

5 Porta pingatur, ut pareat perpura,

Quia puto quod paries pie perdurabit.

Florem formosum et fructum ferentem

Fecisti felicem, quoniam firmitas fidelis

Fundatur in futurum, ut fine fruatur,

10 Ueluti famelicus fauis fouente.

Animarum amator, aspice electum,

Euidenter se erigens, ut habeat aures,

Que audiant odas ardentis amoris.

Operaris occulta in homine humillimo,

15 Ostium apertum oculis ostendens,

Ut uideat et uolet uia uirtutis

Ad uitam ueracem.

De iure iurauit, ut iudicem gestarem,

Et, ecce, eternus iubilis ingeritur.

20 *Melos* mirabile manet in mente.

1. punes C; patentes H. 4. protende  
BCHJUD; periam BCH. 5. porta purgatur  
T; pariat H; purpure C, pure D. 6. paries  
diu-bit. D. 8. fecisti om. BH; quia-tas T.

10. familiares T; fauus C, famis BHJU. 12.  
erigans BH; habebat C. 14. occulte D. 16.  
uiam J. 20. immanet D.

- Aures auscultant angelicum amoenum.  
 Ac carmen canorum concipitur in corde.  
 Gaudium gusto in gratia grandescens.  
 Consolamen non cupio, nisi quod concepi.
- 25 Concalui continue conditorem querendo  
 Et, calore coactus, curro in cantum.  
 Assumor aspectui, ut epuler in altis  
 Et habeam ordinem orando optimum  
 Cum sono suavi sophie celestis.
- 30 Dulcedo diuina deuastat dolorem.  
 Diligens deducor dulciter in Deum.  
 Deinde delectat debrians, et dulcor  
 Et dicor donatus digna deferre.  
 A diris direptus,
- 35 Non desino desiderare dulcissimum ducem.  
 Interna uruntur incendio amoris,  
 Et ascendens\* in anima obumbror odore  
 Osculum adoptans eterne amice.  
 In hac amorosus animus ardet
- 40 Et anhelat amplecti amplissimo affectu.  
 Agam hoc utique, quia audissime amabo.  
 Nam amplius acceptari non aliquid audiui.  
 Fides facture firmiter fundate  
 Non fallitur forma, et filius affixus
- 45 In fonte futuro faciet fructum.  
 Nimirum nam nobile nuncupo notandum,  
 In magno munimine modulans modestus,  
 Minime mutatus ut mergar in malo,  
 Quod facies feruentior freta fomento
- 50 A fletu et flata fluit ut fluuius,  
 Quatinus in corde cantico captus  
 Fruar feliciter in fine factore.  
 Hinc in hunc modum *factum est*  
*Cor meum sicut cera liquescens.*
- 55 Liquidum licebit non labar in lutum,  
 Lacrimis iam lotus.  
 Libenter laboro in laude letari  
 Ac liquescere in lumen letificans leuatos.  
 Denique deficiens subsisto non solus,
- 60 Sed saluans sustentat ne subito succidar,  
 Semper suspirans deferri ad Deum,  
 Amatam amplexans, cum angelis ordinari  
 Assumptus in alta, ut, postquam pacificus  
 Potens imperio peremptor prauorum
- 65 Percusserit plaga priorum parentum  
 Me moriturum modicum morantem,  
 Uisibiliter ueniam et uideam ueraciter  
 Ueritatem uiuentem, iugiter iubilans

\*S., 13.

25. concalui *CDJTU*, conclauī *BH*, calcaui *a*; querens *T*. 26. canticum *U*. 28. opimum *CDTU*, opimo *BHJ*. 29. ut sono *a*. 32. et om. *T*. 34. diro *J*. 35. dilectissimum *b*. 38. eterni amici *T*. 39. hoc *T*. 41. hoc itaque *C*. 42. non amplius *X*. 43. fundatur *T*, fundator *BH*. 44. nec - tur *T*.  
 48. ne - gar *D*; mergat *J*. 49. quia facies *T*.

50. fletu *BH*, flatu *J*; -tu afflata *D*; fuit ut *T*. 52. fruor *D*. 56. et -mis *CU*; letus *BH*. 59. deinde *D*, deinceps *BCHJU*, deinde ut -ens *T*; non om. *H*. 60. subito om. *U*. 62. ordiar *BCDHJU*; ordinari assumptus om. *T*. 63. altum *J*. 65. prior *D*; peremptum *C*. 66. ne -rum *C*; moraturum *BH*. 67. -iam ut uideam *JT*. 69. dulcissimo *b*, -mi *a*.

- Ac dulciter delectans in desiderio dulcissimo  
 70 Decoris diuini.  
 O spiritus specialis, inspira spiramen.  
 Quemadmodum cupio carnem calcare  
 Et carere cupidine squalore cooperta,  
 Ita et integre animer amori  
 75 Et ambulem ad alta ardens auctore.  
*\*Dulce et delectabile lumen oculis uidere solem,*  
 Scilicet, sempiternum quem cernere suspiro,  
 Quia sequor inseparabiliter semitam sanctorum,  
 Ut subsistens suauiter sedeam in celis  
 80 Sine fine fruendo flore felici.  
 Etenim exaltor in ethera erectus,  
 Ac erumpens, ut orem ordine opimo,  
 Opinor quod habeam ardentem amorem.  
 Immo scio simpliciter,  
 85 Quod sentio signum salutiferi saporis.  
*\*Denique et deus dedit michi donum,*  
 Quo ducar a damno,  
 Deliciis delibutus dignissimi dulcoris.  
 Intrinsicus intentus colligor ad cantum,  
 90 Profluens, ut posteri a maculis mundentur  
 Et munus mercentur,  
 Quod mollit mutatos a mundi merore.  
 Lumen letificans lamentum leuauit.  
 Et letor leuissime in laudibus liquescens,  
 95 Ut loquar luculenter leuiter laborans  
 Et dictem deuotius quam ceteri solabant,  
 More mirando diuisus diuinitus  
 Ab his qui decipiunt, ne dolo deprehendar.  
 Audacter introeo in ostium apertum  
 100 Hauriens ab altis sonum celestem.  
 Utique non omnes hoc habuerunt.  
*\*Uulnerata etenim caritate ego sum,*  
 Siquidem suscipiam singulare solamen.  
 Sed, antequam suspendium suauiter sentiui,  
 105 In lacrimis lauabar sustinens singultum,  
 Eligens affligi ad \*modicum in mundo.  
 Deinde ut deligerem in delectatione dulcissimum dilectum,  
 Facile iam fruor feruore felici  
 Quem prius non noueram nudatus in niue.  
 110 At conditor, cogitans me facere fidelem,  
 Cor a carnalibus curis conuertit.  
 Ac uagum in vitiis timore prosternens  
 Cito solatium a summo sentiui.  
 Glorior in gaudio quod gratis gustauit.  
 115 Tu lauda, qui legis litteras letitie,  
 Christum tam liquide in lucem leuantem  
 Benigneque baiulans a bellis beatos  
 Ad brauium benedictum.

71. O spiritus -lis b, omnipotens -lis a.  
 72. cupio b, om. a. 74. amore auctoris T,  
 amore BHJ. 75. amabilem C; ardens amore  
 T, auctorem BH, -is J. 76. lumen est J;  
 uidere om. T; solem solem CDU. 77. quem

om. b. 78. -tam iustorum T. 80. fine feru-  
 endo J. 81. euectus b. 82. erupiens BH. 86.  
 domum J. 87. ducor D. 89. interius -tus T,  
 intrinsecutus B.  
 90. perfluens C, proferens D. 91. mereantur

- Celum suspiciens subleuor secretis.  
 120 Et rectis reuelo,  
 Quod reprobi repente ruunt a regno.  
 Refectus in requie, que regibus restabit,  
 Per radios relaxor a luso ludente,  
 Ut aliis eructem, dum habito in orbe,  
 125 Quomodo uitabunt uitii uenenum.  
 Saluatori sit salus sic sanctificanti,  
 Qui summos suscepit et sanctum seruauit.  
 Etiam penam punctalem, que pupugit, dum patui,  
 Ut pascere cum pulcris, abstulit a mente,  
 130 Que musicum mellifuum nunc meminit memoriter  
 A celicis sensisse.  
 Predam perfidie in prauis pectoribus  
 Potenter proieci non parcens quin peterem  
 Purissime placere principi perenni.  
 135 Pectus percutiens velociter porrexī  
 Ad pacem perfruendam.  
 Audiuit altissimus, quo ordine orauī,  
 Et amplius adiuuit quam recolo rogasse.  
 Nesciui nimirum,  
 140 Tantum et tot querere in corde  
 Quantum creator dare dignabatur.  
 Magnifica maiestas mirabilis in multis,  
 Pauca petiuimus, que possumus predisse,  
 Et, ecce, infudit in animis interni  
 145 Carismata complentia uenas uitales.  
 Ego intelligens, qui intus inspirat,  
 Operor, ut habeam ardentem amorem.  
 Atque odiui otium omnino,  
 Iterum abiiciens quod horridum omne.  
 150 Utique et hoc oculis ostendo,  
 Quod, quamlibet meipsum extollere apparens,  
 Singuli scitote, superbus non sisto,  
 Nec loquor, ut lauder ad uana uolando;  
 Sed Christi conquirō gloriam gratanter,  
 155 Digne despiciens me miserum in mundo.  
 Effectus sum amator altissimi honoris,  
 Non comprobari cupiens inter carnales  
 Nec capere consolamen a cornibus captiui.  
 Ad finem festino presentis palloris.  
 160 Fauoris falsificantis finibus non flector.  
 Ueritatem uidentibus uolo uenari.  
 Si uultis uiuere, a uitiiis uigilate.  
 Constat quapropter quales crudelis

b. 94. letissime a. 95. et loquar X; leuiter om. BH; laborans ut U; dictem BCDHTU, ducem J, ducar a. 97. modo -do T. 98. his que CDU. 100. alto J. 101. hoc acceperunt D. 102. etenim D. 103. solatium T. 106. ad om. T. 107. ut om. C; cum -one b. 108. iam feruor J. 109. mundatus D. 112. at BCDHU. 116. liquidem BH. 119. suscipiens J; secretus a. 123. ludente a, ledente b. 126. salus b, laus a. 128. etiam penam om. C; punctalem BH, penitentialem J; pepigit CD, pungit a; patui b, potui a. 132. pecoribus CJU.

138. audiuit C; rogassem H. 140. tanta T; in corde om. BHJT. 141. quanta T. 143. petimus X; possumus C; que putauimus prendere potuisse T. 144. infundit D. 145. carismatum T; complentia om. T. 146. ego a, ergo b; que T. 147. ardentem J. 148. odiui om. U. 149. horridum est BCHJTU. 150. et om. BH, etiam J; osculis T. 151. quod om. T; quod quamuis D. 152. L begins with singuli. 154. grantanter T. 155. -ens que -um C. 156. amor X. 157. et non L. 159. finem om. H. 160. et fauoris J; finem fauoris BH; falsificantibus BH;

- Exactor habebit elatos utique ypocritas.  
 165 At omnis humilis etenim in alta ascendet,  
 Et mitis manebit cum milibus modernis,  
 Qui mundant a maculis mentes et manus.  
 Ratio reposuit quod referam regendis:  
 Si superbus inCESSi scelera sustentans,  
 170 Aut sanguinem sitiui cum mollibus me miscens;  
 Si debilem derisi indignans infirmis,  
 Aut pauperi, ut possum, in corde non compatiens;  
 Non detur quem desidero deus tam diu,  
 Nec uirtuosus ueniam ante auctorem,  
 175 Et caream corona quam semper cupiui.  
 Hinc uos aspice quod licite loquebar.  
 Nam cogit me caritas,  
 Que eruit erumnam ab oculis internis,  
 Pauorem expellens a pueris paratis,  
 180 Ut properent potenter ad sedes suaues.  
 Undique exinde sancte suspirans subito me sentio  
 In celicum sonorum sepiissime sublatum.  
 Unde ubique obumbrat omnipotens arris amoris,  
 Et timor tyranni totaliter terminatur.  
 185 Uidetur quod uulneror lancea liuoris  
 In cruce cruenti.  
 Ac mucro magnificus mentem momordit.  
 Et caritatis calor constantiam in corde  
 Cautissime constrinxit.  
 190 Ac cingo solummodo Christum captare,  
 Pessulo deposito ostii aperti,  
 Ut dulciter delecter in deo, quem diligo,  
 Et auide apprehendam ditissimum dilectum,  
 Patrem piissimum percipiens in pace.  
 195 Igitur ad ista ab impiis exceptus,  
 Tympanum tetigi tanto tenore,  
 Et cymbalo insonui cum choro concinnans.  
 Ac mutor in melius  
 Melos mandando ministris in mensa,  
 200 Qui adhuc metuunt de mundo migrare.  
 Si uolunt se uertere a uitii ueneno,  
 In uana uoluntate nequaquam uagare,  
 Et recte relinquere mollitiem mundanam,  
 Percipere quod predico et plane portare,  
 205 Postquam penitentia carnem calcauit,  
 Pectus pinguedine prorsus pascetur.  
 \*Audeo asserere talem tenorem.  
 Conuersus est luctus meus in citharam  
 Et uox flebilis mea in organum.  
 210 Cithara scilicet resonat superna.  
 Modulatio melliflua merorem a mente  
 Funditus fugauit, et fruor iam firmiter  
 Per fortitudinem felici feruore,

\*S., 19.

funibus b. 161. uiuentibus *BHJT*; uenerari *D*. 163. constat quippe -ter *J*; quales om. *J*. -lis *H*. 165. ac b; in om. *X*. 167. mundat *C*. 169. incedi b. 173. ut detur *X*; -tur quomodo *CH*; quam diu *D*. 177. non cogit *HT*. 178. que om. *T*; eruens *T*.

180. a sedes *C*. 183. undique a; in arris b. 187. momordet *U*. 189. construxit *BCHJLTU*. 190. accingor *BDHJTU*, ac cingor *L*, ac fingor *C*. 193. dilectio *C*. 196. tyrannum -gi *H*. 197. ac *L*; cymbalum *JH*; in sonitum *H*. 202. uoluptate *CDHJLT*; uagari *D*.



- Pene percipiens faciem factoris,  
 215 Cum placide deportor in paradysicum pastum.  
 Longe a luctu leuor cum laude,  
 Et lumen letitie letanter me linit,  
 Hauriens ab aula, qua angeli abundant,  
 Altissimi amorem.
- 220 Fletus finitur et facies florescit.  
 Nec fremo cum falsis, quia funus flectitur,  
 Ne feriat fundatum.  
 Et cantus confortans me capit in castrum  
 Iubilantem iugiter in Ihesum gestatum.
- 225 Ac, quamuis in carne claudor casura,  
 Capax consisto melodis mirandi.  
 Et remanet requies in rege non recedens.  
 Itaque et organum arripiens opimum  
 Terror transit et dolor deletur.
- 230 Audio ex altis amantium amenum,  
 Sonans suauiter in auribus almorum,  
 Qui discesserunt a uanis uirorum,  
 Humilem exaltans inter ethereos,  
 Qui canunt clarentes cantum conditori,
- 235 Dum dulcor descendit debrians dilectos.  
 Qui autem non habet ardentem amorem  
 Nec sentit solatium, quod sanctum sustollit  
 Et suscipit simplicem a scelere salire,  
 Prorsus non potest, dum manet in mundo,
- 240 Scire si saluti eterne eligatur.  
 \*Interim interius incendiis intendens, \*S., 19<sup>v</sup>.  
 Funditus finito flumine fallaci,
- 243 Preditus in pascuis\*. Explicit carmen prosaicum Riccardi de Ampulle  
 extractum a quodam tractatu qui dicitur melum.  
 \*The completion of the sentence as found in the *Melos* is as follows:  
 que prauos non pascunt  
 Peregre proficiscor a pena presenti
- 245 Ad ciues supernos,  
 Donec deducar ad domum diuinam  
 Dulcedinem desiderans canoris interni.

205. calcauerit CDJTU, calcauerint BH.  
 206. protinus b. 211. modula J; merore BH.  
 212. fundita a; furor BH; et forma iam U.  
 213. fauore b. 214. pene . . . pastum om. T.  
 216. laudo b. 217. latenter b. 220. flectus C.  
 221. flectitur a, formabatur D, forbauit J.  
 forbauitur BCHTU, om. L. 222. nec -at H.  
 223. conformans D; castra J. 224. in om.

BH; Ihesu J, Jesu T.  
 227. remanet om. U; a rege C. 231. amo-  
 rum BH. 232. que BCHLU; diu -unt b;  
 decesserunt D. 234. canticum BCDHJLT,  
 om. U. 235. debriat U; dilectionis X. 237. non  
 D. 240. obligatur BH 241. internis DHU.  
 242. famine felici D; fallace BCHJLTU. ..

# The Source and Significance of "The Jew and The Pagan"

RUTH M. AMES

IN the course of a study of the relations between the Church and the Synagogue, my interest was aroused by a curious tale about a Jew and a Pagan which appears in a number of mediaeval works, notably in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. On a first reading, this tale may seem to be merely a particularly vicious piece of anti-semitism; and hasty readers are likely to assume that it is a typical product of mediaeval Christianity. Closer inspection of the story itself, of its history, and of the history of religious controversy reveals that the heart of the story is a religious disputation of purely pagan origin.

The story wherever it appears is basically the same. The Jew asserts that according to his "Law", his moral obligations are restricted to those of his own faith, and he is therefore free to rob and murder all others. On the other hand, the Pagan believes in a universal God and loves all men alike. In the ensuing action, each behaves according to the dictates of his religion, and at the end God upholds the pagan doctrine by punishing the Jew and rewarding the Pagan.

The story has not been the subject of much literary comment, but it was glaringly misinterpreted by Thomas Warton in his famous *History of English Poetry*. Warton commented that Gower must have taken "this narrative from some Christian legend, which was feigned, for a religious purpose, at the expense of all probability and propriety."<sup>1</sup> Since Warton did not develop or document his comment, probably all he meant was that it seemed obvious to him that the mediaeval Church was the author of this as well as of so many other outrageous legends. Now it is quite true that the tale is improbable and improper and, the modern reader would add, anti-semitic. But while mediaeval Christians are not to be forgiven lightly for repeating it, they did not invent it. Further, the attack on the ethical law of Judaism, which is the core of the story, was not at all characteristically Christian.

A reader familiar with apologetics might well guess, on the basis of the story alone, that the tale was derived from some tradition other than the Christian. For the point of the story is the defamation not so much of Jews as of Judaic Law, that very Law that was central in Christianity itself. As every mediaeval scholar knows, Mosaic Law was eulogized not only in polemics but in every other play, story, and sermon—even, as we shall see later, in another passage of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. It is true, of course, that contemporary Jews were often abused and attacked. But every Christian child was taught to revere Moses, and the rudest as well as the most polished Christian knew that the ethical law of Judaism was an integral part of his own religion. So far from being a typical product of the mediaeval mind, a tale such as this, articulately directed against the Law universally taught by the Church, appears as a minor phenomenon.

Where, then, did the story come from and what did it signify? Though I have not come upon a single source which would definitely assign the story to the pagans, such a source may exist, buried in some archive in Antioch or Istanbul. I have no doubt that the story was originally a piece of pagan

<sup>1</sup> (London, 1840), II, 241.

propaganda against Judaism. In that propaganda, attacks such as this were commonplace; and they appear nowhere else, certainly not in Christian apologetics. It is less easy to summarize the reasons for the survival of the story in various cults and tongues, for those reasons vary with the tellers. It is safe to say, however, that in all of the redactions, the original religious purpose was forgotten. It would seem, further, that while we take up the story because of the Jew, most mediaeval authors took it up because of the Pagan, largely because of his quite fortuitous association with that very great Pagan, Aristotle.

In almost all of the redactions, the story is introduced by Aristotle, who presumably told it to Alexander. This attribution seems patently false to us, but the Middle Ages did not question the Aristotelian authorship of the larger work in which the story first appeared in the West, the *Secreta Secretorum*. It was usually as part of one or another version of this pseudo-Aristotelian work that the story appeared in England between 1250 and 1450: in Roger Bacon's Latin edition of the *Secreta*, in James Yonge's *Governance of Prynces*, in the unidentified *Governance of Lordschipes*, and in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, part of Book VII being based on the *Secreta*. The story appears also in a quite different context in the *Summa Predicantium* of the 14th century John Bromyard,<sup>2</sup> where it is attributed to Petrus Alphonsus; but as we shall see later, Bromyard was being absent-minded rather than argumentative.

While there is no doubt that the immediate source of the story for Western Europe was the *Secreta Secretorum*, to say that the tale appeared in the *Secreta* is not to say anything very clear about its origin. For the *Secreta* was a composite work to begin with, and its history, part of which throws light on the story, was complex and confusing.<sup>3</sup> The framework, a series of letters purportedly written by Aristotle to Alexander, was sufficiently loose to allow the inclusion of diverse matter. And its publication long after the days of Aristotle was explained by its claim to contain secrets of wisdom not intended for centuries, it was said to have been discovered in the eighth century in Syriac—a translation from the original Greek. Now since the Aristotelian ascription is, to say the least, unlikely, and since the language of the earliest extant form is Arabic, the work was long thought to be entirely an eighth century Moslem invention. But mediaevalists have become increasingly cautious about throwing away so completely the statements of literary authority and indebtedness made in the prefaces of old books. Robert Steele, the learned editor of various versions of the *Secreta*, is quite certain that while the work was, not, to be sure, Aristotelian, or even Greek, it was a compilation from various sources including Greek and Syriac; that it was put together in Syriac

<sup>2</sup> Robert Steele, ed. and trans. *Secretum Secretorum, cum Glossis et Notulis, Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920), V, 239-241 (English trans.). Subsequent references to this work will appear in text as Steele's ed. of Bacon.

James Yonge, *Governance of Prynces*, ed. Robert Steele in *Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* EETS ES No. 74 (1898), pp. 164-167.

*Governance of Lordschipes*, ed. Steele in *Prose Versions of the Secreta*, pp. 104-106. This version follows the original closely and calls for no special discussion.

John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. G. C. Macaulay in *The Complete Works* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1901), Vols. II, III.

John Bromyard, *Summa Predicantium* (Basle, 1487), s.v. "Lex".

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the history of the *Secreta*, see Steele's ed. of Bacon, of the

*Prose Versions* (n.1), and of Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, EETS ES No. 66 (1894). The story of the Jew and the Pagan does not appear in the earliest versions of the *Secreta*. Steele explains that the Arabic text is in two forms, which he calls the "Western" and the "Eastern". The Western, which is much shorter, was translated into Latin by Johannes Hispalensis, a Spanish Christian convert from Judaism, before the middle of the twelfth century, and did not include the story, which appears only in the longer, Eastern form, translated from the Arabic in the thirteenth century by Philip Tripolitanus (or Philip Clericus). (Steele's ed. of Bacon, pp. xlvii, xix.) Late vernacular versions, Lydgate and Burgh's, for example, apparently deliberately omitted the tale without, unfortunately, explaining the omission.

in the eighth century and then translated into Arabic for the edification of some Moslem ruler.

Such a mixture of tongues and cultures was by no means unusual shortly after the Moslem conquest of the near East. Syria, Persia, and Egypt all having been subdued between the years 632 and 656, large numbers of Arabs settled in these lands, and by the eighth century, widespread assimilation was taking place. Motivated by faith or policy, the pagans and many of the Christians and Jews of these countries became Moslem, and then learned the language of the Koran and the conquerors. The Arabs, in turn, were eager for the ancient cultures they were exposed to for the first time. It was frequently under the patronage of the Moslem rulers that the old science, the old philosophy, and the old stories were translated into Arabic.<sup>4</sup> One of these translations, the *Secreta* was a great treasure, valued both for its strange lore and its practical counsel. The famous Emerald Tale of Hermes, for example, which was "probably of Egyptian origin," and had passed through Byzantine channels, appears in its earliest known form in the Arabic text which includes our story. From the Greeks came the detailed regimen of personal hygiene, sound advice which embodied ideas as old as the seventh century B.C. and which was repeated far into the Middle Ages. (Steele's ed. of Bacon, pp. xlvii, xli)

The story of the Jew and the Pagan would seem to have been no more original with the compiler of the *Secreta* than were the directives on health. The very geography of some versions of the tale suggests a pre-Islamic, pagan Persian or Egyptian source. For example, in the version which appears in a tenth century Arabic encyclopedia, the Pagan comes from Kirman, the Jew from Ispahan, apparently countrymen from Persia.<sup>5</sup> In Gower's telling (his source varied in detail from the others)<sup>6</sup> the two meet between Cairo and Babylon, that is, in Egypt. Almost conclusive is the fact that in so many versions the Pagan is specifically a "Mage", the Magi having been an important religious force in Persia for centuries. Nor is there anything in the tale itself to lead us to suspect that the Pagan was a Moslem—or a Christian—in disguise.

Whatever the variations of background and detail, the theological emphasis of the basic story is the same in all of the tellings. Even in the fullest version (substantially the same in the Arabic and in Bacon's Latin edition of the *Secreta*) few words are wasted on description or characterization. We are presented with two travellers through a desert, a "Fire-Worshipper" (or Mage), riding on a mule, and a Jew, on foot; and the two plunge at once into a discussion of the nature of God and the duties of men.

Asked what is his religion and faith, the Jew says: "I believe that there is one God in Heaven and that I am His servant. I seek of Him good for myself and for him who agrees with me in faith. And I believe that it is lawful for me to shed the blood of one who is opposed to me in faith and religion, and to take possession of his property and wife and children. And it is forbidden for me to help, or advise him, or to associate with him, or to have pity or kindness on him." Far different from his companion, the fire-worshipper wishes well to all his fellow-beings. "And I do not wish ill to any creature of God, whether he agrees with me in faith or not". He believes that animals too should be treated with kindness and gentleness. He loves "to see all happy and well." What if he is maltreated or oppressed? Well, he knows that "in

<sup>4</sup> Philip K. Hitti, *The Arabs, A Short History* (Princeton, 1946), pp. 54-60, 84, 98, 100.

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich Dieterici, ed. and trans. *Die Logik und Psychologie in Die Philosophie der Araber im IX und X Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1868), IV, 113-116.

<sup>6</sup> George L. Hamilton, "Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*," MP, IX (1911-12), passim; Allen H. Gilbert, "Notes on the Influence of the *Secretum Secretorum*," *Speculum*, III (1928), 93.

Heaven there is a God who is all-knowing, just, and wise." Nothing is hidden from Him, and He rewards those who do good and punishes evil-doers.

Then says the Jew: "Why dost thou not follow thy religion and act according to thy belief? . . . I am thy fellow-being, and thou seest that I am walking on foot, naked, tired, and hungry, while thou art riding and art satisfied and prosperous." Agreeing at once, the fire-worshipper dismounts, feeds the Jew and mounts him on his mule. With equal promptness, the Jew gallops away. When the fire-worshipper cries after him for mercy, saying that wild beasts will devour him or that he will die of hunger in the desert, the Jew calls out in reply: "Did I not inform thee of my creed, and didst thou not inform me of thine? As thou hast acted according to thy faith, I must act according to mine."

Despairing of the Jew, the "Mage remembered the concluding part of his doctrine," and raising his head to heaven, reminds God that he has praised Him and been faithful. "Therefore, O Lord, prove these attributes of thine to the Jew." Going a little further, he finds that the mule has thrown the Jew, whose neck and leg have been broken in the fall. When the Mage in turn begins to leave the Jew, the latter cries out, "O Mage, I deserve now thy pity even more, as I am lying on the ground and am at the point of death. Therefore have compassion on me and carry out the injunctions of thy creed, even as thy creed has helped thee in punishing me. Verily I had committed no sin, as I had only acted upon my creed and that which had been taught to me by my parents and teachers." Whereupon the consistent Mage lifted him up on the mule and took him to his relatives in the city where he died after a few days. The king of that country, hearing of the deed, made the Mage his companion and friend and "Wazir" of the court.

Now this may be a vicious tale, but it is not a stupid one; indeed, Warton's objection to its "improbability" seems rather naive. It is not that the author attempted realism—a probable plot and characters—and failed. The behavior of the two figures is improbable because it is logical, deliberately so: each first states his theories and then carries them through to their logical conclusions, pointing to the inevitability of each step. No characterization is attempted, and indeed the appellations "Jew" and "Pagan" might be interchanged without confusing anything but the propaganda. In other words, the Jew and the Pagan are puppets, through whose arbitrary words and actions the manipulator audaciously dramatized the conflict between the two religions from the pagan view.

Does it not seem less rash to surmise that this Jew and Pagan were conceived according to the pagan rather than according to the Christian tradition? As was suggested earlier, a bolder guess in the same direction would be that the "Mage" of the earliest versions was intended literally to be a Mage. The Persian Magi, after all, were bitterly opposed to the religion of the Jews after as well as before the beginning of the Christian era. There had been a number of Magian "reforms", and it is just possible that this story grew out of one of them, as an expression of the superiority to Judaism of what sounds, in fact, like a most high-minded philosophy. Whatever the "sect" of this particular author, similar ideological attacks were commonplace for centuries as part of the defence of paganism against both Christianity and Judaism. Further, as is abundantly clear from the writings of the Church Fathers, the whole interlocked argument (Pagan-Jewish, Pagan-Christian, Christian-Jewish) makes a pagan origin of the story highly probable, a Christian origin virtually impossible.

For the Christians never charged the Jews or Judaism with an unethical code. On the contrary, the great boast of the Christians in the early centuries was that through Christianity the Gentiles had been brought from the horrors and

obscenities of pagan religions to the pure worship of the God of Israel. Philosophy had not accomplished, or even attempted, any general moral reform, the Christians pointed out to pagan apologists. And to the Jews they pointed to the changed morality of the Gentiles as proof that Jesus was the Messiah, for it was prophesied of the Messiah that he would bring the Gentiles out of the darkness of idolatry into the light of the one God. The Jews questioned the fulfillment of the prophecy because the Christians did not practice the ritual as well as the moral law. But the pagans (whatever their other differences, they were united in this) frequently lumped Jews and Christians together, and even accused Gentile Christians of disloyalty because they preferred the laws and customs of the Jews to those of their own ancestors. Since at the very least it was apparent that Christianity took its origin from Judaism, pagans whose principal target was Christianity often attacked the mother religion first. The Christians, in turn, defended Judaism—and recorded the whole argument.

While any number of works of many centuries (e.g. those of Justin Martyr, St. Augustine, Eusebius) would serve to give a general idea of the pagan attitude towards Judaism and Christianity, Origen's *Against Celsus*<sup>7</sup> gives all the specific details. For in answering the *True Discourse* of Celsus, a second century apologist for paganism, Origen painstakingly quoted each argument of his opponent, thereby preserving a work which is no longer extant, but which was famous in its own time and which served for centuries as a storehouse of arguments against both Christians and Jews.

To compare the *True Discourse* with the story of the Jew and the Pagan is rather like comparing a whale with a herring. Still, these two smell enough alike for us to suspect that they once swam in the same waters—perhaps a stream near Antioch, where so many big and little fish came to spawn, where, for instance, Origen journeyed in the third century, and where in the thirteenth century, Philip Tripolitanus (or Philip Clericus) found the manuscript of the *Secreta* which includes our story. (Steele's ed. Bacon, p. xx) I am not, of course, suggesting Celsus as a source; the two are similar simply because the propaganda behind both was the same.

The most striking parallel between tract and tale is the preoccupation of both with the "laws" of various nations, that is, with what is now called comparative religion. Celsus holds that all laws and religions are a matter of custom, that there is no absolute right or wrong. He concedes, therefore, that Jews, poor things, are not to be blamed for following their laws, enacted in keeping with the customs of their country. (V. xli) The ethical debate in the story is quite in keeping with this theoretic tolerance. The Jew says he is not to be blamed for doing as did his ancestors, and the pagan accepts the theory even after it has almost cost him his life.

But this relative morality holds only up to a point, the point being not Jews, but Judaism. For the real target of both philosopher and storyteller is not the individual but the doctrine. Forgetting that one religion is as good as another, Celsus frequently and specifically condemns Judaism. Origen complains that Celsus can find good in every other religion while he "casts a slight" only on the law of the Jews. (I. xiv) Why, Celsus calls even the Magi "divinely inspired", and this, fulminates Origen, in spite of the fact that from the Magi "the art of magic derived its name and has been transmitted to the nations to the corruption and destruction of those who employ it." (VI. lxxx) It is hardly necessary to labor the comparable point of the story, in which

<sup>7</sup> Origen, *Contra Celsum*, trans. Frederick Crombie in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (Edinburgh, 1869, 1872), Vols. X, XXIII.

Subsequent references are noted in the text.

God Himself shows his disapproval of the religion of the Jews, and vindicates that of the Magi.

And what is this Jewish religion? Celsus goes so far as to say that the God of the Jews and the Christians "does the most shameless deeds" and in fact, that "He favours the commission of evil." (VII. xiii) Moses, the great "Lawgiver" to Origen, is repeatedly called by Celsus a "deceiver", who instructed the Jews in sorcery and led them away in the false belief that God favored them above all other nations. (I. xvii, xxvi) Here are both the Egyptian interpretation of history and the general pagan anger at the exclusiveness and "conceit" of the Jews. Here too is the echo of the Jew of the story whose God takes care of him and his, and of them alone.

Most interesting for its possible bearing on the story is a passage in which Celsus is not attacking the Jews, but acting as their spokesman—against the Christians. Now Celsus assumed the rôle of a Jew in a whole section of his work, the better, as he said, to attack Jewish converts to Christianity; and this section of Origen's answer sounds for the most part like the numerous "Debates" between Christians and Jews, Celsus posing as *Judaeus*, Origen as *Christianus*.

In those debates, the disputants agreed to argue exclusively out of the Old Testament, primarily because the Jews recognized no other authority. For their part, the Christians were satisfied with the terms of the argument, for they were confident that the truth of their doctrine could be proved out of the Old Testament, their basic argument to the Jews being the concordance of the two Testaments, the unity of Abraham and Moses and Jesus.

In the passage that concerns us here, the point at issue is Mosaic Law. Celsus, speaking as the typical Jew, accuses Jesus of abrogating the Law; Origen, as the typical Christian, asserts that Jesus did not abrogate, but rather fulfilled the Law. Both sides cite traditional "proofs", that is, Old Testament passages which presumably proved their points. But in one of his proofs, Celsus sounds more like the Jew of the story than like the usual Jewish debater. He says that while Moses and the prophets told the Jews "to gather wealth, to extend their dominions, to fill the earth, to put their enemies of every age to the sword, and to destroy them utterly," Jesus taught his followers to turn the other cheek. (VII. xviii)

This contrasting of Jewish and Christian ethics appears but rarely in Jewish-Christian apologetics. In ninety-nine out of a hundred debates, the argument over the interpretation of the Law concerns ritual alone; ethics are mentioned only in connection with the Christian claim to have fulfilled the prophecies foretelling the conversion of the Gentiles to the righteous God of Israel, and in this discussion the acceptance of a common morality is considered self-evident by both sides. Further, it is doubtful that among themselves Jews were given to stressing the least attractive portions of Scripture to prove they were different from Christians. There is just enough defence of those portions, however, to suggest the possibility that it gave a handle to the pagans—perhaps to the author of our story as well as to Celsus. Origen's answer, typical of *Christianus* of the Judaic-Christian debate, shows why no Christian propagandist would have attacked the Law in the manner of the story. Totally rejecting the possibility of difference between the two Testaments, he cites among other texts *Lamentations* III. 27, 29, 30, "He giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him," to prove that there is "no discrepancy . . . between the God of the Gospel and the God of the law, even when we take literally the precept regarding the blow on the face. (VII. xxv)

Nor was there any fundamental change in the basic argument in the Middle Ages. Even when the unusual point is made, it appears in the mouth of a

Jewish, not a Christian apologist, and is met by the usual Christian answer. There was, for example, a mediaeval Rabbi who argued that Christian ethics were unjewish.<sup>8</sup> He attacked the Sermon on the Mount by saying that in it Jesus destroyed the law in morals, albeit Christians affirm the contrary. For example, he said, the commands of Jesus to love one's enemies and not to insist on an eye for an eye are contrary to the specific word of Scripture and of God's command to destroy the Canaanites. In his reply, fourteenth century Nicolas de Lyra, like third century Origen, quoted passages from the prophets against revenge to prove that the injunction of Jesus did not depart from Scripture.<sup>9</sup>

While the views of Celsus and of the Rabbi were probably not much known beyond university circles, the Christian defence of the Old Testament and the Church's claim to be the fulfillment of the Synagogue were taught everywhere. The basic doctrine of the Church in the Middle Ages as well as in the Patristic period was that Christ had not given a new law but had simply illuminated and incarnated the law of love which is plainly stated in the Old Testament, in, for example, *Leviticus* XIX. 18. Further, Christ did not abrogate the ritual law but fulfilled it, by his own sacrifice and example. Even more than in the early Church, the mediaeval Church stressed the Jewish origin of the sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, for instance, being considered to be but the continuation, in more spiritual form, of the Synagogue's "sacraments" of Circumcision and the Passover. And everybody must have known and understood the doctrine, for it was preached from stage as well as pulpit and was carved into the very stones of the cathedrals. It is unfortunately true that Jews were hated and hunted in the Middle Ages; but the ethical law of Judaism was revered even by the ignorant.

What, then, were mediaeval Christians doing with this pagan attack on the Law? Assuming that they were sufficiently anti-semitic to accept the villainous conduct of the Jew, they should at least have been puzzled by the description of Judaism which they blithely repeated. We know they knew better; as we shall see in a moment, both Gower and Bromeprad praised the Law in the ordinary manner in the very same works in which they told the extraordinary story. Apparently in such matters knowledge is not enough, and clearly their hearts did not bleed easily for Jews. On the other hand, it is not necessary to assume that the individuals who told the story were Jew-haters

<sup>8</sup> The same point is made by a contemporary Jew, apparently arguing against other Jews, in an article curiously interesting here because it cites an old story of two travellers through a desert. Writing on "Jewish and Christian Ethics," *Commentary*, V (April, 1948), 362-368, Ahad Ha'am attempts to prove that Jewish and Christian ethics are not and never have been the same. As proof of his point, he recounts what he calls an ancient and well-known "B'raita":

Suppose two men journeying through the desert, only one of whom has a bottle of water. If both of them drink, they will both die; if one of them only drinks, he will reach safety. Ben P'tura held that it was better that both should drink and die, than that one should witness the death of his comrade. But Akiba refuted this view by citing the scriptural verse: "and thy brother shall live with thee." With thee—that is to say, thine own life comes before thy neighbour's.

Ha'am concludes that while we do not know who Ben P'tura was, we do know

Akiba, "and we may be sure that his is the authentic voice of Judaism."

<sup>9</sup> Nicolas de Lyra, *Biblia Sacra* (Lyons, 1545), VI, 282, 283. It is worth noting, by the way, that in one famous literary debate, Abelard's *Dialogue between a Philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian*, belittling of the Old Testament in the vein of Celsus is attributed to the Philosopher, to whom it logically and historically belongs. Here the Philosopher attacks the Law on the ground that under it strangers are not treated equally with Jews. To prove his point, he quotes embarrassing passages from Scripture (Deut. XV. 1-3, 20; XXIII. 19; Levit. XVII. 15) in which, for example, Jews are counselled not to eat animals that die but to give or sell them to strangers. The Jew and the Christian differ on their interpretations of ritual and prophecy, but they stand together against the Pagan in their defence of the Old Testament, as they did in the usual Jewish-Christian debate, mediaeval as well as Patristic. *Dialogue entre un Philosophe, un Juif, et un Chrétien*, tr. Maurice Gandillac in *Oeuvres Choisies* (Paris, 1945).



who would have acquiesced in a massacre. As a matter of fact, there was no Jewish settlement, and no practical Jewish problem in fourteenth century England. Furthermore, it is clear from the contexts in which the story appears that it was told without any reference to contemporary Jews, resemblances to real persons being, in fact, to Christians.

Actually, the story had lost its original religious purpose before it reached the Christians, and had already been made contemporary by both Moslems and Jews. Diverse as are these interpretations, they are closer in spirit to each other than to the original story; all are concerned more with some practical matter, political or moral, than with an abstract argument over doctrine. And all are quite careless about the requirements of a well-made story. Different in faith but alike in technique, these editors apparently adapted the parts of their source that interested them, and copied the rest without troubling about unity or congruity.

For example, in the Arabic version that we have looked at, the introduction and conclusion are clearly links fastening an old story to the new framework of the *Secreta*. "O Alexander," writes Aristotle by way of preface, "do not consult in thy actions anyone who is not a true believer and has no faith in God. Take care that the same thing may not happen to thee which happened to two men who were going together on the way." Now this practical advice is consistent with the general tone of the *Secreta*, but not with the highly abstract tale which it introduces, in which the Mage is praised for *not* "taking care". In fact, the advice could be derived more easily from the speech of the tribal Jew than from that of the universalistic Mage.

At the end, Aristotle concludes: See "how God rewarded the Mage for his good faith and sincerity, and how He punished the Jew on account of his evil-mindedness and wickedness. Verily God compensates everyone according to his faith and action, either in this world or in the next, and verily He does what He wills." Like the introduction, the conclusion ignores the essential religious argument of the story. It would seem that the Moslem compiler of the *Secreta* shifted the emphasis from the theories of the disputants to their practice, probably because the relative merits of the creeds discussed had become a dead issue, while a more general morality of crime and punishment was timely even under Islam.

Later editors of the *Secreta* similarly took what liberties they pleased, and while it is not always clear what pleased them, some of the modifications tell us what the story did or did not mean to them.

Why the story was expurgated from the Hebrew *Secreta* is, of course, clear. It is also apparent that the editor of some of the MSS took the advice given at the beginning of the tale as a point of departure for his own theories. The advice he substitutes, however, presents a new puzzle. "I command and warn thee," writes this Aristotle, "not to choose as Wāzīr a blue-eyed man, especially if he is ruddy." Why not? "Excessive ruddiness together with blue eyes" is a sign of vileness and deceit and treachery and envy. (Steele's ed. of Bacon, p. 239 n.) Is it possible that the Hebrew translator was attacking a personal enemy who happened to have blue eyes?

If the Christians had been as offended as the Jews, they too would have omitted the story. Many of them did so (although there is no telling why) and the story is not included in the most complete English version, Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, nor does it appear in every edition of the *Confessio*.

But it does appear in the most amazing contexts, perhaps the most amazing being John Bromyard's *Summa Predicantium*. It has been assumed by a fine scholar that Bromyard, a fourteenth century Dominican, was a missionary to

English Jews.<sup>10</sup> There were no Jews in fourteenth century England, but the mistake is understandable, for Bromyard's work is in the style of the mediaeval Christian missionaries. Not only is his *Summa* filled with admiration for the Law and the Prophets, but even his sermons, which must have been directed to Christians, often include stock arguments against the Jews and even direct appeals to them to hearken to the Christian interpretation of the Scriptures.

It is, startlingly enough, in the midst of a discourse which takes for granted the Judaic origin of Christianity that Bromyard tells the story of the Jew and the Pagan. When he reaches "Lex" in his alphabetically arranged *Summa*, he thinks first of the greatest lawgiver, Moses. For the most part he discusses his subject in the conventional Patristic and mediaeval manner: the difference between the Law of Moses and that of Christ, he says, is not the difference between bad and good but that between the shadow of light and light itself. Besides Mosaic Law, Bromyard also describes the natural law given to all men, and perhaps this was what reminded him of the good Pagan and the bad Jew. At least, one of his points is that the Gentiles (in his version the Pagan is called simply a "Gentile") who had only natural law were nonetheless capable of performing works pleasing to God. One thing leading to another, he then recalls that while the Jews rejected Christ, the Gentiles accepted him. With this last point, Bromyard has come closer than the other tellers of the story to the contemporary debate between the Church and the Synagogue, for in that debate the Christian cited Scripture to prove that the prophets had foretold the Jewish rejection of their own Messiah. But he has not come very close, for the argument was strictly according to the Book, and no Christian debater ever attacked the Law as does the Jew of the fable. Indeed, nowhere is the discrepancy in traditions clearer than in the very confusion of the whole passage in the *Summa*. Writing in his own person as a Christian preacher, Bromyard praises the Law of righteousness and mercy revealed to Moses; in the pagan story he recounts, the same Law is indicted as one by which Jews may murder non-Jews.

How explain Bromyard's peculiar mixture? My guess is that the friar nodded, and garbled half-recollections and sources. He attributes the tale to Petrus Alphonsus who, as far as I know, had nothing to do with it. But again, there is a vague relationship of religions and nationalities and languages. The Spanish Petrus, famous for the *Disciplina Clericalis*, knew both Arabic and Hebrew. Further, he was a converted Jew who, in his attempt to bring other Jews to Christianity, drew frequently on Talmudic stories, many of which have an oriental flavor, some even a desert background. In any event, Bromyard probably felt that a story told, as he thought, by a Jewish convert about a Jew must be suitable.

While Bromyard's reason for telling the story can only be conjectured, James Yonge's is amusingly clear. Yonge was the proverbial Englishman in Ireland, ready with a modest proposal for the solution of the Hibernian problem, his sounding more like Spenser's than Swift's. Directed to the English deputy in Ireland in 1422, his whole prose translation of a French translation of the *Secreta* is interspersed with timely counsels. The story of the Jew and the Pagan, for instance, served as an exemplum to illustrate his advice that a prince should not trust his enemy. The obvious moral of the story not being to his taste, he drew his own without troubling to modify the story accordingly.

He makes his point in a brief introduction by citing two great authorities. St. Bernard says "'Debilis inimici non est Pax, Sed ad tempus treuga,' that is to Say, 'The febilnes of the enemy nys not a pees, but a truse for the tyme.'"

<sup>10</sup> G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Mediaeval England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1926), p. 70 n.

And Solomor says, "Tryste thou never to thyn enemy.' And touchynge this matiere y fynde write in this maner." The story follows in the manner found by Yonge in his source until he sees fit to interpret. After the Jew has been thrown by the mule and found by the "Philosopher", the Jew says (as in most of the versions): Reprove me not, for I told you such was my Law in which I was nourished and in which all my ancestors and relatives continue. "Therefore," noble lord, interjects Yonge, consider that none of your enemies' ancestors were true to you or your father, except when you were stronger than they. Witness "arthure Mcmirñg was no longyr trewe ne pees helde, than youre fadyr lyvet, for al the grete othis that he Sware." In other words, the Irish are like the Jew, and must not be trusted. Without benefit of transition, Yonge then concludes the story by faithfully following his source, in which the Philosopher is rewarded by the king for his "Piteouse worke and for the bounte of his lawe." Clearly a great deal more can be inferred about Yonge's attitude towards the Irish than towards the Jews—or the pagans.

Similarly, from John Gower's telling in Book VII of the *Confessio*, we learn more about the poet's politics than about his attitude towards the Jews. His point, reiterated in his introduction and conclusion to the story, is that mercy is greater than justice. It was, he says, because of the virtue of pity that the King of Kings sent his Son to earth. And it was in order "to do pite support and grace" that the Philosopher (Aristotle) told a "tale of gret essample" of a Jew and a Pagan.

The pagan traveller loves all men, poor and rich; he is glad when they are glad and sorry when they are bestead. The Jew says:

I am a Jew, and by mi lawe  
I schal to noman be felawe  
To kepe him trowthe in word ne dede,  
Bot if he be withoute drede  
A verrai Jew riht as am I:  
For alles I mai trewely  
Bereve him bothe lif and good. (ll. 3239 ff.)

The day was hot, the sun burned; the Pagan rode upon an ass, the Jew went upon his feet, until he was weary. O Pagan, he says, if you mean your Law, you will let me ride a mile or two. The Pagan walks, the Jew goes aloft, until the Pagan can walk no more and begs the Jew for a ride. No, he says, you by your Law, I by mine. You did right to help me, as you are bound by your Law. According to the laws of Jewry, I shall now ride off with your ass and goods. The Pagan, knowing no other way, kneels and prays to the Lord of righteousness for mercy. Soon he finds the Jew dead, strangled by a lion who considerably left the ass and goods. So, concludes Gower, the piteous deserve and receive pity. Pity is the root whereof all the virtues spring in any land, and lack of pity is cause of adversity. As Aristotle says, pity and charity are comrades as they that keep one law.

Is moral Gower espousing Hellenism in preference to Hebraism? Certainly in no way that would please Matthew Arnold. The whole section of the poem is rather an example of the mediaeval manner of, if I may say so, Hebraising Hellenism, of finding Christian ethics, not culture, among the Greeks. What Gower really does is to turn Aristotle into a prophet of righteousness, a preacher of morality rather like Moses himself. Moses is, in fact, mentioned in this same Book VII, the principal subject of which is Justice, as one of the first Lawgivers; and although the extended discussion is of the great pagans, there is certainly no suggestion that the Law of Moses was evil.

Any doubt that might exist on the subject of Gower's attitude towards

Judaism is dispelled in Book V of the *Confessio*, in which Gower describes various pre-Christian religions. Here he quite conventionally describes the horrible idolatries and immoralities of the pagans, and follows with praise of the belief of the Jews. (ll. 1591 ff.) For, he says, God Himself chose the Jews. While all the world worshipped foul idols, Abraham alone found out the right way, how men should obey only the high God. The patriarch forbade idolatry to his lineage, and offered sacrifice to God with all heart's love. So it was that at that time began on earth the sect which was the best conceived of righteousness. God, wanting to win a people unto His own faith, "laid the ground" on Abraham. Then He gave the Law to Moses, and it was a good Law which stood long, governed by the prophets. It was in spite of the good Law and the prophets that the people rejected Christ and were in turn rejected by God and dispersed throughout the world.

Certainly Gower reveals no special interest in the Jews, who were not, as was pointed out earlier, a subject of practical concern in fourteenth century England. But his discussion of their "Law" is orthodox enough, and he is certainly far from implying that freedom to kill non-Jews is an article of Jewish faith. It would seem that in the story of the Jew and the Pagan, Gower simply kept the Jew as he found him, probably without a thought. His mind was on the philosopher, whom he used as his mouthpiece to advise the King of England to practice the virtue of mercy in domestic and foreign affairs.

Repetition of the tale can mean only that men took it to their bosoms and business. But it is as unlikely that they meant thereby to portray their concept of Judaism as that they were deliberately promoting paganism. They were, it is true, promoting Aristotle, but an Aristotle who conformed to their own ends. In a manner both eclectic and narrow, they worshipped Aristotle the other side of idolatry, but at the same time, they judaised him. Indeed, the similarity of Jewish, Moslem, and Christian sentiment towards the great Pagan can probably be explained by the basic Judaism of all three religions. In the dedication to the *Secreta* of the Moslem author, closely copied by both Jewish and Christian editors, God is said to have sent an angel to Aristotle to tell him that he would be known to the world more as angel than as man. And after his death, it is said, the philosopher mounted up to heaven in the likeness of a dove of fire or a column of glory. Adding a characteristic touch, the Hebrew says that "many of the sages hold him [Aristotle] as of the number of the prophets, although he has not been sent (with a Message) to the nation and had not been a Lawgiver."<sup>11</sup>

Like Aristotle himself, the story was "moralized" according to the taste of the redactors. The pattern is substantially the same in all of the versions: introductions and conclusions vary, story and characters remain static. It would seem that while the moral deduced reflects the personal view of the authors, the Jew's picture of Judaism was a survival from a source book. Apparently oblivious of the anti-semitic implications which are so glaring to us, it did not occur to mediaeval Englishmen to part with a story told, as they thought, by the great Aristotle, and still pertinent as an exemplum in the mediaeval mirrors for magistrates.

<sup>11</sup> M. Gaster, "The Hebrew Version of the *Secretum Secretorum*," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1908), 112.

# "Similitudes" in the Writing of Saint Gertrude Of Helfta

SISTER MARY JEREMY

THE only German woman whom later ages call "the Great", S. Gertrude, thirteenth-century Cistercian nun of the important convent of Helfta in Saxony, owes her high reputation to her writings. Unlike some other saints of the Middle Ages, she has not attracted an accumulation of legendary or artistic memorials. The very place of her burial is unknown. Yet from her own day to the present, she has been studied and quoted by writers on mysticism.<sup>1</sup>

Important in the history of mediaeval religious thought, the writings of S. Gertrude are valuable also as records of the customs, occupations, and human ideals of her day. This aspect of her work has not been noted by those whose primary interest is in the literature of mysticism. It is my purpose to show how through the rhetorical figure which she calls "the similitude", the nun of Helfta gives a considerable amount of information about daily life inside and outside the cloister.

Gertrude was born in Thuringia in 1256. Nothing is known of her family; the statement that she was a countess is based on a mistaken identification with her abbess, Gertrude von Hackeborn. From various passages in her writings it is surmised that she was an orphan. At the age of five she was brought to the monastery of Helfta, a center of high spirituality and of the liberal arts, where she spent the rest of her life, distinguishing herself by her mastery of literature and rhetoric. After a mystical experience in 1281 she was, according to her own account "liberated from an inordinate love of literature" and thereafter devoted herself to teaching and counseling by translating, composing poems, prayers and meditations, and also by explaining the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers. She died in 1301 or 1302, about forty-five years of age.<sup>2</sup>

The community at Helfta included at least two persons named Gertrude, and at least three named Mechtild. Gertrude von Hackeborn, the abbess already mentioned, was of noble ancestry. Gertrude, the subject of this study, has no recorded surname; this fact may indicate that she was not a member of a distinguished family. S. Mechtild von Hackeborn, sister of the abbess, was chantress of the community; she was the intimate friend of S. Gertrude, but not her sister, as some of the older lives of the two saints mistakenly assume. Another Mechtild, surnamed "von Magdeburg", entered the community at an advanced age, having lived as a Beguine. She is the author of a mystical work, *Das Fliessende Licht der Gottheit*.<sup>3</sup> The third Mechtild, surnamed "von Wippra", was evidently the *meisterin* of the school at Helfta.<sup>4</sup>

The Abbess Gertrude attached great importance to the study of the Scriptures and also of classical authors. Some of the community copied and illuminated manuscripts. In addition to these intellectual and artistic labors, all the nuns undertook such tasks as spinning and the ordinary duties of a household, the

<sup>1</sup> Félix Vernet, *La Spiritualité Médiévale* (Paris, 1928) *passim*. Pierre Pourrat, *La Spiritualité Chrétienne II. Le Moyen Age* (Paris, 1946) 126 ff. Columba Marmion, *Christ in His Mysteries* (St. Louis, 1939) p. 321. John G. Arinterro, *The Mystical Evolution in the Development and Vitality of the Church*, trans. Jordan Aumann (St. Louis, 1949) I, 70, n. 13; I, 79, n. 49; II, 74, n. 53; II, 281-282; II, 285; II, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Sanctae Gertrudis Magnae, *Legatus Divinae Pietatis, opus . . . editum Solesmense O.S.B. Monachorum cura et opera* (Paris, 1875) *Præfatio, Pars Prima*.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche Mystiker, II: Mechtild von Magdeburg*, ed. Wilhelm Oehl (Munich, n.d.)

<sup>4</sup> *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875-1912) s.v. Gertrud von Hackeborn.

abbess herself often being the first at work. Many passages in the writings of SS. Gertrude and Mechtild reveal the diligence of the hard-working community, which numbered well over a hundred members.

Besides the rigors of the daily routine, the community suffered the pressure of debts, losses by theft, and exposure to assault during one of the most troubled periods of German history. Many of the nuns were related to the barons whose quarrels terrorized the region, but such family ties afforded no protection. Another grievous trial was the interdict laid upon Helfta sometime before 1298. The exact reason is not known. S. Mechtild says that while the see of Halberstadt was vacant, "the Canons laid an interdict upon the community, greatly afflicting it on account of certain pecuniary matters."<sup>5</sup> Nothing could be further from the truth than to imagine the community at Helfta as leading a tranquil, secluded life of leisure.

The extant writings of S. Gertrude are her *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Legatus Divinae Pietatis*, commonly known as her *Revelations*. (A collection of prayers attributed to her is said not to be genuine.) The *Legatus*, the basis of the present study, is a most interesting and influential work, whether considered as the record of a personality, as a contribution to the literature of mysticism, or as an historical document.

It is strange that any of the saint's writings survived the events of 1525, when all the books and manuscripts of New Helfta were boiled in beer vats during the Peasants' Rebellion.<sup>6</sup> Yet two fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Legatus Divinae Pietatis* exist, one in Vienna (*Codex 4224*) and one in Mainz (*Stadtbibl. Codex 330*). The Benedictines of Solesmes have used the former as the basis for their edition; they note minor variants in the Mainz MS. A manuscript at St. Gall is erroneously labeled with Gertrude's name.<sup>7</sup>

The first printed edition of the *Legatus* was a German translation by the Dominican, Paul von Weida, published at Leipzig in 1505. This version is dismissed by the Solesmes editors as confused, truncated, and altered from the original. Three copies of it are extant. A better edition, in Latin, was issued in 1536 by the Carthusian, Lanspergius. This is the best-known and most important of the early editions. Unfortunately it disseminated the incorrect identification of S. Gertrude with her abbess. An ambiguous interpolation by Lanspergius led to this error although he himself did not confuse the two Gertrudes. Lanspergius had a defective manuscript, which lacked the first book of the *Revelations*; he supplied the deficiency by using a German redaction, which he translated into Latin. Two other Latin editions followed, in 1579 and 1599; four more appeared in the seventeenth century. Spanish, French, Italian, German, and Flemish translations were issued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (I do not take into account works inspired by the *Legatus* or containing extracts therefrom.) Although the book has been published in many editions, few have survived, and as the editors of the definitive Solesmes edition remark, the extant ones are not worthy of so great a saint.<sup>8</sup> The work of these learned Benedictines, issued in 1875, has greatly improved the situation, but there is not yet a satisfactory English rendition of the *Legatus*.<sup>9</sup>

The work has been known by three titles. The most authentic, *Liber Legationis Divinae Pietatis* (or simply *Legatus Divinae Pietatis*), repeats a phrase occurring in Book Five, Chapter Thirty-three. Lanspergius called his edition *Insinuationes*

<sup>5</sup> *Liber Specialis Gratiae* (Paris, 1875) *Liber I, cap. 27*.

<sup>6</sup> Attacks on the convent eventually led to the removal of the community to New Helfta in 1346.

<sup>7</sup> Information in a letter from Dr. Kurt Ruh, Schiers, transmitted through the kindness of Dr. Duft, Stiftsbibliothek, St.

Gall.

<sup>8</sup> *Legatus*, p. lviii.

<sup>9</sup> An English translation, *The Life and Revelations of Saint Gertrude* by a Member of the Order of Poor Clares (London, 1856) was reprinted in 1952 (Westminster, Maryland).

*Divinae Pietatis*, a title also used by several later editors. The Solesmes editors have issued the writings of S. Gertrude with those of S. Mechtild in two volumes called *Revelationes Gertrudianae ac Mechtildianae*; each work has its distinctive title in the individual volumes. The title *Revelations*, with its unfortunate and misleading connotations is most familiar to English readers of S. Gertrude.

S. Gertrude wrote in Latin, with a graceful competence that sets the second book (the only one from her own hand) apart from the others, which were compiled by one or more of her companions. As she had been brought to Helfta in early childhood, she must have attained her mastery of Latin in the convent. Her chief literary sources are the Scriptures, liturgical works, and S. Bernard's sermons on the *Song of Songs*. "She exploits the riches of the liturgy as no one else has," says Félix Vernet.<sup>10</sup> Yet she speaks always with her own distinctive accent.

The *Legatus Divinae Pietatis* consists of five books. The first, written after the saint's death by one of her companions, records various sayings and actions which show her sanctity; the second recounts her first mystical experiences; the third deals with aspects of the soul's relations with God; the fourth, with the feasts of the church; the fifth, with the deaths of members and friends of the community. The first portion actually written was composed by S. Gertrude herself; it is Book II of the complete work. This was begun in 1289, eight years after the apparition of Christ which it describes.<sup>11</sup> What is now Book I was the last to be written, toward the end of 1302. Although only the second book comes directly from the saint, the others were immediately inspired by her and may even have been dictated. While their style is inferior to that of Book II, they contain many of her characteristic expressions; throughout the work, a reader is aware of a single personality, straightforward and natural.

The subject of this study is the content of the numerous comparisons or analogies which S. Gertrude employs to elucidate spiritual truths and particularly the intercourse of the human person with divinity. The use of comparisons is of course common in the Scriptures and in the literature of mysticism. By means of comparisons—some chivalric and feudal, some homely and domestic—S. Gertrude is enabled to write clearly about even the most exalted mystical experiences. She acknowledges the limitations of her analogies by constant use of the introductory phrase *ad similitudinem*, and less often, *verbi gratia*. The similitudes are to be distinguished on the one hand from imaginative visions (striking and interesting as these are) and on the other, from simple, undeveloped comparisons, whether similes or metaphors. I am here reserving the term similitude for a type of comparison less extended than the typical exemplum and as a rule introduced by one of the two phrases noted above. As vignettes showing many aspects of thirteenth-century life, S. Gertrude's similitudes are valuable to the student of mediaeval life and manners.

In writing on Mechtild von Magdeburg, Gertrude's contemporary and companion, Jeanne Ancelot-Hustache has noted that many of her symbols and comparisons are conventional, though others are strikingly original.<sup>12</sup> Except in the case of some images from nature, S. Gertrude's similitudes are far more numerous, varied, and original than Mechtild's.

Although a certain amount of overlapping is unavoidable, the similitudes used by Gertrude may be summarily classified according to their content:

1. Nature: fire, water, plants, animals
2. Personal relationships: parents and children, husbands and wives, friends

<sup>10</sup> *La Spiritualité Médiévale*, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Legatus*, Liber II, cap. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Mechtilde de Magdeburg* (Paris, 1926) p. 310.

3. Social relationships: sovereigns and subjects, various feudal and military associations
4. Professions and crafts: teachers and physicians, artists, artisans, entertainers
5. Domestic activities: dyeing, washing, cooking, sewing
6. Miscellaneous: musical instruments, gold, jewels, food, perfumes, etc.

The first class, similitudes drawn from nature, includes many images of fire and water, sun and rain; such comparisons are frequent in mystical writing. For example, the soul drawn by God is absorbed as a dewdrop is taken up by the noonday sun (V, 32);<sup>13</sup> the rain of grace falls with such abundance that Gertrude is weighed down like a delicate young plant (II, 10). References to flowers are usually general, only lilies, violets, and roses being specified, the last most frequently. Heaven is a green and flowering meadow (V, 25). Fields, orchards, and gardens, familiar sights to the inhabitants of Helfta, figure occasionally in the similitudes.

References to animals are more lively and original. When the community chanted "*Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi*", the demons "fled as quickly as a pack of rabid dogs when someone has thrown hot water on them" (IV, 54). A detail of mediaeval life is found in the passage: "If a wife sometimes gives food to her husband's falcons, she will certainly not for that reason be deprived of his embraces" (II, 13). Sinners are seen under the image of little animals of various kinds hidden under our Lady's mantle; she strokes them gently "as one would a puppy" (IV, 48). Wolves, foxes, oxen, doves, the pelican, fish, and bees also provide comparisons.<sup>14</sup>

The second group, personal relationships, contains innumerable similitudes based on the intercourse of parents with their children. Remembering that Gertrude was only five when she was brought to Helfta, one wonders how she learned the intimate details of home life. Evidently she listened intently to the reminiscent conversation of her companions, and observed the affectionate reunions of parents with their children at the convent school. The following similitudes are of special interest: When a mother wishes to do some work with silk or pearls, she sometimes puts her little child in an elevated place so that he can hold her thread or jewels (III, 6). A father rejoices to see himself surrounded by his many children who attract admiration by their grace and beauty. "But seeing among these children the smallest one, who is less attractive than the others, this good father, filled with pity, takes it into his arms and gives it many little presents" (II, 18). A mother who has a beloved little son whom she wishes to have with her always, when he desires to run out to play with his companions, will place masks (*larvas*) or some other terrifying object near by, in order that the frightened child may run back to her arms (III, 63). When a mother wishes to warm her child at the fire, she always holds her hand between the flame and the little one (III, 84). A father who sees his children contending in play will not interfere unless there is danger of a real quarrel (III, 79). A mother would gladly deck her small child with gold and silver, but since he cannot bear their weight, she adorns him with flowers instead (III, 63). Other passages refer to the father presiding at table and enjoying the skill of the *lusor* who is entertaining the guests; seeing that the cellar is well stocked with wine; correcting a son; teaching a daughter. Mothers

<sup>13</sup> All references to similitudes are from the Solesmes edition of the *Legatus*. Roman numerals refer to books, arabic numerals to chapters.

<sup>14</sup> In the *Liber Specialis Gratiae* (Paris, 1875) we read that when anyone spoke of the passion of Christ without devotion, S.

Mechtild's face and hands "*in modum decocti cancri rubear apparerent*." This work, though bearing S. Mechtild's name, is commonly supposed to have been actually written by S. Gertrude. The words quoted are found in *Pars Quinta, cap. xxx, "De Laudabili Conversatione Hujus Virginis."*



are depicted guiding a daughter's hand at work; giving medicine to a sick child; selecting ornaments for a girl's holiday attire. On the whole, these similitudes give an attractive picture of family life.

Many comparisons refer to husbands and wives, especially at the time of marriage. Both bride and bridegroom are assumed to be of noble, or even royal rank. Similitudes of this type convey an impression not only of a richly ceremonious life, but also of loving confidence between husband and wife, as the following examples will show:

When a lord is preparing to celebrate his wedding, he stores up quantities of grain and wine at the time of harvest. Immediately the rumor flies that he is intending to marry (V, 26). When a girl sees many messengers coming from her bridegroom to negotiate the marriage, it is right that she also should make some preparations (V, 24). However eager a bride may be to hasten to her husband, nevertheless she will take time to adorn herself and to prepare gifts for him (V, 23). A king who is going to marry a bride who lives far away will send a great company of nobles to escort her with musical instruments (*tympanis et citharis, diversisque musicis instrumentis*) and many gifts. When she arrives, he will establish her honorably in one of his royal palaces, and in the presence of all his princes he will give her the ring of betrothal. (In the explanation which follows, occurs the phrase, *tympana et organa coeteraque suaviter sonantia instrumenta*) (V, 27). A bride prefers the caresses of her husband to the applause of the populace (V, 28). In her own home among her own people she can act more freely than can her bridegroom when he comes to visit her. If on these occasions she appreciates his reserve and treats him graciously, he will not fail to receive her into his home with corresponding affection (III, 15). A bride whose husband is gathering roses for her does not insist on this or that flower but accepts lovingly whichever ones he gives her (III, 56). If she must go out, she takes her husband by the hand and leads him with her (I, 16). A queen shares the king's goods and sits at his table (V, 3). A wife knows her husband's mind *propter diutinam cohabitationem cum sponso*" (I, 17).

The affectionate intercourse of friends is the source of many similitudes. The exchange of gifts and of confidences, taking meals together, and consoling each other are most frequently mentioned. Special instances of generosity among friends are the following: A rich man offers his coffer to his friends to supply their needs (IV, 25). One who owns fine garments and ornaments will clothe his friend in them so that the latter may be as richly attired as he (III, 34). A man will drink gall if thereby he can give nectar to his friend (IV, 23). One appreciates the affection of a friend who for the sake of conversation rises with alacrity from a deep sleep. His love is the more appreciated if he be one who ordinarily cannot sleep (III, 52). Friends often like to discuss subjects which cannot be conclusively settled; they even enjoy proposing difficulties to each other as a test of fidelity (III, 65).

Images of teachers and pupils also occur in the *Legatus Divinae Pietatis*. A kind teacher takes a young pupil into his arms to point out the letters, correct mistakes, and supply omissions (IV, 5). Students begin with the alphabet and advance to logic (II, 24). A master addresses various persons each in his own tongue; to one he speaks Latin, to another, Greek (III, 48). A severe tutor forbids a king's son the delightful companionship of children his own age if they are poor or not of noble rank; he thinks it more fitting that the child enjoy royal honors than that he should play ball in the street (III, 78).

Social, as distinct from personal relationships are of a distinctly feudal character in the similitudes. The king (or emperor) and his attendants afford appropriate analogues for the members of the heavenly court, as the following

examples will illustrate: It is shameful for one who has been appointed to serve at the king's table to go out to clean the stable and thereby defile himself (III, 44). A chamberlain who has been given the honor of supporting an aged or infirm king at the table would behave reprehensibly if, rising hastily in order to serve, he allowed his master to fall (even if he had formerly been commanded to serve) (III, 44). If a king has a friend whom justice obliges him to imprison, he greatly desires to release him and gladly receives petitions on his behalf (V, 18). When a king remains in his palace, it is not easy for anyone to approach him; but when for love of the queen he leaves his palace to visit her, then all the citizens rejoice at the display of magnificence and liberality (III, 18). Other passages depict a sovereign clothing and feeding a faithful knight, giving and accepting presents, providing for the widow and children of a faithful follower, receiving captives.

Professions, arts, and crafts are mentioned occasionally. The *lusor* entertaining a family and guests has already been cited (III, 54); another passage of similar content refers to *histriones* (IV, 35). A goldsmith, we read, must place in his work as many gems as he has prepared settings (*cistellas*) to receive them (III, 86). A painter varnishes a rich picture to increase its brilliance (*cum vernitione delinit*) (IV, 47). He makes the colors brighter by retouching them (III, 73). He will cover a newly-painted picture lest it be dulled by dust (V, 525). The skill of the physician forms the basis of several comparisons—for example: when he gives a potion to a sick man, the onlookers do not see the patient recover his health nor does he himself feel instantly restored; nevertheless the doctor knows the efficacy of the medicine and how greatly it will profit the sick man (III, 9). The attitude of the hunter is also known to the cloistered nun, for she observes that he takes greater pleasure in the flesh of a wild beast which he has caught after long pursuit than he does in the flesh of tame, domestic animals (III, 58). Among other persons mentioned in S. Gertrude's comparisons are: a poor invalid patiently enduring a storm while he awaits fair weather (II, 12); an avaricious usurer who regrets a lost opportunity for gaining even a penny (III, 55); a beginner who does not know the chant perfectly and who therefore fixes his eyes intently on the book (II, 16).

Particularly numerous are similitudes referring to various domestic activities. Such passages convey an idea of the homely atmosphere of the monastery at Helfta and the extent to which the nuns were familiar with household tasks. Realistic scenes are evoked: a person surrounded by steam from a cooking vessel (II, 15); the difficulty of handling flour without getting it on oneself (III, 41); the use of iron hammers to remove rust (V, 19); inserting a prop into a bundle of faggots (III, 43). Even mishaps are cited: when one is dyeing a cloth with saffron, anything else falling into the dye is likewise colored (III, 70); a pot used in cooking may catch fire (IV, 4). Many references to the washing of hands may be found—for example: muddy hands may more quickly be cleansed in a small amount of water if they are rubbed vigorously than if they are held motionless in a great quantity of water (V, 15). The appetizing and refreshing odor of good food (III, 16); the rapidity with which fresh bread soaks up mead (V, 33); and the uselessness of a wooden knife (III, 16) contribute to the force of some comparisons.

Musical instruments and singing are often mentioned in the writings of mystics. In S. Gertrude's a reader is constantly reminded of the importance of chant, the *opus Dei*, in monastic routine. An amusing comparison refers to the displeasure felt by a singer with a good voice (*multum sonoram et valde flexibilem*) who moreover takes delight in singing, if someone with a poor voice (*valde gravem et dissonam*) should insist on taking her place (III, 25). The

beauty of a concert is noted also (III, 50); the custom of accompanying a bride with musical instruments has already been mentioned. The chanting of those who have little devotion or who take a purely human pleasure in singing is compared to heavy and unmelodious chords from a stringed instrument (IV, 41).

Gold and jewels figure in some similitudes. More than once S. Gertrude remarks that gold appears to best advantage when it is contrasted with black or with colors (V, 3). Jewels are most admired when they are set in gold; so we should share the gifts of God and thereby set these gems in gold (I, 4). A noble maiden who knows how to make artistic ornaments of pearls and other gems to adorn herself and her sister brings honor to her father, her mother, and all the household (III, 76). Gold and silver melted together form a precious electrum (III, 10). Persons who wear imitation jewelry of copper and glass appear to be adorned; those, however, who wear real gold and gems are accounted richer (III, 32).

A passage of great interest refers to a precious stone worn in the emperor's crown "by reason of its singularity". The Solesmes text is as follows: "... *sicut Imperator terrestris lapidem pretiosum, qui vulgari lingua vocatur, ein Besant, gestat in corona regni pro singularitate sua, quia non invenitur compar illi in totius amplitudine mundi*" (IV, 6). The editors append this note on *Besant*: "*Hoc verbum sic germanice expressum retinuerunt variae Editiones; ita vero proprie vocatur quaedam moneta Byzantia, cujus nomen perinde ac formam accepisse videtur haec gemma imperiali coronae reservatur.*" I have not been able to find any other occurrence of the word in this sense.<sup>15</sup>

Several similitudes refer to perfumes and sweet spices. Delicate ladies, we are told, prefer perfume to any other gift (IV, 12). Another passage speaks of a balm to preserve the body from corruption (III, 17).

Some miscellaneous similitudes are of special note. In one, Gertrude compares herself to a scarecrow (*tamquam larvam*) set in an orchard to protect the fruit from birds. Evidently the fruits are her sisters; the birds are evil spirits (I, 11). The use of crystal to magnify script is mentioned in I, 16. A reference to golden portals in pagan temples which are opened to disclose images of idols reminds us that Gertrude was an assiduous student of Latin literature.<sup>16</sup> (IV, 9). One of the most detailed similitudes describes the manner of preparing for death. One who desires to be gladdened in his extremity by divine consolation should clothe himself in choice garments, ascend the vehicle of his own body, and with a firm rein govern the animal who draws it—that is, his own will (V, 27).

In this study I have considered the *Legatus Divinae Pietatis* simply as a hitherto neglected source for some details of daily life in the thirteenth century. I do not wish to reduce to one dimension a work which ranks high in the literature of mysticism. Yet even when studied in this single aspect, S. Gertrude's choice of illustrative material reveals her as a sympathetic observer, a connoisseur of human experience, to whom we may apply the eloquent words of Mme Ancelet-Hustache: "They [the mystics] love life under all its forms."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Dr. Urban T. Holmes, Jr. suggests that *Besant* may be an error for *bezar*. He points out that Karl Lokotsch in his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs* says (under item 1605): "Im Russ. wurde *bezar*, *bezuž* sowie daraus abgeleitet *zaberzat*

Bezeichnung eines Edelsteins." Dr. Holmes observes that the Russian usage could also be in German.

<sup>16</sup> She is fond of the Virgilian formula *O ter quaterque beati* and uses it several times in the *Legatus*.

<sup>17</sup> *Mechtild de Magdeburg*, p. 333.

# The Prose *Salomon and Saturn* and the Tree Called Chy

FRANCIS LEE UTLEY

"For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,  
and that the tender branch thereof will not cease." (Job xiv. 7)

## I.

OVER one hundred years ago John M. Kemble published his collection known as *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus*,<sup>1</sup> containing a number of mediaeval texts full of cryptic and often jocular knowledge bearing on science and biblical lore. His very competent work, by older standards, has been followed up of recent years by several critical studies and editions which bring us far from his British libraries. Walther Suchier's major concern has been with dialogues clustering around the names of the Emperor Hadrian and the philosopher Epictetus—a most complex set, as is revealed by his separate treatments of the *Altercacio Hadriani*, *L'Enfant Sage*, and *Adrian et Epictitus*.<sup>2</sup> Another of Kemble's pieces, the poetical *Solomon and Saturn* in MSS Corpus Christi Cambridge 41 and 422, has been treated by Robert Menner in an edition which is a masterpiece of explanation of such cryptic lore, made more cryptic by Old English poetical devices.<sup>3</sup> The more sober catechism called the *Elucidarius*, not in Kemble, has had an intricate manuscript development recently disentangled by Yves Lefèvre.<sup>4</sup> The most influential western dialogue of all, a thirteenth-century encyclopedic *Romance of Sydrac and Boctus*, has benefited by editions of its German, Dutch, and Italian derivatives, though no modern edition of the French original has yet been published.<sup>5</sup>

Our special interest at the moment lies in Kemble's prose *Salomon and Saturn*, found in the early twelfth-century MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv, and in

<sup>1</sup> London: Aelfric Society, 1848. There is also an earlier volume found in Harvard College Library and dated Dec. 29, 1844, which contains additional fragments and occasionally fuller texts of some of the non-English material. I saw this volume some years ago, but my memory has been refreshed through the kindness of Bartlett J. Whiting.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Enfant Sage*, Dresden (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 24) 1910; *Das mittelalterliche Gespräch Adrian und Epictitus nabst verwandten Texten (Joca Monachorum)*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1955; Lloyd W. Daly and Walter Suchier, *Altercacio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti Philosophi*, University of Illinois Press, 1939. The *Adrian und Epictitus* came to me after this study was essentially complete. I have been able to incorporate certain references to the most seminal dialogues in the book, and to alter a few of my conclusions, especially with regard to the influence of the *Joca Monachorum* on the Old English dialogues.

<sup>3</sup> New York: Modern Language Association, 1941. The Latin *Salomon et Marcolfus*, remotely related to the two Old English Solomon dialogues, has been edited by Walter Benary, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1914; see also Hugo Suolahti, *Das Spruchgedicht von Salomon und Markolf*, Helsinki, 1946; Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie in Mit-*

*telalter*, 1922, pp. 235-240; and for the oriental and Slavonic legends of Solomon, Friedrich Vogt, *Salman und Morolf*, Halle, 1880; Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1940 —[error for 1950 on title-page], I, 74-80.

<sup>4</sup> *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires*, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954 (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 180).

<sup>5</sup> H. Jellinghaus, *Das Buch Sidrach*, Tübingen, 1904; Johannes F. J. von Tol, *Het Boek van Sidrach in de Nederlanden*, Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1936; Adolfo Bartolo, *Il Libro di Sidrach*, Bologna, 1868. The many early editions of French and English will be found in the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale catalogues. Hugh Caumpeden's translation, *The History of King Boccus & Sidracke*, London: Thomas Godfrey, [1532?] has been reproduced as part of the Edwardes Brothers Short Title Catalogue film project (Case V, Carton 26). A French text has been edited by Sapelo Treanor, *Le Roman de Sidrac: Fontaine de Toutes Sciences*, Chapel Hill, 1939; but this is an unpublished North Carolina dissertation, and it selects the shortest version, with 515 questions and edits only a portion of these. The longest version contains about 1200 questions.

a Middle English translation called *The Maister of Oxford's Catechism*, preserved in MSS Lansdowne 762 of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries and Harley 1304 of the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Such Middle English epigones of an Old English text are rare, and heighten the interest of the dialogue. Closely related to *Salomon and Saturn* is the Old English *Adrian and Ritheus*, found in MS Cotton Julius A. ii, perhaps of the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup> The exact relationship is not yet clear. Kemble's statement that "it differs from the prose Salomon and Saturn in little more than the names of the interlocutors" is somewhat confusing, especially when he goes on to say that "nearly one-third" of the questions and answers "is common to the two." This latter statement is essentially accurate: *Salomon* has fifty-nine exchanges between the interlocutors, *Adrian and Ritheus* forty-eight (or fifty-four with the extra questions which Foerster has recognized as an epilogue to the piece). Of these twenty are common to the two dialogues, sometimes with close verbal agreement. But such agreements are common in the whole complex dialogue tradition, and two other dialogues in Kemble, *Adrian et Epictus* and the Pseudo-Bede *Collectanea et Flores*, also share a good deal with the Old English pair, as Max Förster has shown. Much clearer light on the problem of relationships has been shed by Suchier, who demonstrates that behind all of these lies the continental *Joca Monachorum*, which is at least as old as the seventh century, and which has interesting ties with certain mediaeval Greek, Slavic, and even oriental collections.<sup>8</sup>

My purpose here is not, except incidentally, to further explain the relationships which have been in part set forth by Förster and Suchier. That would be the task of an edition.<sup>9</sup> My intention is rather to run through *Salomon and Saturn*, with a few side-glances at its Middle English version and at *Adrian and Ritheus*, to cast some new light on a number of the questions, and special light on one of them, the "tree called Chy."

The names of the interlocutors Salomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus at once suggest some sort of eastern connection for the dialogues. In part this is deceptive, for these *personae* are probably borrowed, with little justification, from other dialogues with which they have little in common—the tenth-century poetical *Solomon and Saturn* and the Latin Hadrian and Epictetus pieces. But the material of which the dialogues are composed ranges far back to the Orient, to Byzantine and rabbinical lore, and even farther. So cool a head as Menner has shown us how the *Vasa Mortis* and the *Weallende Wulf* of the poetical *Solomon* need Babylonian and Assyrian tradition to explain them.<sup>10</sup> The first dialogue on record, in fact, is from Mesopotamia; less optimistic than our catechisms about God's plan of salvation, it discusses man's misery and how "The mother who begat me was murdered by Hades."<sup>11</sup> Arcane lore of

<sup>6</sup> Kemble, pp. 178ff. (prose *Salomon*), 198ff. (*Adrian and Ritheus*); see also 212ff. (*Adrian et Epictus*), 322 (Pseudo-Bede). The *Maister* was edited (pp. 216ff.) from MS Lansdowne, and re-edited from the same by Richard P. Wülcker, *Alt-englisches Lesebuch*, Halle a S., 1874-80, pp. 191ff., 303ff., with notes confined largely to parallels in the prose *Salomon*. C. Horstmann edited the slightly fuller Harley version in *Englische Studien*, VIII (1885), 284-287. For the date of Cotton Vitellius, which has been disputed, see Max Förster, *Die Beowulf Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1919 (*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Bd 71, Heft 4), p. 53, and Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>7</sup> Discussed by Max Förster, "Zu Adrian

und Ritheus," *Englische Studien*, XXIII (1897), 431-436, with corrections and additions to Kemble's *Adrian and Ritheus*, and a valuable comparative table for four of these related dialogues. See also his "Kleinere Mittelenglische Texte," *Anglia*, XLII (1918), 209-217, with extensive bibliography; John Edwin Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, New Haven, 1916, pp. 424-426, 832, and Supplements.

<sup>8</sup> Suchier, *Adrian und Epictus*, pp. 75-76 and *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> I have ordered photostats for such an edition from the British Museum.

<sup>10</sup> *Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, pp. 61, 107-108, 121-129.

<sup>11</sup> James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near East Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton University Press, p. 438. This

this kind is not only oriental; we may mention Old Irish, Greek and Russian dialogues in the quest for parallel and explanation.<sup>12</sup> The international nature of such collections is well illustrated by Suchier's *L'Enfant Sage*, which derives from the Latin *Altercacio* and has mediaeval versions in French, Provençal, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, English, Welsh, and Breton. Our search for oriental and western origins is made vastly easier than Kemble's was, for we have had in recent years not only vast activity in cuneiform texts, but also brilliant work on the rabbinical writings by Louis Ginzberg and on pseudepigraphal writings, Jewish and Christian, by R. H. Charles, to speak of only two among the host of scholars who have concerned themselves with such material. The study of folklore likewise is on more secure ground than it ever was, and all these disciplines will help us to understand better the hidden truths which Salomon expounded to Saturn; and the Middle English Maister of Oxenford to his Clerk. Let us turn, then, to their catechism.

## II.

The first eleven questions concern the creation of man and the universe. Saturn asks Solomon where God sat when he made heaven and earth.<sup>13</sup> The Middle English answer, "in the forthere ende of the wynde," makes little sense; but Solomon's answer, "he sæt ofer [winda] feðerum," conjures up the poetical vision of the Creator as Holy Spirit flying over the waters, in Biblical terms,<sup>14</sup> or, more remotely, brooding over the World Egg, a concept which would seem to have links not only with Greece and the Near East but also with Buddhist and primitive mythologies.<sup>15</sup> Some of the same vision has been caught up by an Old English illuminator of the eleventh century.<sup>16</sup> Solomon continues: God's first words were *Fiat Lux*, apparently in Latin. Heaven is called heaven because it conceals what is above it; a literal interpretation of

poem is more comparable to the Old English *Seafarer* than to our catechisms. For other debates of the kind see Pritchard, pp. 405-411. They often have a ritual function; see Theodor H. Gaster, *Thespis: Ritual Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, New York: Henry Schuman, 1950, p. 136 and *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> For Irish dialogues see Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, London, 1899, pp. 498-503; for Greek C. F. Georg Heinrichi, "Griechisch-byzantinisches Gesprächsbücher und Verwandtes aus Sammelhandschriften," *Abhandlungen der Phil.-Hist. Klasse der königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, XVIII, No. 8 (1911), pp. 1-98, and N. F. Krasnoselcev, "Addenda k. izdaniyu A. Vasilieva Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina," *Odesa*, 1898 (I have been unable to obtain a copy of the latter). For Russian dialogues see N. K. Gudzy, *History of Early Russian Literature*, New York: Macmillan, 1949, p. 35, and Förster, *Anglia*, XLII (1918), 213. Suchier, *Adrian und Epictetus*, pp. 113, 104-108, and elsewhere shows the striking relationship from the Greek-derived Russian and Latin materials.

<sup>13</sup> In this analysis I follow Kemble's prose *Salomon and Adrian and Ritheus and Horstmann's Maister of Oxenford* (Harley). Suchier, *Adrian und Epictetus*, p. 17, also has the question.

<sup>14</sup> Genesis i. 2; Psalms xvii. 10. In Psalm civ. 3 the Creator "walketh upon the wings of the wind." See Charles A. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Psalms*, New York, 1906, I, 143-144.

<sup>15</sup> Martti Haavio, *Väinämöinen, Eternal Sage*, Helsinki, 1952 (FF Communications,

No. 144), pp. 53-63. Haavio is discussing Lonnröt's rune of 1883 copied from the singing of Ontrei Malinen:

There was the scaup-duck, straight-winged bird.

It flew, glided;

it saw the hummock in the sea.

It cast a copper nest,

laid a golden egg,

On the top of Väinämöinen's knee.

On the World-Egg in general see L. H. Gray et al., "Cosmogony and Cosmology," James Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1928, IV, 157, 159, 162-163. The World-Egg myth, according to Haavio's map, stretches from the Near East to South America, with offshoots in Africa and Finland. Another explanation of the Creation of Earth, the diving birds who bring earth from the bottom of the sea, appears in the complementary and contrasting area, the circumpolar regions of Northern Europe, Asia, and America. See Oskar Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1907-12, I, 1-98; Earl W. Count, "The Earth-Diver and the Rival Twins," in *Sol Tax, Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America*, University of Chicago Press, 1952, pp. 55-62. Either of these concepts has affinities with our catechism.

<sup>16</sup> Haavio, p. 57 (from Detzel). There the MS is unidentified. Miss Sylvia England has helped me to identify it as MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi, f. 8<sup>v</sup>. A much better reproduction than that in Detzel will be found in [Marcel Brion and Heidi Heimann,] *The Bible in Art*, New York: Phaidon, 1956, p. 211.

the "canopy" or ceiling idea in the Old English word.<sup>17</sup> God is defined as the All-Powerful and the six days of Creation are described. Adam's name was formed from "iiii steorrum," Arthox, Dux, Arotholem, Minsymbrie—our author's version of the Greek names for the four cardinal points:

ἄρκτος, δύσις, ἀνατολή, μεσημβρία

(North, West, East, South). Though the "four stars" are in some sense a confusion to match the garbled spelling, there is a gleam of truth in them, since Arktos is also the name for the Great Bear, and east, south and west are associated in Greek with the sunrise, mid-day, and sunset. Solomon then proceeds with proper mediaeval realism from name to body—he describes the eight substances of which Adam's body was made. There was a pound of eight separate substances:<sup>18</sup> flesh came from earth, blood from fire, breath from wind, instability of mind (módes unstaðelfæstnes) from the clouds (wolcnes pund), fat and growth from grace (gyfe), the variety of his eyes from flowers, sweat from dew, and the saltiness of his tears from salt. This poetic bridge across the Cartesian chasm between man and nature has been extensively discussed in its Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Russian, Greek, Jewish and even Siberian forms.<sup>19</sup> It has rarely been remarked that Eve also came near to having multiple origins, in a similar conceit unknown to our Solomon which flourished from the time of the *Bereshith Rabba* (third to sixth century A.D.) onwards. God rejected several possibilities when he chose the rib: the foot because it would make her a gadabout, the eye because it would make her a flirt, the heart because it would make her jealous, and so forth. Despite God's caution, she still has these and other vicious traits<sup>20</sup>—apparently so powerful a psychic force as the Creator should never have thought of them even for a moment. There are two further exchanges on Adam. He was created thirty years of age, the perfect man (the age, we find in other mediaeval sources like the Lucerne Passion Play, when Christ began his teaching).<sup>21</sup> Though there appears to be some divergence between Salomon and the Maister, Adam's height was about nine feet eight inches—the typical giant of Hebrew tradition, who grew in an eighteenth-century commentator, Nicolo Henrion, to the massive and precise height of 123 feet, 9 inches!<sup>22</sup>

Questions twelve to seventeen concern Adam's life and progeny. The chronology and lengthy genealogy of Adam's line need not detain us; it is essentially Biblical.<sup>23</sup> It ends with Noah and the seventy-two nations which

<sup>17</sup> Walter W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, Oxford, 1910, p. 266; and *OED*, s.v. "Heaven, sb." Oddly enough "Hell" has a similar implication of concealment; see Skeat, p. 267 and *OED* "Hell, sb." Kemble, p. 193, notes that the Latin also allows a pun, between *caelum* and *celare*.

<sup>18</sup> The Maister's "of viiite thingis weyghtis weyende" is an awkward conflation of Salomon's questions eight and nine, but perhaps he intends to exempt the soul—God's spirit breathed into man.

<sup>19</sup> Förster, *Anglia*, XLII (1918), 214-215; Kemble, p. 194; Whitley Stokes, "Man Octopartite," *Academy*, XXVI (1884), 236; P. V. Vladimirov, *Drevnaia Russkaia Literatura, Kievskago Perioda, XI-XIII Vokov*, Kiev, 1900, p. 59 (I owe this and other Russian references in the article to my colleague, Mrs. Justina Epp, who has helped me with translations); Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, revised ed., Indiana University Press, 1955 ff., I, 208 (A1260. 1-3, 5). The four stars are Thomp-

son's motif A1241. 5 (I, 207). See the apocryphon *De Adami compositione* described in Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, I, 34; Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1912-38, V, 71-73; James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, Columbia University Press, 1929, I, 736; Uno Holmberg, *Finnno-Ugric, Siberian*, Boston, 1927 (*Mythology of All Races*, IV), pp. 371-372, 360; Arturo Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizione del Medio Evo*, Torino, 1925, pp. 33, 37, 118, 146; Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, pp. 79-83, 275; Suchier, *Adrian and Epictetus*, p. 117.

<sup>20</sup> See my forthcoming article in the Stith Thompson homage volume (Indiana University Folklore Studies, 1957).

<sup>21</sup> Kemble, p. 194; R. P. Benedicti Pererii Valentini, . . . *Commentariorum et Disputationum in Genesim*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1601, I, 181.

<sup>22</sup> See index to Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, VII, 16 ("Adam, body of"); for Henrion see Graf, *Miti*, pp. 37, 118.

<sup>23</sup> Kemble, p. 195, has a long note.

sprang from his three sons.<sup>24</sup> Then follows a favorite riddle: who was never born, buried in his mother's womb, and baptized after death? "þæt was Adám." Of his theologically necessary baptism we shall hear later. As for his burial in "his móder innoðe," the Christian catechists do not appear to mind the pagan echoes of Mother Earth.<sup>25</sup> It appears to be a mere dead metaphor, but it is resurrected powerfully by Chaucer, whose Old Man in the *Pardoner's Tale* knocks always on the ground with his staff, held in a palsied hand, and cries, "Leeve mooder, leet me in!"<sup>26</sup> Salomon says Adam lived thirteen years in Paradise (the Maister says eight), an account which differs from that of other mediaeval authors, who place the Creation and Fall on the same day.<sup>27</sup> Though Salomon says the Forbidden Fruit was a fig, we and the Maister know it was an apple (Scripture says nothing about the botany).<sup>28</sup> It was eaten on a Friday, which was probably an ominous day long before the Crucifixion.<sup>29</sup> These various chronological speculations remind Saturnus somewhat irrelevantly of the Mother of Christ, whose sixty-three years on earth are correlated by Salomon with the four world-ages of Adam, Noah, Abraham and Moses.<sup>30</sup>

We are thus properly led to Noah, who is the subject of questions eighteen to twenty-three. Noah's Ark was eighty years in the making, and was built "of dām treówcynne ðe is genemned Sem." What that strange wood was we shall see at the latter end of this study. Noah's wife is called Dálila (*Maister* Ballida or Dalida); Sem's wife Cateslima; Cham's wife Játerecta (*Laterecta*); Japheth's wife Catafluuia (Aurea); or, according to another tradition shared by both Old and Middle English versions, the son's wives are Olla, Ollína, and Ollibana.<sup>31</sup> The next two questions report the Bible faithfully on the length of the flood and the dimensions of the Ark.

Two questions on Adam's progeny follow, a little out of chronological order. Both deserve discussion. Adam had thirty sons and thirty daughters, a fairly common figure, which ultimately led to Grimm's famous folktale, "Eve's Unlike Children," a rationalization of God's justice with regard to the unequal division between noble and serf.<sup>32</sup> Saturn next turns to another sociological problem: who built the first city? Salomon's answer is a puzzle, and involves a little confusion so long after the event. Kemble's text reads that the founder was "Knos" and his city Ninevem; Horstmann's that he was "Enos, Seth is son, & the Citee hight Ninimen." An odd jumble, if Knos is not a mere modern

<sup>24</sup> An enormous bibliography could be compiled on this number. See, for instance, Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, V, 194-195.

<sup>25</sup> Kemble, pp. 195-196, 203, 213, 325; Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 15-16, 23.

<sup>26</sup> F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston, 1933, p. 184 (VI, 731). The classic study on the concept is Albrecht Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, 3rd ed., Leipzig and Berlin, 1925; for the newer Jungian mythology see Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955.

<sup>27</sup> Kemble, p. 208. On the time of the sin, which was often the very day of the Creation of Man, see Arturo Graf, *Miti*, pp. 40-41, 119; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, I, 82; V, 106-107.

<sup>28</sup> For the fruit see below, in description of the wood of the Cross.

<sup>29</sup> See, for instance, Jungbauer, "Freitag," in H. Bächtold-Stäubli and E. Hoffman-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927-41, III, cols 45-73. Suchier treats a large group of dangerous Biblical Fridays, *L'Enfant Sage*, pp. 87-88, 271 (see his Texts XXIII and XXV).

<sup>30</sup> Though the detail about the Blessed Virgin may follow in *Salomon* from question thirteen, it is absent from the *Maister* and may be an intrusion.

<sup>31</sup> The same kind of fascinating speculation will be found in the *Cædmonian Genesis A* (lines 1546-48), where the names are Percoba, Olla, Olliua, and Olliuani. See George P. Krapp, ed., *The Junius Manuscript*, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 48, 179-180; R. A. Stewart MacAlister, ed., *Lebor Gabála Erenn*, Dublin, 1938 ff., I, 211-213; F. L. Utley, "The One Hundred and Three Names of Noah's Wife," *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 426-452.

<sup>32</sup> Johannes Bolte and Georg Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig, 1913-32, III, 308-321 (tale No. 180); Graf, *Miti*, pp. 42, 119. For the names of the children see M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, London, 1917, pp. 75-76. Parallels to the Grimm tale will be found in Thompson, *Motif-Index*, I, 245, III, 48. *Adrian und Epictus* and *Pseudo-Bede* have different estimates of their numbers; Kemble, pp. 213, 325; Kenney, *Sources*, I, 736; Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 32, 37.



misprint; and the Middle English Lansdowne does not help us, for it omits the question and answer.<sup>33</sup> The Bible says that Cain built the first city in the Land of Nod, and named it after his son Enoch (Hebrew Khanokh). Our dialogists have probably confused the son of Cain with Enos (Hebrew Enosh), the son of Seth. The same confusion appears in a thirteenth-century *Joca Monachorum*,<sup>34</sup> and is probably due to the similarity of the names in the parallel Cainite-Sethite genealogies, usually explained as representing two separate traditions of antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis.<sup>35</sup>

The substitution of Enos for Enoch the Cainite may have been helped by a natural question: how could the line of the wicked Cain build anything so important as the first city? The usual apologetics was different, for the Bible itself provides us with a genuine Rousseauism. Not only does Cain build the first city, but the Cainite Jabal was the "father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle," his brother Jubal was "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ," and Tubal-Cain was "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron" (Genesis iv, 21-22). The Bible continues with these children of the Cainite Lamech by saying merely that "the sister of Tubal-Cain was Naamah," but mediaeval chroniclers round out the picture by making her the culture-heroine who invented weaving.<sup>36</sup> The same tendency was further developed in the *Book of Enoch*, written some time before 161 B.C., for the author of this book invoked *ignotum ex ignoto* by tying the Cainite inventors to the opening verses of chapter six of Genesis, that mysterious fragment about the Sons of God and the Daughters of Men. The Sons are interpreted as Watchers or Fallen Angels, who gave the wicked crafts to men.<sup>37</sup> This Biblical and apocryphal view was known to the poetical *Solomon and Saturn*, which speaks slightly of the "dierne craeftas" of the Evil Angels and their mortal associates.<sup>38</sup> Hebrew tradition expanded the number of cities and children of Cain,<sup>39</sup> and so late a commentator as Peter Comestor cites Josephus as well as the Bible in support of the Cainite origin of cities.<sup>40</sup> But the name of Salomon's city is also strange, for Comestor more properly attributes Nineveh to Ninus, third from Nimrod in the Babylonian line after the Flood.<sup>41</sup> Pseudo-Philo, whose ultimate tradition may be old but whose manuscript tradition is thirteenth-century German, has seven cities: Enoch, Maui, Leeth, Teze, Iesca, Celeth, and Iebath.<sup>42</sup> Salomon and the Maister go on to talk of another city, their first after the flood. It is Jerusalem, which was founded by the mysterious friend of Abraham, Melchizedek, priest-king of Salem, who was often identified with Noah's son Shem and became a natural prototype for Christ, since he fed Abraham with bread and wine after the fall of the Cities of the Plains.<sup>43</sup> Not only the similarity of names and the urge to apologetics in an age of respect for cities caused these dialogists to substitute the name of Enos for the eponymous Enoch, but a post-diluvial Nineveh crept into the time before the Flood, and Jerusalem took its place as the first extant city after the Flood.

<sup>33</sup> *Adrian et Epictus* (Kemble, p. 213) names only the city "Nineuen," and Pseudo Bede properly ascribes it to Ninus (p. 326). Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, pp. 298 (Nineve), 342 (Yrinyve), 457, 532 (Zurie and Zuric), 560 (Babylon). Properly Nineveh in the eighth-century *Joca Monachorum* in Suchier, *Adrian and Epictus*, p. 109; but a fifteenth-century *Joca Monachorum* vacillates between Enoch, Nive, and Babilonia (*ibid.*, p. 133).

<sup>34</sup> Suchier, *Adrian and Epictus*, p. 127.

<sup>35</sup> John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis*, New York, 1910, p. 138.

<sup>36</sup> Paul E. Beichner, *The Medieval Representative of Music, Jubal or Tubalcain?*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1954. For Naamah see

Peter Comestor in Migne, *PL* 198, col 1079.

<sup>37</sup> R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, II, 191-192.

<sup>38</sup> Menner, pp. 101, 140.

<sup>39</sup> Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, V, 144.

<sup>40</sup> *Historia Scholastica*, in Migne, *PL* 198, col 1078.

<sup>41</sup> *PL* 198, cols 1089-90.

<sup>42</sup> James, *Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, pp. 77-78; for widely variant spellings see Guido Kisch, ed., *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1949, pp. 111-121.

<sup>43</sup> Genesis xii. 18-20; see Comestor in *PL* 198, col 1094; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, V, 225-226; Gottfried Wuttke, *Melchisedek*

These remarks lead to a group of varied questions, nine in all, most of them not from the Old Testament, but rather from the New, from scientific speculation, and from tropology. The transition is made easy because Salomon is not yet done with cities. Saturn asks the name of the city where the sun rises in the morning, and Salomon answers "Iaiaca h tte se  burh." This puzzling name is lacking in both manuscripts of the *Maister* through an obvious eye-skip, but it appears in identical form in *Adrian and Ritheus*. The following question, what is the city where the sun sets, has four variant answers: Garita in *Salomon*, Garica in the Harley *Maister*, Sarica in Lansdowne, and Janita in *Adrian and Ritheus*. It is fairly easy to identify the city of the sunset, Garita, as the classical Gadeira or Cadiz, well-known to Strabo and Isidore of Seville and others as neighboring upon the Pillars of Hercules and the Strait of Gibraltar, the western limit of the ancient world. Jaiaca remains a puzzle, too much of a one to take up at length here. Suffice it to say that there are many possible hypotheses, which I shall treat elsewhere—among them real places like India, Cipangu (Japan) or Cathay, or Marco Polo's Jaiac, a river near the Caspian; and mythological places like the lesser-known Eastern Pillars of Hercules, Alexander and Dionysus, or Homer's Aiaia, "where Dawn has her dwelling and her dancing lawns, and Helios his place of rising."<sup>44</sup>

Then follow two specifically Christian problems. Salomon says the lily is "betst and selust" of herbs because it "get cna " Christ. The *Maister* expands the single flower to roses and lilies, which leads Richard W lcker to some rather far-fetched remarks about the red and white rose of England and the lily of France. He assumes that the fifteenth-century *Maister* must have deplored the symbolism which gave France the prize of flowers.<sup>45</sup> Possibly so, but it is more likely that he has caught up the common formula of the lilies and roses of Christian virgins and martyrs, the "corones two" of the Angel who appeared to Chaucer's Saint Cecilia.<sup>46</sup> The lily, type of Christ, is then paralleled by Salomon to the most blessed of birds, the dove, type of the Holy Ghost, and the most blessed of rivers, the Jordan, in which Christ was baptized. This sequence is interrupted by a bit of scientific knowledge, that lightning comes from wind and water. This intrusive question and answer is lacking in the *Maister*, one of several signs that the Middle English may at times preserve a more correct text than the Old English. Solomon goes on to say that the Rebellious Angels were separated by God into three parts: " nne d el he  sette on  es lyftes gedrif,   erne d el on   es w teres gedrif, briddan d el on helle ne welnisse." In the Lansdowne *Maister* this is "Som into hell, and som reyned in the skye, and som in the erth, and som in waters and wodys." Valuable information, since one might have expected them all to have gone to hell, from which they would be granted release only for occasional junkets for the trying of men's souls. Salomon is really reflecting extensive learned and folk speculation: the angels Harut and Marut of Moslem tradition who were hung head downward in a well in Babylon, the trolls of Scandinavian lore, and the Slavic demons who populated hell, earth and sky.<sup>47</sup> Earth, Salomon continues,

*der Priesterk nig von Salem*, Giessen, 1927.

<sup>44</sup> See my forthcoming article, "Jaiaca, the City of the Sunrise," in *Names*.

<sup>45</sup> *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, p. 304.

<sup>46</sup> *Second Nun's Tale*, VIII, 220; see Robinson's note, p. 865. Extensive bibliography will be found in Dudley D. Griffith, *Bibliography of Chaucer, 1903-1953*, University of Washington Press, 1955, pp. 239-241. Oliver F. Emerson believes the ultimate source to be St Ambrose, who also makes the explicit equation of the lily with Christ. See his *Chaucer Essays and Studies*, Western Reserve University Press, 1929, p. 407. See also

*Christian Art*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 41-42, 47-48.

<sup>47</sup> D hnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, 133-136; Menner, *Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, p. 125; Bernard J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1952, pp 113-117; Aleksandr Velikovskii, "K Voprosy o Dualisticheskikh Kosmogoniiakh," *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, II (1894), 33, 37; Fr. Hubad, "Die Entstehung der Welt nach Slavischen Volksglauben," *Globus*, 50 (1886), 219; C. Fillingham Coxwell, *Siberian and Other Folk-Tales*, London: Daniel, n.d., p. 563.

has two salt and two fresh waters, a bit of geographical lore to which I have no parallel. Then Saturn asks a riddle—who was the first man to speak with a dog, and Salomon answers with assurance, “St. Peter,” a direct allusion to the way the Apostle handled the dog sent to “strangle him” by Simon Magus.<sup>48</sup> “Wið hund sprecende” reflects a real conversation rather than a call to Fido; in a Latin version of the Acts of Peter preserved in a seventh-century manuscript at Vercelli the dog itself speaks by a miracle to both St. Peter and to his enemy.<sup>49</sup>

Salomon now returns with two answers from the Old Testament. The first question is “hwylc man áþóhte árest mid sul tó erianne?” Or, as the *Maister* puts it more explicitly, “Who made first ploughis?” The answer in both dialogues is Cham, son of Noah. This is another puzzle; I know of no common legend which attributes the invention of the plough to Ham, though a tenth-century version of the *Joca Monachorum* from St. Gall agrees with our tradition.<sup>50</sup> Since the next question in *Salomon and Saturn* mentions Cain, one expects the common confusion between Cainus and Chamus, both such wicked men that Ham was usually said to have carried on Cain’s line beyond the flood.<sup>51</sup> Some such identification was necessary to explain the derivation of monsters like Grendel and his mother from Cain in *Beowulf*.<sup>52</sup> Ham is often said to have a similar progeny.<sup>53</sup> The mark of Cain, in turn, is said to be a black skin,<sup>54</sup> a curse more commonly ascribed to Ham or his son Canaan as a result of Noah’s curse. Father Adam, of course, is the first tiller of the ground, but sometimes Cain takes his place.<sup>55</sup> It is one of the points of Byron’s *Cain* that Jehovah prefers the bloody sacrifice of the shepherd Abel to Cain’s “fruit of the ground.” Another good candidate for the first plowman is Noah, who was the first to indulge in agriculture after the Flood. Ukrainian legend and the Arundel 351 *Adrian et Epictus* make it Noah,<sup>56</sup> and the latter is forced to add that the first who plowed before the Flood was one “Neptare,” whom I cannot identify.<sup>57</sup> It is also possible that Ham was chosen as first plowman because his

George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in* <sup>48</sup>[Jacobus a Voragine,] *The Golden Legend . . . as Englished by William Caxton*, London: Dent, 1931, IV, 18-19 (on p. 15 St Peter is said to have “made the images of iron and stone to laugh, and dogs to sing”). Kemble (p. 196) knew this version.

<sup>49</sup>Montague R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 311, 313 (for other talking dogs see pp. 298 and 473); Joseph Szövérfy, “The Legend of St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns,” *Traditio*, X (1954), 298-299. The question appears in an eighth-century *Joca Monachorum*; Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, p. 199.

<sup>50</sup>Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, p. 122.

<sup>51</sup>On the confusion see MacAlister, *Lebor Gabála Erenn*, I, 211; Oliver F. Emerson, “Legends of Cain,” *PMLA*, XXI (1906), 925; Edmund Hogan, *The Irish Nennius*, Dublin, 1895, p. 7; Walter W. Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, Oxford, 1897, pp. 53, 466; Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 55, 58. Cain was the ancestor of churls, but he had to be reborn in Ham to make that possible. See Ruth Mohl, *The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. 289-290.

<sup>52</sup>The classical treatment is that of Emerson as cited in the last note, pp. 861-929. See also S. J. Crawford, “Grendel’s Descent from Cain,” *MLR*, XXIII (1928), 207; Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed., Boston, 1941, p. 132.

<sup>53</sup>P. Hamelius, ed., *Mandeville’s Travels*,

London, 1919-1923 (EETS, 153-154), I, 145; *An Claidheamh Soluis*, XIII (1912), 6 (from *Lebor na hUídre*). The last reference was kindly supplied me by Ciáran Bairéad of the Irish Folklore Commission. Sometimes such demons and monsters were derived from Babel, a close tie with Ham’s progeny; see Menner, *Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, p. 125.

<sup>54</sup>Jacques Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the MSS. of the Library of St. Lazarus, Venice*, 1907, p. 35.

<sup>55</sup>Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, 236-242; Mikhail P. Arnaudov, “Bulgarski Narodni Prikazki,” *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvoreniia*, XXI, part 2 (1905), 70 (kindly translated for me by Mrs. Barbara Krader); Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 73, 106-107 (properly Cain in the latter reference, the first redaction of the *Joca Monachorum*).

<sup>56</sup>*Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, XVII (1893), 76; Kemble, pp. 213, 215; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, I, 147, V, 168-169.

<sup>57</sup>One is tempted to some derivation from a “Neptunus arare,” leaning on the connections of Neptune-Poseidon with the horse and with vegetation ritual. See William G. Fox, *Greek and Roman*, Boston, 1916 (*Mythology of All Races*, I), pp. 212-213, 295-296; E. H. Meyer, “Poseidon,” *Roscher’s Ausführliches Lexikon*, 1884-1934, III, 2, cols 2817-18, 2820-26; Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, V, 280; VIII, 21, 133. But this is a desperate measure.

children were the first servants (Genesis ix. 25); the *Joca Monachorum* speaks to this point.<sup>58</sup> If Ham were in truth a Cainite by some miracle, he would also be a proper culture-hero, wicked though he was.

The second Old Testament question in this group of two needs some discussion also. Why, asks Saturn, are stones not fruitful? ("Saga me, forhwám stánas ne sint berende?") Because, says Salomon, Abel's blood fell on a stone when Cain slew him "mid ánes esoles cinbáne." Cain's use of Sampson's weapon is rare, but it appears to be especially common in England and in Flanders.<sup>59</sup> More commonly it is a stone, the proper weapon of primeval man, and it is possible that the jawbone has replaced the stone, made unfruitful by such dreadful use. Many other weapons were suggested, a sword, an axe or hoe, a cane or rod, a club, Cain's teeth, and even a ploughshare,<sup>60</sup> the last good evidence that Cain did have the plow we were concerned with in the last question. It is also possible that the unfruitful stone merely collected on itself all the curse which God laid on the ground as a whole in Genesis iv. 11. The normal assumption was that the ground, though still capable of bearing crops, was now a diminished thing, and that man's task was harder now than ever, for after Adam's curse (Genesis iii. 17-19) it may have still retained some shreds of its Paradisal fruitfulness.<sup>61</sup>

Now follow five somewhat more philosophical exchanges. "Word" is the best and worst thing among men<sup>62</sup> (presumably first as Logos and second as man's biting tongue); the thing man most surely knows is that he shall suffer death; the three things which man cannot live without are fire, water and iron; the vine is the best of all trees; the soul when man is asleep is in three places—brain, heart, or blood. Though one might seek Biblical symbolism in the vine there is no need; Anglo-Saxons presumably knew what maketh glad the heart of man and what Paul told Timothy he might use a little of for his stomach's sake and his often infirmities. Speculations on the localization of the soul, asleep or awake, are common in primitive lore, especially among the Finno-Ugric tribes, neighbors of the Germanic ancestors of our Anglo-Saxon Salomon.<sup>63</sup>

The next three questions all relate to Moses. To Saturn's question, why is the sea salt, Salomon answers "Ic ðe secge, of ðám x wordum ðe Moises gesomnode in ðære ealdan æ, Godes bebodu; and he áwearp ða x word in ða sæ, and his tearas ágeát in ða sæ; forðám wearð seó sæ sealt." The Lansdowne *Maister* and *Adrian* and *Ritheus* repeat the story, but make it more clear that Moses broke the ten tablets of the Law because of his people's worship of the Golden Calf.<sup>64</sup> But the legend of the sea's turning salt through Moses' tears is unusual. It may be related in some fashion to the bitter waters of Marah which Moses made sweet (Exodus xv. 23-25), but however it originated, it is certainly one version of a far-flung folktale which explains this characteristic of sea-water.<sup>65</sup> Some merger of this with the waters of Marah and with Moses' grinding of the tablets into powder for the children of Israel to drink (Exodus xxxii. 20)<sup>66</sup> has created Salomon's answer, which has been attractively poetized with Moses'

<sup>58</sup> Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, p. 110.

<sup>59</sup> Emerson, "Legends of Cain," *PMLA*, XXI (1906), 859; John K. Bonnell, "Cain's Jaw Bone," *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 140-146.

<sup>60</sup> Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, V, 139-40. For an elaborate development of the stone-motif see Issaverdens, pp. 85-86.

<sup>61</sup> Ginzberg, V, 140.

<sup>62</sup> Also in *Adrian and Ritheus* (Kemble, p. 211).

<sup>63</sup> Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian*, pp. 4-5; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, XI, 726. See Kemble, pp. 202, 325.

<sup>64</sup> Kemble, pp. 202-203; Horstmann, p. 286.

<sup>65</sup> Thompson, *Motif-Index*, I, 195 (A1115); John K. Wright, *Geographical Lore in the Time of the Crusades*, New York, 1925, p. 301. Caumpeden's *History of King Boccos & Sidracke*, sig. T4 (question 125) gives a semi-scientific explanation of a very salt sea in the center of the world burned by the hot sun. See also Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 142.

<sup>66</sup> Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, III, 129-130, VI, 54-55.

tears. The next question presents the Ten Commandments in detail, a useful bit of morality amid all this questionable lore. Then Salomon touches on a dark puzzle, the whereabouts of Moses' tomb: "it is by the house called Fegor, and there is no man that shall know it until the great day of doom." A patent echo of Deuteronomy xxiv. 6, which says that the Lord buried Moses "in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." The name is further corrupted to Eufegor or Enfegor in the *Maister*, further evidence if we needed it of how casually the mediaeval tradition dealt with proper names of all kinds.<sup>67</sup>

Three more Old Testament questions follow in far from chronological order. The earth was first accursed, says Salomon, through Adam's fall and Abel's<sup>68</sup> blood, but it was blessed again through Noah and through baptism. We have already heard of these curses and of their effect on agriculture; the blessing is a reference to God's covenant with Noah, the first farmer after the Flood, and there is a natural transition to baptism, since the waters of the Flood were its prefigurative type. Noah first planted vines, Salomon continues, and the devil first named the name of God, an allusion to the first words uttered in Genesis by any other than God Himself: "he said to the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" (Genesis iii. 1).<sup>69</sup>

Questions forty-eight to fifty-two are again philosophical and scientific. The heaviest thing to bear on earth is not material, it is a man's sin and his Lord's anger; judgement pleases one man and displeases another; the four things that never will be full are earth, fire, hell, and the avaricious man (the last a conflation of Proverbs xxvii, 20 and xxx. 15-16).<sup>70</sup> There are four and fifty birds that fly; six and twenty fishes in the water.<sup>71</sup>

The next two questions are once more Biblical. Salomon says the prophets Elias and Eliseus were the first to construct a church or monastery ("hwylc man ærost mynster getimbrode?); the first after baptism were Paulus and Antonius, "ða ærostan ancran." In the *Maister* the same four are given, but merely in answer to the simpler question, "Which was the firste clerke that ever was?" This may be in part an indication of the shift from the monastic twelfth century to the more secular fifteenth. Paulus and Antonius are clearly St. Anthony of Egypt and St. Paul the Hermit, who were contemporaries related to each other in a somewhat similar fashion as master and disciple to Elijah and Elisha.<sup>72</sup> The word "getimbrode" might be merely figurative, and meant to suggest the cloistered habits of these Old Testament prophets, or it might involve the contest in altar-building with the priests of Baal (I Kings xviii. 30-32). Considering the fact that our manuscript of *Salomon*, Cotton Vitellius A. xv (Part I), is somewhat uneasily dated in the second quarter of the twelfth century, one might be tempted to date it a little later on the strength of this mention of Elijah, since we know that in 1155 Berthold founded a group of hermits using a Basilian rule on Mount Carmel, and traced their

<sup>67</sup> The Vulgate has *Phogor*. Professor Raphael Patai tells me the Hebrew *Pe'or* can easily become Fegor, since the character for *p* and *f* is identical, and the *ayin* is equivalent to *g* in other Semitic languages. See the accounts in S. Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets*, New York, 1872, pp. 314-315; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, III, 437, VII, 329; VI, 162-164. There was a Hebrew or Moslem tradition that Moses died and was buried in Kashmir; see François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656-1668, tr. Archibald Constable, London, 1914, p. 430. See also Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, p. 355; *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 33, 39.

<sup>68</sup> The *Maister* changes Abel to Abraham.  
<sup>69</sup> Kemble's note (p. 196) is somewhat cryptic: "That is, revealed the ineffable name of God."

<sup>70</sup> Kemble, pp. 196-197, gives several medieval parallels.

<sup>71</sup> Kemble, pp. 210-211, comments on the differing account in *Adrian and Ritheus*. This type of question is an important clue to the relationship of our Old English dialogues and the *Joca Monachorum*; see Suchier, *Adrien und Epictitus*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>72</sup> *Golden Legend* (Caxton), II, 205-207, where Paul is called the first hermit. In Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, p. 266, Paul and Antonius "primus monasterium construxit."

descent to Elijah himself.<sup>73</sup> But this would be wholly wrong, for we find our very same question and answer in an eighth-century *Joca Monachorum* (Suchier's Text C, St. Gall Stiftbibliothek, MS 908): "Qui primus monasterium constituit?—Helias et Heliseus; item post baptismum Paulus heremitas et Antonius abbas."<sup>74</sup> From this vexed question of monastic origins Salomon turns to the four rivers of Paradise: Fison, Geon, Tygres, and Eufraten, which symbolize, as they do in the *Visio Pauli*, the *Koran*, and some versions of the *Joca Monachorum*, milk and honey, oil and wine.<sup>75</sup> The connection is easy, since Elijah and Elisha were commonly placed in Paradise, to await the coming of Antichrist and Armageddon.<sup>76</sup>

Paradise leads to cosmology. Salomon says the sun is red at evening because it looks down at hell, and red at morning because it doubts whether it can traverse the earth as commanded. Talmudic lore tells us that "Dawn is a reflection of the roses of paradise; the evening twilight of the fire of hell," and other dialogues treat this question in even more detail.<sup>77</sup>

The last two questions have no connection with any of the preceding, or with themselves, unless the nexus be the mention of books. The giant Mercurius "ærost bôcstafas sette," apparently an allusion to the Hermetic tradition.<sup>78</sup> Then

<sup>73</sup> *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI (1929), 757. For the dispute over this legend between Carmelites and Bollandists see Charles L. Souvay, "Elias," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1907-22, V, 382 (also III, 354); F. Cabrol in Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, X, 703-704. Elijah was often called a priest or monk by the Church Fathers; see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 122; Henry O. Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, New York, 1929, p. 11; or an architect by the Jews—see Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, IV, 206.

<sup>74</sup> Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, p. 109. Not among the questions in Heinrici's Byzantine dialogues, which have several other allusions to Elijah. It probably derives from a common series of "firsts," the first bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, and so forth. See Suchier, pp. 18, 26, and Heinrici, *passim*.

<sup>75</sup> Mandeville (Hamelius, I, 202-204) and Peter Comestor (*PL* 198, col 1098) have much on these rivers, but lack the four liquids. Religious art equates them with the four Evangelists, and Alexander Neckam with the four cardinal virtues; see Wright, *Geographical Lore*, pp. 264-265; Paul A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospel," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, V (1950), 42-138. The root of the concept of the four liquids is probably such passages as Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 26, which speaks of the staples of life: "honey, milk, and the blood of the grape, and oil." From there it moves into such apocalyptic pieces as the *Visio Pauli*, the *Slavonic Enoch*, and the *Koran*; see Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, *The Antebiblical Fathers*, Buffalo, 1886, VIII, 578; *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch*, ed. and tr. A. Vaillant, Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1952, p. 89 (interpolations of MS R); E. H. Palmer, tr., *The Qur'an*, Oxford, 1900, II, 230 (Sura xlvii. 15). Closely related is the Water of Life under the roots of the World-Tree; among the North Asiatic Jakuts this issues into a milky lake—see Uno Harva (Holmberg), *Die Religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, Helsinki, 1938 (FF-Communications, No. 125), pp. 85-86. For

Jewish versions see J. B. Levner, *The Legends of Israel*, tr. Joel Snowman, London, 1946, I, 29 (*Yalkut Shimoni* 20), and Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, V, 159. In some Persian gardens we find a strange mélange of the Cross, Eden, the four rivers and four cardinal points, and ancient ritual; see A. J. Arberry, *The Legacy of Persia*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953, pp. 262, 278-279.

<sup>76</sup> Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 35, 39.

<sup>77</sup> Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, V, 37. A fifteenth-century *Adrian et Epictitus* (Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, p. 271) says "Quid agit sol in nocte? Sex horas illuminat gentem illam ubi habitatio peccatorum est; tres horas illuminat mare infernum; tres horas illuminat emanechan, ubi iustorum habitatio est; et postea insurgit et sic illuminat totum mundum." In a tenth-century *Joca Monachorum* (Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, p. 123) the sun at night is "In ventre cœti qui dicitur Leviathan." Kemble, p. 197, gives a parallel from Freidank.

<sup>78</sup> See, for instance, Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York: Macmillan, 1929-41, I, 288-292. Kemble (pp. 197, 209) suggests an identification of Mercurius with Woden; see also *Havamal*, 139-143 (Gustav Neckel, ed., *Edda, Die Lieder des Codex Regius*, Heidelberg, 1927, I, 39). But Mercurius needed no Germanic equation: see Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 14, 17, 22, 71. A Slavic *Razumnik* or dialogue assigns the same role to the Giant Mercury; see Ior. Ivanov, *Bogomilski Knigi i legendy*, Sofia, 1925, p. 268. Medieval and Renaissance illuminations commonly represent Mercury as a scribe, following Arabic sources—Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York: Pantheon, 1953, pp. 158, 160; Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume, *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1931, p. 119. There were other candidates: Isis (Seznec, p. 16); Seth (Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, p. 270; *Adrian und Epictitus*, p. 56; Joannes Malalas in B. G. Niebuhr, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantine*, Bonn, 1829 ff., XIV, 6); Moses (identified with Hermes by Hellenistic

Saturn asks: "Saga me, hwæt bóccynna, and hú fela sindon." Salomon answers "Ic ðe secge, canones béc sindon ealra twá and hundseofontig, eal swá fela beó[da] sindon on gerime, and eal swá fela leorningcnihta, bútan ðám xii Apostolum." The question is absent from *Adrian* and *Ritheus*, and the *Maister* mentions the languages and the disciples, but not "canones béc." The concern seems to be original with Salomon, so far as one can tell from extant parallels. What are these "canones béc"? Since the canonical books of Scripture are, according to one count at least, seventy-three (my 1590 Vulgate lists in the preface forty-six books of the Old Testament, including apocrypha, with three Maccabees, four Kings, and two Esdrases; and twenty-seven books of the New Testament), we might assume that the reference is to the Bible. But the phrase "canones béc" never seems to mean "canonical books" in the Old English period, though its use as Books of Canon Law is common enough from about 890 on.<sup>79</sup> Such books are commonly reckoned by the number of chapters,<sup>80</sup> and it may well be that our author is identifying some such collection as authentic for his own local discipline. There is a manuscript in the Valicellian Library which contains seventy-two chapters; it is of the ninth century and contains parts of the *Institutio Canonum* promulgated by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 816, a tradition which might well have found its way to our English dialogist.<sup>81</sup> A more commonly known collection is the *Diversorum Sententiae Patrum*, compiled perhaps about 1050, which contains seventy-four titles.<sup>82</sup> Our author could have accommodated to seventy-four as easily as he could to the seventy-three books of the Bible, and compressed his number to correspond to the established number of languages, nations, and disciples. Salomon is obsessed with numbers in this question, and adds without much proper respect to the aged Saturn that a man has two hundred and eighteen bones, three hundred and sixty-five veins, and thirty-two teeth.<sup>83</sup> Then follow the number of months in the year, the weeks, the days, and the 8760 hours. The dialogue ends with this worthy remark on the remuneration of servants that "On xii monðum ðú scealt sillan ðinum beówan vii hund hláfa, and xx hláfa, búton morgemetum, and nónmetum." The *hláford* or the monastic cellarer for whom this part of the dialogue was added was, ideally at least, subject as much to minimum wages as we are today!

### III.

This leaves us with one question which we have postponed for further elucidation, and a very puzzling one it is. Saturnus has asked, in the eighteenth exchange, "hú lange worhte man Noes earce?" Salomon answers: "lxxx wintra, of ðám treówcynne ðe is genemned Sem." The length of time need not detain us; the *Maister* treats it as a separate question (as it probably was in the original), and various chronologies allow anywhere from one to 120 years for the massive task. But we know from the Bible that the Ark was built of

syncretism—see Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, V, 402-403; Enoch (Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 117, 119).

<sup>79</sup> OED "Canon" gives as its first meaning "A rule, law, or decree of the Church"; see also Bosworth and Toller under "Canon, -es" and "canon-bóc."

<sup>80</sup> Jules Besson, "Canons, Collection of Ancient," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 281-287.

<sup>81</sup> Father Alexander Denomy advised me on several points regarding canon law, with the aid of his colleagues Fathers Wey and McLaughlin, just before his death, which has been a severe loss to all medievalists. The Valicellian MS. (T. xviii) is studied by Paul Fournier, "Un groupe de recueils

canoniques italiens des x<sup>e</sup> et xi<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France*, XL (1916), 96-123, which I have not seen.

<sup>82</sup> On the *Diversorum* see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 285-286; Fournier and Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections canoniques en l'Occident*, II (1932), 16 (last reference from Father Denomy).

<sup>83</sup> A typical Talmudic question. See Howard W. Haggard, *Devils, Drugs and Doctors*, New York, 1946, p. 134. Förster has noticed a similar numerical catch-all question, including the bones, in *Adrian and Ritheus*, which Kemble had failed to recognize as part of the dialogue; see *Englische Studien*, XXIII (1897), 434-435.

gopher wood, whatever that was, and not of a tree called "Sem." At first glance the *Maister* appears more cryptic: the Clerk asks "Where-of was made Noe is shippe?" and his informant answers "Of a tree ðat is clepid chy." It is likely that this later dialogue contains the right reading.

What, then, is this tree called Chy? We shall find, I think, that it is the tree of which the Cross was made, a tree which is a central link both in the Chain of Being and what we may call the Chain of History.

First of all it is the Greek X, a proper symbol for the Cross by its very form. From the time of Constantine the *Chi-Rho* monogram stood for Christ and his Cross, as Alpha and Omega did for the Almighty. Julian the Apostate laughed in the *Misopogon* (about 362 A.D.) at the Christian use of Chi for Christ and Kappa for Constantine; he was rebuked by Gregory Nazianzen for his audacity against "the great symbol, which marches in procession along with the Cross."<sup>84</sup> The ancient Tau symbol as sign of a sacred tree was well-adapted to one form of the Crucifix, without protruding vertical bar, and its survival in Christian times has recently played a part in the debate about one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Habakkuk Commentary.<sup>85</sup> Though the chi-cross later became associated with St. Andrew,<sup>86</sup> the chi-symbol, representing the first letter in the name of Christos the Anointed, was often used for His Cross as well.<sup>87</sup> Such symbolism is well-attested among the Celts and Anglo-Saxons;<sup>88</sup> it was certainly easy enough in a climate which produced the "Paternoster" passage of the poetical *Salomon* and *Saturn* and the *Runic Poem*.<sup>89</sup> Though the rune X originally had the values [g] and [j] and the name *gyfu*, with a pagan significance,<sup>90</sup> it is hard to assume that such a name may not at times have been associated with the "grace" of another God beside Gefion. In any event the Latin X, with the value [ks], could also be read as *chi* as the initial letter of *Xristus*, as in Chaucer's ABC.<sup>91</sup> The identification of the Logos with the Cross may have been in some untraceable way reinforced by the heavenly Chi of Plato's *Timæus*.<sup>92</sup> Justin Martyr equates it, at any rate, with Christ and the Cross and alleges that Plato took the concept from Moses.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, ed. and tr. W. C. Wright, London, 1913, II, 472-475; C. W. King, tr., *Julian the Emperor*, London, 1888, p. 37 (for Gregory's *First Inveictive against Julian*).

<sup>85</sup> Miller Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York: Viking Press, 1955, p. 99; J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1887, pp. 97, 248, 319; Richard Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, London, 1871 (EETS, XLVI), pp. xxix, 118. The early Tau is said to have been shaped like a Chi; see Samuel K. Driver and George B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job*, New York, 1921, I, 274.

<sup>86</sup> William W. Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History and Art*, New York and London, 1898, p. 70; see the apocryphal Acts of Andrew in James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 360.

<sup>87</sup> See OED "X." Lee Bowen, "The Topology of Mediaeval Dedication Rites," *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 475; Burrows, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 99; G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, V (1921), 86; W. O. Stevens, *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, New Haven, 1904, p. 69; Vincent F. Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 115, 121. In a sixteenth-century Byzantine fragment on alphabet-mysticism *chi* appears, but is equated with the Cherubim; *delta* is reserved for Christ and

Mary; see Heinrici, "Griechisch-byzantinische Gesprächsbücher," pp. 87-88.

<sup>88</sup> Allen, pp. 23, 74-77, 86-95, 113-119, 238, 258, 277; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 329; Seymour, pp. 188-192, 345; Brown, *Arts in Early England*, I (1926), 163, 254-256; V (1921), 86-93.

<sup>89</sup> Brown, V, 217; *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. Elliott van K. Dobbie, Columbia University Press, 1942, pp. 28, 155; Menner, *Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, pp. 86-89, 164-166.

<sup>90</sup> Helmut Arntz, *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, Halle (Saale), Max Niemeyer, 1944, p. 201.

<sup>91</sup> Robinson, Chaucer, pp. 619, 970; Walter W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1894, I, 270.

<sup>92</sup> Eleanor S. Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree," *Traditio*, X (1954), 333; Benjamin Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato*, New York, 1937, II, 18 (*Timæus* 36b); A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timæus*, Oxford, 1928, p. 147. For general equations of Christ and the Cross see Greenhill, p. 350; E. E. Wardale, *Chapters in Old English Literature*, London: Kegan Paul, 1935, p. 196; Bächtold-Stäubli and Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, V, 496, 499.

<sup>93</sup> First Apology 60; see Thomas B. Falls, tr., *Saint Justin Martyr*, New York, 1948, pp. 97-98.



No further proof is needed that the tree called Chy may be the Cross. But what has this to do with Noah's Ark? To answer this question we must first study another tradition, the identity, both figurative and literal, of one of the trees of Eden with the tree from which the Cross was made. The figurative base is well-illustrated by the Southern Legendary *Inventio Crucis* in MS Vernon:

þorwh a treo we weore for-lore . and furst i-brouht to grounde,  
þorwh a treo sebbe to liue i-brougt . I-heried beo þulke stounde!

We find the literal base in the same source:

Of þe treo . þat vre furste Fader . þe luper Appel of nom  
In þe Maner . þat ich ow telle wole . þe swete Rode com.<sup>94</sup>

Just how early the typological identification of Adam's tree with Christ's Tree began we cannot tell, but it is at least as early as Commodian (third-century A.D.), who says in his *Instructions*: "The tree of the apple being tasted, death has entered into the world. By this tree of death we are born to the life to come."<sup>95</sup> Here it is plain that the tree is that of the forbidden fruit, though Genesis, according to the commentators, really contained three trees, the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, whose fruit could make man the rival of the deity, the Tree of Knowledge, which excites sexual appetite, and the Tree of Life, whose fruit confers immortality.<sup>96</sup> The Caedmonian Genesis B is very specific about the distinction between the *twegin beamas* of Life and Death:

Oðer wæs swa wynlic, wlytig and scene,  
liðe and lofsum, þæt wæs lifes beam . . .  
þonne wæs se oðer eallenga sweart,  
dim and þystre; þæt wæs deaðes beam,  
se bær bitres fela.<sup>97</sup>

But, as Bishop Theophilus saw in the second century, there was no evil in the Tree of Knowledge itself; man drew from his own disobedience "as from a fountain, labour, pain, grief, and at last" he fell "a prey to death."<sup>98</sup> The faith which permitted Adam's sin to become a *felix culpa* in the liturgy of the Paschal Candle on Holy Saturday had no trouble converting the Tree of the Fall into the Cross. The very paradox delighted Jacobus a Voragine:

þe tree of the crosse was a tre of fylthe / for þe crosses were made of vile trees: and of trees without fruyt: for all that was planted on the mount of caluarie bare no frute. It was the tree of death. . . . It was also the tree of stenche / for it was planted amonge the caroynes / and after the passion the crosse was moche enhaunced / for the vylté was transported in to precyosité.<sup>99</sup>

Were the language not of the fifteenth century we should unhesitatingly call the conceit Baroque: we may recall that the Fortunate Fall attracted both John Milton and American Puritans.<sup>100</sup>

The more literal use of the trope appears in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* or

<sup>94</sup> Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. 19.

<sup>95</sup> Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IV, 209. Also in the second-century Irenaeus, see Greenhill, p. 332; Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 487; Seymour, *Cross*, pp. 47, 74. For the literal-typological problem see Greenhill, p. 334.

<sup>96</sup> John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis*, New York, 1910, pp. 94-96. For Jewish speculations on the difference between the trees see Ginzberg,

*Legends*, I, 70; Graf, *Miti*, p. 103.

<sup>97</sup> George P. Krapp, ed., *The Junius Manuscript*, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 17-18.

<sup>98</sup> Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, II, 104.

<sup>99</sup> Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. 160.

<sup>100</sup> Arthur O. Lovejoy, *Essays in the History of Ideas*, Johns Hopkins Press, 1948, pp. 277-295.

*Acts of Pilate*, written some time in the fourth century A.D.<sup>101</sup> Here Seth anoints his father Adam with the Oil of Mercy from a Paradisal tree, which prefigures the use of the same Oil by Christ.<sup>102</sup> There is no direct equation of Tree of Life or Mercy with the Cross, but it is certainly implicit in the later development of the story.

Now the Christian typology which equated Christ and the trees of Eden and Calvary had been long anticipated or paralleled by other religions, similarly bent upon the search for cosmic meaning. The World-Tree, of which Yggdrasil is only one name, is a central link in the great Chain of Being: its roots are in the underworld, its branches in the heavens.<sup>103</sup> Hence the Cross had its roots in hell, and was planted there as a sign of victory during Christ's Harrowing of Hell.<sup>104</sup> The Apostle Andrew is said to have apostrophized it thus: "O Cross, planted upon the earth and having thy fruit in the heavens!"<sup>105</sup> Mistletoe and Christmas tree bridge the gap between pagan and Christian, Adam and Christ.<sup>106</sup> Moslem tradition ties Zoroaster to this tree of Eden, in a fashion resembling Seth and the Oil of Mercy.<sup>107</sup> A branch from the Eden tree became the rod of Moses in Jewish and Russian tradition;<sup>108</sup> Christians saw in it the Scala Coeli or Jacob's Ladder.<sup>109</sup> The Hebrew Oak of Mamre became the Dry Tree, withered by the Fall and its mortal consequences, which was located somewhere in the mysterious east and seen by Alexander as well as Seth (Arbre Sec = Arbre Seth) and a host of romance heroes, as well as by Marco Polo.<sup>110</sup> The cosmic Tree of Life is as old as the *Book of Enoch* (in a section belonging to the second century B.C.),<sup>111</sup> and Miss Peebles has traced it back to Babylonian-Assyrian originals.<sup>112</sup> A natural attraction was to the tree of the phoenix, and in this character the phoenix appears in Old English:

<sup>101</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 126-128, 139; see also pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* in Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, 89.

<sup>102</sup> For the equation of Adam and Christ see Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, pp. 135, 201; Hans Bülow, *Das altenglische "Traumgesicht vom Kreuz"*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1935 (*Anglistische Forschungen*, 78), pp. 54, 59.

<sup>103</sup> Thompson, *Motif-Index*, I, 131 (A 652); III, 30 (F162.3); Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 496; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 330; Howard Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature*, Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 384; William Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus (Wald-und Feldkulte I)*, Berlin, 1875, pp. 45-48; Stevens, *Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 87-91; Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, pp. 297, 307; Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 12, 21; Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, pp. xxx-xxxi; Graf, *Miti*, pp. 61-62; Uno Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian (MAR, IV)*, pp. 333-360; John A. MacCulloch, *Eddic (MAR, II)*, p. 336 (the last discusses the famous but disputed theory of Sophus Bugge deriving Yggdrasil from the Cross). For an especially rich treatment of the world-tree and its connections with the Tree of Life in Revelations ii. 7 and xxii. 1-2 see Uno Harva [Holmberg], *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altäaischen Völker*, pp. 69-85 and *passim*.

<sup>104</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 139, 450; Greenhill, pp. 329-333, 350.

<sup>105</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 359-360.

<sup>106</sup> Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 496; Seymour,

*Cross*, p. 94.

<sup>107</sup> Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 494.

<sup>108</sup> Greenhill, p. 345; Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. xxviii.

<sup>109</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 450; Greenhill, pp. 329-330, 343-349, 351-352, 369; Seymour, *Cross*, p. 50; Morris, *Legends*, p. xxvii; see the description of an Arabic Catena (XV-XVI cent.) to the Bible, in which there is an illumination of Jacob's ladder as part of the chain of Adam's body, the Ark, and Moses' rod, in Kenneth W. Clark, *Checklist of the Manuscripts in the libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem*, Washington: Library of Congress, 1953, p. 31.

<sup>110</sup> Rise J. Peebles, "The Dry Tree: Symbol of Death," *Vassar Medieval Studies*, ed. Christabel F. Fiske, Yale University Press, 1923, pp. 59-79; Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 491-492, 497-498; Greenhill, pp. 354-357; John L. Lowes, "The Squire's Tale and the Land of Prester John," *Washington University Studies*, I, part 2 (1913), 14; Friedrich Zarncke, "Der Prester Johannes," *Abhandlungen der Phil.-Hist. Klasse der königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, VII (1879), 1010-1011, 1027; VII (1883), 127-128; Graf, *Miti*, pp. 61, 127; Mary Lascelles, "Earthly Paradise in Legends of the Holy Rood," *Medium Aevum*, V (1936), 175-188; Col. Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd ed. rev. by Henri Cordier, 1913-16, II, 103, 279; Ivar Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'Occident*, Göteborg, 1903, pp. 39-43.

<sup>111</sup> Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, 204-205.

<sup>112</sup> *Vassar Medieval Studies*, pp. 78-79.

There in the wood it bides and dwells on a lofty tree firm-rooted, under the vault of heaven; men call the tree "Phoenix" on earth from the name of the bird. . . . So those who went before us, our parents, turned their backs on the fair plain and the glorious abode in their beauty, went a far journey into the power of the wicked, where foes, wretched creatures, often did them hurt. . . . That is on the high tree in which now his holy ones have their dwelling; none of the old foes can do them any hurt there with venom, with show of malice in this perilous time.<sup>113</sup>

Later mediaeval art identifies the Tree of Life with the Tree of Jesse, naturally enough;<sup>114</sup> or moralizes it into a combination of Tree, Cross, David, and *totus homo* as microcosm of the world of space and time.<sup>115</sup> The metaphorical implications of both Eden tree and Cross are brilliantly summed up in the Cynewulfian *Christ III*: "Heavier for me the Cross of your sins whereon I am unwillingly hung, than that other Cross whereon I mounted up of Mine own free will."<sup>116</sup>

If the Cross as World-Tree is the center of the Chain of Being, the universe of space, the legend of its wood was extended to provide a Chain of History in the world of time. As Paul Meyer says, the legend "forme en quelque sort le lieu matériel entre la chute d'Adam et la venue du Sauveur."<sup>117</sup> We have already seen that Jewish providential thought has transformed the tree of Eden into the rod of Moses: there are further amplifications of the theme. Moses cast his rod into the bitter waters of Marah, to make them sweet: "It is the rod that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in the twilight of the first Sabbath eve, and gave to Adam. He transmitted it to Enoch, from him it descended to Noah, then to Shem, and Abraham," and the other patriarchs, and thence it went to Zipporah's father and Moses.<sup>118</sup> When the Hebraic sense of God in History<sup>119</sup> is combined with the Greek concept of teleology we may expect much further extension of such chains.

For, above all, Christianity had a longer span of history to work with. Its Cross legends group essentially into four types, often intermingled: the *Inventio Crucis*, the *Exaltatio Crucis*, the story of Moses and the Cross, and the story of Seth and the Tree. The first of these appeared early in Old English as *Elene*, and here the chain of history extends only so far back as Constantine's vision, though the use of the term "lifes treo"<sup>120</sup> demonstrates how easily the legend of St Helena could join the others. Morris provides us with an Old English homily on the subject; he also has the sequel, the *Exaltatio Crucis*, which tells of the rape of the Cross by the pagan Chosroës and its return to Jerusalem by the Emperor Heraclius.<sup>121</sup> The Moses and Seth legends, though found in germ

<sup>113</sup> R. K. Gordon's translation, in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, London and Toronto, n.d., p. 269; George P. Krapp and Elliott van K. Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, Columbia University Press, 1936, p. 99 (lines 171-181). For general equations of the Phoenix, Christ and the Cross see Peebles, p. 70; Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 493; Greenhill, p. 337; Seymour, *Cross*, p. 47; Graf, *Miti*, pp. 52-53, 125; Charles W. Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry*, Oxford University Press, 1943, p. 298. Alan W. Watts, *Myth and Ritual in Christianity*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1954, pp. 159-160, mentions the Great Cross of the Lateran, restored by Nicholas IV, which is surrounded by symbols of Phoenix, four Paradise rivers, and the world-tree.

<sup>114</sup> Greenhill, pp. 339, 345.

<sup>115</sup> Greenhill, pp. 361-636.

<sup>116</sup> Kennedy, *Earliest English Poetry*, p. 247; Krapp and Dobbie, *Exeter Book*, p. 44

(lines 1490-92).

<sup>117</sup> *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXIX (1909), 270. His article, on Geufroi de Paris, contains much new material on the Cross legend.

<sup>118</sup> Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 291-292, VI, 14-15; Ernest A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, Oxford, 1886, p. 50; S. C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, London, 1882, pp. 217-218. The rod is related to the rods and the water of jealousy used to test the chastity of St Joseph and the Blessed Virgin; see James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 42, 45.

<sup>119</sup> See Herbert F. Hahn, *The Old Testament in Modern Research*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1954, pp. 153-154, 181, 217.

<sup>120</sup> George P. Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*, Columbia University Press, 1932, p. 85, 87 (lines 796, 756).

<sup>121</sup> *Legends of the Holy Rood*, pp. 1, 98.

in *Nicodemus* as we have seen, did not reach their full development till the twelfth century. There are many stages, six according to Wilhelm Meyer, whose study is still the best which has been made of the legends as a whole,<sup>122</sup> though their complex relationships are still not wholly clear. We shall content ourselves with a brief summary of two versions common in Middle English, which will demonstrate the use of Biblical heroes, our major concern of the moment.

The first we may call the Moses or Rood-Tree version. It begins with Moses, who after the Exodus finds three rods which sweeten bitter springs (we have seen the Hebrew germ of this idea). He gives the rods to David, who performs miracles with them, and plants them in a well in a garden between Gethsemane and Olivet. They grow into one tree, and Solomon unsuccessfully attempts to use them in building the Temple, and then abandons them again to the well. Cericius (who may be borrowed from the *Inventio Crucis*) tries to remove the tree but fails. The harlot Sibillæ sits on the tree, and "þa ferিংæ wearð heo bæften al on brune ægðer Ʒe ðe rægl þe heo on hæfde Ʒe þe lichamæ al wiðæftan" (both body behind and garment were burned).<sup>123</sup> She cries out in prophecy of the Crucifixion, and is martyred by the Jews. Caiaphas later uses the wood for the Cross of Christ, and the Helena legend follows. This early Middle English piece appears in a twelfth-century manuscript (Bodley 343), but the legend may be as early as the eleventh century,<sup>124</sup> and hence available in Old English times. Essentially the same story exists in the Middle Irish *Leabhar Breac*, and its editor, Gustav Schirmer, believed that it was an acephalous version of the longer Seth Legend.<sup>125</sup> But the presence of a rod-story in a Jewish version suggests that this too may have been a kernel out of which an independent legend grew, parallel to and later joining with the Seth legend, of which we have found the germ in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

The Seth legend begins with the Fall of Man, and with Seth's journey to Paradise, his return with three kernels of an apple from the Tree of Mercy, the planting of the seeds and their growth as three trees. Then follows Moses, who finds the threefold tree in Hebron in Adam's mouth, and communicates it to David and to Solomon as in the other version. The beam is thrown in the piscine pool; it performs miracles, and is made into a bridge which Sibylla refuses to cross. The Crucifixion and *Inventio Crucis* end the tale. Napier is convinced the two legends are not derived from each other, but derived from some common source, and that the form which began with Moses represents the original more closely.<sup>126</sup> The Seth version allowed two developments which led to moving artistic representation in the high Middle Ages. One of them was the Child in the Tree, Seth's vision of the Infant Christ as fruit of the Paradise Tree, which Eleanor Greenhill has recently shown to have connections both with Eliot's *Four Quartets* and with the *Didot Perceval*, based on Wauchier's Second Continuation of Chrétien.<sup>127</sup> The other is the identification of Sibylla

<sup>122</sup> "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich), I. Classe, XVI. 2 (1881), 103-166. For other studies see Morris and Napier as cited; Graf, *Miti*, pp. 57-63, 126-127, 159-167; Adolfo Mussafia, "Sulla leggenda del legno della Croce," *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-Hist.-Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), 63 (1870), 165-216; Gustav Schirmer, *Die Kreuzeslegenden im Leabhar Breac*, St. Gallen, 1886. Schirmer (pp. 56-57) and Napier (pp. xxxi-xxxiii) give useful summaries of Meyer's conclusions. For further bibliography see Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, pp. 316-319, 812-813, and Supplements; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*,

IV, 328; Patch, *Other World*, pp. 155-156; Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Mediæ Aevi*, I, 123-124 (the last especially valuable for Slavic versions).

<sup>123</sup> Arthur S. Napier, *History of the Holy Rood-Tree*, London, 1894 (EETS, 103), p. 26. We are reminded of Noria, wife of Noah, who set fire to the Ark in a Gnostic apocryphon cited by Epiphanius; see Montague R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, London, 1920, pp. 12-13.

<sup>124</sup> Napier, pp. lviii-lix.

<sup>125</sup> *Die Kreuzeslegenden im Leabhar Breac*, p. 60.

<sup>126</sup> For a comparison of the Seth and Rood-Tree versions see Napier, pp. xxxvi-xli.

<sup>127</sup> *Traditio*, X (1954), 323-371. For the

with the Queen of Sheba, which became part of Calderon's *El Arbol del Mejor Fruto* or *La Sibilla del Oriente*,<sup>128</sup> and a striking feature of the frescoes of Piero della Francesca in the Church of St Francis at Arezzo, which raise the Cross legend into the realms of the highest Renaissance vision.<sup>129</sup>

In all this summary we have several times crossed the period of Noah's Ark, which Salomon's successor the Maister of Oxford identifies with the tree called Chy, but we have not yet encountered the Ark as a part of the Cross legend. It is, in fact, a rather rare feature in the West. But we do find it. One rather eccentric development of the Helena story, in MS Bodleian Fairfax 14, explains how the Tree of Mercy gave shelter to Adam after he had sinned, how the cry of Abel's blood came from it when Cain slew him (a type of the suffering of Christ on the Cross), and how, finally, it played its part in the Flood:

and dede, for sob, had been noe,  
had nozt him saued þat tree.  
Of four corners þe arche was made,  
als has the cros of lange and brade,  
þe dore of þe arche a-pon þe side,  
and þer was ihesus wounded wide.

The typological intent is plain,<sup>130</sup> but the language also permits us to make a literal identification of the wood of Ark and Cross. This blend continues; the author speaks of Moses' rod, the sign of the Cross at the Exodus and in the Wilderness, Elisha's raising a dead man, David's fight with Goliath. All of them are associated with the Cross, which was symbolized in the old days by "ðe signe of tav."<sup>131</sup>

Just how this kind of speculation crept into the Cross legend is not clear; it may have been fairly original with the author of this single version. But there is another legend which joins Seth and Eden, Noah and Calvary, which originally had nothing to do with the Cross. Its special development was in the Orient. Its genesis can be traced to the Jewish *Apocalypsis Mosis*, reworked by Christians, and written somewhere in the first three years of the Common Era. Here Adam, after Fall and Penance, has a vision of the coming of the Lord: On his deathbed he asks Seth to journey to Paradise, where an angel may give him the oil of life from the "tree of mercy", with which Adam may be anointed. The angel Michael refuses it, but promises it for the future. Adam dies and is buried in Paradise.<sup>132</sup> This legend, which says nothing of Golgotha,

Child in the Tree see also Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 90. A striking Oriental parallel of a child in the cypress tree and the Good Shepherd (Malak-Bêl) is found in Stephen H. Langdon, *Semetic* (MAR V), Boston, 1931, pp. 60, 371. I have been unable to see E. Lohmeyer's *Urchristliche Mystik; Neutestamentliche Studien*, 1955, which contains a chapter "Von Baum und Frucht."

<sup>128</sup> Rivaldeneyra, *Comedias de Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca*, Madrid, 1850, IV, 193-212; Adolf Schaeffer, *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890, I, 344, II, 65.

<sup>129</sup> Lionello Venturi, *Piero della Francesca*, Geneva: Skira, 1954, pp. 58-92.

<sup>130</sup> The Ark is already a type of the Cross in the second-century Justin Martyr; see Falls, *Saint Justin Martyr*, p. 360. Late Jewish speculation, perhaps in answer to the Christian Chain of History, connects the cedar of Noah's Ark with the gallows or cross of Haman; see Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV,

443-444; VI, 479; Salomon Rappaport, *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus*, Frankfurt A/M, 1930, pp. 11, 96. The literal turn of the figurative identification of Cross and Ark was no doubt reinforced by the appearance of Noah in the Joachimite writings and illuminations. See Leone Tondelli, *Il Libro delle Figure dell'Abate Gioachino da Fiore*, 2nd edition, Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1953, I, 57, II, Tavole I, II, and *passim*. Perhaps this may have something to do with a pictorial version of Cross and Eden Tree described by Greenhill, p. 346, with Noah and his Wife among the branches. For other visual equations see Paul A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, V (1950), 98-103.

<sup>131</sup> Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, pp. 116-119.

<sup>132</sup> Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, 123-154.

had an elaborate growth in Christian times; widely differing versions appear in Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Slavonic. Perhaps we may take the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* as typical—a book which we know in its thirteenth-century form, but possibly in part as old as the fourth century. In the *Cave of Treasures* is glorified before the Fall as type of Christ. After the Fall and the Death of Abel Adam asks that he be buried first in Paradise and later at the center of the earth (Jerusalem). He is placed in the Machpelah or Cave of Treasures at Hebron, which Genesis (xlix. 29-33) had named only as the burial-place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Henceforward the Sethites cluster around the Cave to protect themselves from the wicked civilization of the Cainites. Methusaleh, on his deathbed forty days or more before the Flood, instructs Noah:

Take thy wife, and thy sons, and the wives of thy sons [Methusaleh's daughters], and get thee down from this holy mountain. And take with thee the body of our father Adam, and these three offerings, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense; set the body of Adam in the middle of the Ark, and lay these offerings upon him. Thou and thy sons shall occupy the eastern part of the Ark, and thy wife and thy son's wives shall occupy the western part . . . . and ye shall have no intercourse whatsoever with them until ye go forth from the ark.<sup>133</sup>

An interesting detail from the account of the Flood itself deserves mention. It rises until it reaches Paradise, where the other antediluvian patriarchs were buried in the Cave.

And as the flood had been blessed by Paradise . . . . it bowed its head, and kissed the skirts of Paradise and turned itself back to destroy the whole earth. And the Ark flew on the wings of the wind over the waters of the flood from east to west, and from north to south, and it marked out [by its path] a cross on the waters.<sup>134</sup>

After the Flood Adam's body remains in the Ark until Noah's death, when Noah commands his sons to "take the body and place it in the centre of the earth, and make Melchisedek to sit down there." Shem places it in Gâghûltâ where it remains until the Cross of Christ is set up over it.<sup>135</sup> "And when the Wood (i.e. the Cross) was fixed upon it, and Christ was smitten with the spear, and blood and water flowed down from his side, they ran down into the mouth of Adam, and he was baptized."<sup>136</sup> In some form this legend about

<sup>133</sup> Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, tr., *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, London, 1927, pp. 104-105. This ban on sexual intercourse during the crisis of the Flood is a well-known medieval theme, which begins in Jewish exegesis. See my article, "Noah's Ham and Jansen Enikel," *Germanic Review*, XVI (1941), 241-249.

<sup>134</sup> Budge, *Cave of Treasures*, p. 114. According to Jewish legend the whole land of Israel was spared by the Flood. See I. Epstein, tr., *The Babylonian Talmud*. London: Soncino Press, 1935 ff., I, 553, 560; Gerald Friedländer, tr., *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, London, 1916, pp. 167-168; Graf, *Miti*, p. 17. The Moslem alternatives to this

cross-voyage allows the ark to circle the temple in Mecca seven times before landing on Mount Judi (the Moslem Ararat), just as pilgrims to Mecca still do, and the Kaaba, or holy black stone of Mecca, was saved by angels from the Flood. See Mirkhond, *Rauzat-Us-Safa*, Oriental Translation Fund, 1891, I, 84, 170. The Flood spares paradise in the Old English *Phoenix*, lines 41-46 (Krapp, *Exeter Book*, p. 95).

<sup>135</sup> Budge, *Book of the Bee*, pp. 31, adds further Syriac symbolism—when Adam's coffin was set in the ground by Shem "the earth was rent in the form of a cross and swallowed up the coffin."

<sup>136</sup> Budge, *Cave of Treasures*, p. 225. The

the baptism of Adam got into our dialogue tradition, as we have seen, and it was reported to the Anglo-Saxon traveller Sæwulf, who returned to England from the Holy Land in 1103.<sup>137</sup>

The East provides us in plenitude with many similar chains of history involving Noah. The *Cave* also introduces us to a fourth son of Noah, Yōntōn, born after the Flood, who taught wisdom and divination to Nimrod.<sup>138</sup> Here Yōntōn has nothing to do with Adam's Body or the Cross, but he emerges in such a role in the West. By the end of the twelfth century Peter Comestor had borrowed from Pseudo-Methodius a brief account of Jonitus the astrologer.<sup>139</sup> In Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, derived in part from Comestor, Jonitus finds three twigs, "abies et palma . . . et cypressus," and plants them.<sup>140</sup> He has taken the role of David as the preserver of the wood of the Cross. To parallel Jonitus's role as transmitter of antediluvian wisdom to Nimrod there is a Jewish tradition that Adam and Eve's garments were preserved in the Ark, where they gave Noah power over the animals. Ham gave them to Nimrod, who thus became a mighty hunter and the first king.<sup>141</sup> A similar chain appears in the equation of Adam's altar with that of the Temple.<sup>142</sup> Russian legend tells of a mace which Adam brought from Paradise and which descended to Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, and finally to Moses as his miraculous rod.<sup>143</sup> We find metaphor again turning literal in Pseudo-Eusebius, who speaks of the shining dove which flew from Noah's Ark to the Blessed Virgin. Noah's dove was a natural symbol of the Holy Ghost, but it was rarely so prosaically identified.<sup>144</sup> Mohammedanism is very partial to similar chains of power. Shiite "traducianism" believes in a chain of celestial light transmitted from Adam to the Imam,<sup>145</sup> and the Isma'li chief of the Assassins told a messenger of St Louis that Abel's soul had been transmitted to Noah, Abraham, and finally to St Peter.<sup>146</sup>

The wood of Ark and Cross, the tree called Chy, led to plentiful speculation.

baptism of Adam appears in the Irish *Lebor Gabála Erenn* (MacAlister, I, 97). Jewish legend often buries Adam in Jerusalem, the *omphalos*, with no regard to Christian exegesis; see Max Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden, 1893, pp. 78-79; Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 126-127; Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 107-108. Parallels to the legend of Adam's body in the *Cave of Treasures* will be found in Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 114-118; St. John D. Seymour, "The Book of Adam and Eve in Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXXVI, Sect. C (1921-24), 131; Aleksandr Veselovskii, *Razyskaniia v Oblasti Russkago Duchovnago Stikha*, XI, St. Petersburg, 1889, 368-371, 384-385, 396-411; Moses Gaster, *Ilchester Lectures on Greco-Slavonic Literature*, London, 1887, pp. 32-37; Meyer, "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes," p. 139; Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, 125, 151-152; Seymour, *Cross*, pp. 83-87, 99-100; Wells, *Manual*, pp. 318-320, 813 and Supplements; Issaverdens, *Uncanonical Writings . . . in the Armenian MSS.*, p. 53; Vatroslav Jagić, "Slavische Beiträge zu den Biblischen Apocryphen," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna)*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, XLII (1893), 58; Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 492-494. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum*, I, 434, mentions an apocryphon "De capite Adam."

<sup>137</sup> Thomas Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, London, 1848, p. 38; see Graf, *Miti*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>138</sup> Budge, *Cave of Treasures*, pp. 142-144.

<sup>139</sup> PL 198, cols 1088-89. For the *Revelations*

of Pseudo-Methodius see Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, Halle a. S., 1898, pp. 63-64; Charlotte d'Evelyn, "The Middle-English Metrical Version of the *Revelations* of Methodius," *PMLA*, XXXIII (1918), 137, 146, 164; Veselovskii, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 370, 393.

<sup>140</sup> For Jonitus, Jerico, Genico, Hiontus, Moniton, or Munt (the last two Slavic forms) see Graf, *Miti*, pp. 61, 126-127; Meyer, "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes," pp. 112-113, 163; Veselovskii, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 370, 393; Albrecht Götze, "Die Schatzhöhle: Überlieferung und Quellen," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, XIII.4 (1922), 57-59; *Lebor Gabála Erenn*, ed. MacAlister, I, 159, 253-254; Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 493-494. The three twigs or branches are the same as those found by Moses in the Rood-Tree legend; see Napier, pp. xiv, 17.

<sup>141</sup> G. Friedländer, tr., *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, p. 175.

<sup>142</sup> Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 117.

<sup>143</sup> Metropolitan Makarii, *Velikiia Minei Chetii*, Moscow: Arkheograficheskaiia Komissia, 1868 (September 1-15), p. 172.

<sup>144</sup> Friedrich Sühling, *Die Taube als Religiöses Symbol in Christlichen Altertum*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1930, p. 38.

<sup>145</sup> Arnold and Guillaume, *Legacy of Islam*, p. 225.

<sup>146</sup> Charles E. Nowell, "The Old Man of the Mountain," *Speculum*, XXII (1947), 497-519. Western heretics spoke of the transmigration of the soul of Adam to David and then to Christ; see Graf, *Miti*, p. 46.

The gopher wood of which the Ark is built is a *hapax legomenon* which allows of no easy solution, or rather, of almost any solution.<sup>147</sup> Identification with the Cross merely extended the range of possibilities. In its most developed form the Cross was made of four kinds of wood, the upright of cedar, the arms of cypress, the base of palm, and the inscribed piece of olive.<sup>148</sup> Other legends build it of elder or aspen, both of which shake with the memory of the dreadful deed in which they shared.<sup>149</sup> As apple-tree it goes properly back to Eden.<sup>150</sup> The *Kronenbaum* or birch, often associated with Paradise in Germanic legend, is also the Tree of the Cross.<sup>151</sup> Other candidates are oak (the tree of Mamre), fir, box, pine, cherry, orange, plantain, citron, tamarind or wheat.<sup>152</sup> Irish folklore preserves it independently of the Ark or Noah:

After the Flood a tree—the same tree as the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden, was floating around and came to many countries, England, France, Ireland, Spain, America—firewood was very scarce but no one could use this tree as hatchets could make no impression on it—finally the Jews made the Cross of our Lord with it.<sup>153</sup>

This strange version is paralleled in Slavic legend. The tree of the forbidden fruit was a vine, and a branch from it floated to Noah, who planted it and of its fruit made wine, cause of his shame and once more a source of evil. It ultimately became the Crucifix.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>147</sup> T. E. Brown, "Gopher Wood," in William Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ref. H. B. Hackett, New York, 1872, II, 939; Skinner, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis*, pp. 160-161; Henry Hyvernatt, "Gopher Wood," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VI, 45-46. For a typical Renaissance gloss, very full, see R. P. Benedicti Pererii Valentini, *Commentariorum et Disputationum in Genesim*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1601, pp. 427-428.

<sup>148</sup> Seymour, *Cross*, pp. 98-99; Menner, *Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, pp. 43-44; Morris, *Legends*, p. 155. Cypress (OE cypresse, Greek *kyparissos*) might through confusion of the *kappa* and the *chi* have something to do with "the tree called Chy." For the wood in Pseudo-Bede see Stevens, *Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 10. Mandeville as usual is interesting. He makes the upright of cypress, crossbar of palm, base (in earth) of cedar, and tablet of olive, "for cedre may not in erthe ne in water rote." "þei trowed þat the body of crist scholde have stonken" and cypress is aromatic. Palm is a sign of victory, and olive means peace, "As the story of Noe witnesseth whan þat the culuer brought the branche of olyue." He then equates the Cross with the cypress from which "Adam ete the appull," and there follows an abridgement of the Legend of Seth. Later he discusses the burial of Adam in Hebron and later on Golgotha; he mentions the Dry Tree, and the cross-tree as bridge over Brook Kidron. See Hamelius, *Mandeville's Travels*, I, 6-7, 25-27, 43-44, 54-55, 62.

<sup>149</sup> Seymour, *Cross*, pp. 93-94; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, I, 336-337.

<sup>150</sup> Seymour, p. 95.

<sup>151</sup> Bächtold-Stäubli, V, 486. We are reminded of the puzzling *birk* that was worn

on the hats of the three sons of the Wife of Usher's Well (Child's ballad 79A); it grew at the gates of Paradise. Child does not gloss the word, and version 79B has "hats made of the bark." Our parallel will further illuminate the remarks of Lowry C. Wimberley, *Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads*, University of Chicago Press, 1939, pp. 155-156, 293. The magical quality of birch is also attested in the *Rune Poem*, lines 51-54 (Dobbie, *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, p. 29), where "beorc" is "heah on helm, hrysted fægere."

<sup>152</sup> For such variety of trees see Graf, *Miti*, pp. 19-20, 62-63, 104-105; Seymour, *Cross*, pp. 96-97; Stevens, *Cross*, p. 10; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, III, 226, 235-240. The various kinds of cross-wood will be mentioned under motif V211.4.1 in a later volume of Thompson; see *Motif-Index*, I, 208. Such collocations of woods remind us of passages like Isaiah xli. 19 (cedar, acacia, myrtle, oleaster, fir, pine, box).

<sup>153</sup> Irish Folklore Commission MS 592, pp. 334-336. This reference was provided by the aid of James Delargy and Ciaran Bairéad. The identification of wood of the Cross, Ark, and Forbidden Fruit is made in a gloss to the Celtic dialogue on Old Testament History in MS Egerton 1782; see Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1926, II, 280.

<sup>154</sup> Veselovskii, *Razyskaniia*, p. 370, 393. Lutwin's *Adam and Eva* preserves the branches on the Ark; see Meyer, "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes," p. 139, and his "Altislavische Kreuz- und Rebensagen," *Russische Revue*, XIII (1878), 131-152; Jagić, "Slavische Beiträge," p. 58; A. Galakhov, *Istoriia russkoi slovesnosti drevnei i novoi*, St Petersburg, 1880, I, 465-467. In the *Lebor Gabála Erenn* (MacAlister, I, 97, 239-40), it is Adam's body that floats through the



It was generally agreed that Noah's wood must be indestructible and otherwise miraculous, for the preservation of the Ark through the devastating storms of the Deluge, and for the safeguarding of relics of the Ark at a later date. The resinous woods, cypress, cedar and pine, were thus often suggested as translations of the puzzling "gopher." In the thirteenth-century *Wartburgkrieg* a bottle-imp tells Wolfram von Eschenbach of a land so cold that no animal can live there. No fruit grows there, except the wood that Noah used for his ark,

der dich von keinem füwer nit verbrennet /  
Er ist noch herter wann ein stein / noch fester  
wann das ýsen  
wint regen ým nit geschaden mag,

and it will last till doomsday as testimony of the Ark.<sup>155</sup> Another motif, interchangeable between legends of Cross and of Noah, concerns further miraculous powers of such wood. In the Cross legend Solomon's workmen had insisted, after measurement, that the mysterious tree in the piscine pool was the only one which would fit a certain place in the Temple. They secured it, but found that it had shortened by a miracle, and could not be used. Solomon orders it to be venerated.<sup>156</sup> In a Rumanian folktale, after the Ark has been destroyed by the devil "Judas," Noah weeps. An angel tells him to take a plank and two sticks and to seek the root of a certain tree. He does so, and "all the pieces, no matter how small and wherever they were scattered, came one by one to their places and the boat was reassembled there just as it had been."<sup>157</sup> Such stories very likely echo the experiences of St Joseph in the *Gospel of Thomas* (sixth century or before) and other Infancy Gospels. His major occupation was making ploughs and yokes. One day a rich man commissioned him to make a bed. "And whereas one beam, that which is called the shifting one, was too short, and Joseph knew not what to do, the young child Jesus" told him to lay the two pieces down and make them even at his end. "And Jesus stood at the other end and took hold upon the shorter beam and stretched it and made it equal with the other."<sup>158</sup>

This last interpenetration of motifs between early apocryphal Gospels, the folklore of Noah, and the Cross legend is enough to show how fluid such elements are, and to confirm us in our notion that "the tree called Chy" is clearly Noah's ark wood, the Paradise tree, and the tree of which the Cross was made.<sup>159</sup> But what of the "treówcynne genemned Sem" of the Old English dialogue? There are several possible explanations:

Flood waters to Golgotha. For a Jewish parallel see Friedländer, *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, p. 170.

<sup>155</sup> MS Colmar Cgm 4997, f. 682v; kindly communicated to me by Professor John V. Tillman of St Louis University (the same poem contains the Child in the Tree—see Greenhill, p. 371). Similar wood, not subject to putrefaction, is used by the Noah of the Greek and Slavonic *Palæa Historica*; see Afanasi Vasil'ev, *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina: Pars Prior*, Moscow, 1893, p. 197. In the Slavic Methodius this wood is called *klenrik*; see Nicolai Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literatury*, St Petersburg, 1863, pp. 249-253. On *sethim* or *shittim* wood see note 160.

<sup>156</sup> Napier, p. 25.

<sup>157</sup> Tudor Pamfile, *Povestea lumii de demult*, Bucharest, 1913 (Academia Rómána Din Vieta Poporului Român, Culegeri si Studii, XVIII), p. 127; see C. Radulescu-Codin, *Legende, Traditii si Amintiti Istorice*, Bucharest, 1910 (same series), pp. 2-3. Pro-

fessor Louis Solano and Dr. Eric Tappe have assisted me with translations of these Rumanian items. For Hungarian versions see Anton Hermann, "Die Flutsagen der finnisch-ugrischen Völker," *Globus*, 63 (1863), 335; Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I, 269-271. I have in my files similar unpublished tales from the Folklore Archives of Lithuania and Estonia.

<sup>158</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 52-53. See C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic*, Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948, pp. 89, 200; Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, Helsinki, 1928 (FFCommunications, No. 74), p. 163 (Mt 1244, a numskull story); Heinrich Günter, *Die Christliche Legende der Abendlandes*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 171. The Infancy story, involving the building of a throne for Herod, was seen in a Swiss picture by a companion of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister; see the translation by Thomas Carlyle, New York: Dutton, 1926, II, 167.

<sup>159</sup> Further general references to the Seth

1. Sem may have crept in from another question which specified the sons of Noah as an eye-skip.<sup>100</sup> This would not eliminate an earlier Chy, but it would leave it unexplained.

2. An earlier Chy may have been misread as Cham, the name of another of Noah's sons. A second scribe, finding the name of the wicked son anathema, might then have altered it to the most-favored son Sem.

3. The Tree of Sem may be a parallel to the Tree of Jesse, a genealogical chain of some kind leading to the Savior. So far as I can tell, no such formula is known, though the genealogy from Shem to Christ is plain enough in Biblical terms.

4. Shem's connection with the Cross legend, as transmitter either of the body of Adam or of some form of the Cross-wood, may have caused his name to become identified with the wood of Ark and Cross.

The last of them seems best as an explanation. But all of them imply that the Middle English translation preserves a better reading of the original than *Salomon and Saturn*. A distinct possibility, and an interesting one.

## IV.

As a final bow to the Old English poetical context which preceded all this twelfth-century and later development, we might allow the Cross to speak for itself. That it does in *The Dreum of the Rood* some centuries before. The poet says:

Geseah ic wuldres treow  
wædum geweorðode,      wynnum scinan,  
gegyred mid golde . . . .

Yet through that gold he could see the former strife of wretched men, and that the tree had once bled on the right side. Here we may have echoes of Paradise tree, Cross, and its mighty Burden, merging in the poet's mystic vision. Then the Cross speaks. Its heroic power is something like the rigidity of the militant Christ in Piero della Francesca's Resurrection, as He rises from the sepulchre over the heads of the sleeping soldiers:

þær ic ða ne dorste      ofer dryhtnes word  
bagan oððe berstan,      þa ic bifian geseah  
eorðan sceatas.      Ealle ic mihte  
feondas gefyllan,      hwæðre ic fæste stod.

The cosmic identification of man and nature, Cross and Christ continues:

Weop eal geseaft,  
cwiððon cyninges fyll.      Crist wæs on rode.

Like its Master the Cross too is buried; like Him it is resurrected by friends

legend and chains of history may be found in Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, p. 371, and *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 19, 27, 112, 115. The first of these (a fifteenth-century *Adrian et Epictitus*) asks "In qua die clamavit diabolus de ligno in paradiso quando seduxit Evam?" The answer is "In sexta feria hora sexta et in ipsa die conceptus est et crucifixus est Christus." Morton Bloomfield reminds me that the Hebrew word for "life" may be transliterated *khay*. But to connect this with our *chy* would be to create a bilingual correspondence which could only take place after the shift of OE [i] to [ai], a shift too late for the *Maister*.

<sup>100</sup> Another explanation for Sem, which

came too late to be incorporated in the text, is provided by an eighth or ninth-century *Joca Monachorum* edited by Suchier, *Adrian und Epictitus*, pp. 118-119. Here the Ark of Noah is said to be constructed "De lignis sethim imputribilis nature." This wood is the *shittim* wood of Deuteronomy x. 10, which Moses used for the Ark of the Covenant. Plainly the seminal *Joca Monachorum* may have provided this word, which was corrupted into *Sem*. In such a case *Chy* is a later development, resting on the twelfth-century expansion of the Cross legend. But the *Sem-Chy* pair were no doubt reinforced by the various considerations I have put forward.

like Helena, and like Him it can heal men. At last the Cross asks that its vision be declared to men:

onwreoh wordum    þæt hit is wuldres beam,  
 se ðe ælmihtig god    on þrowode  
 for mancynnes    manegum synnum  
 ond Adomes    ealdgewyrhtum.<sup>161</sup>

This is enough to show that to a rapt mystic of the ninth century the Cross, Christ, sinning man and the Tree of Paradise were all eternally present and figuratively joined, though not yet surely joined in the West to Seth's Tree of Mercy and the literal Chain of History.

The seeds were there, they must grow, and their final issue into a tree called Chy and the four corners of Noah's Ark was merely the recurrent miracle of poetry—a twelfth-century spring which had the East as its harbinger. If, as Miss Greenhill has shown, the final result of Seth's legend could be Eliot's first world,

The voice of the hidden waterfall  
 And the children in the apple-tree,

we may note that another modern poet can likewise call on the *felix culpa*, the identification of Cross and Tree of Adam's Sin:<sup>162</sup>

This bread I break was once the oat,  
 This wine upon a foreign tree  
 Plunged in its fruit;  
 Man in the day or wind at night  
 Laid the crops low, broke the grape's joy . . . .

This flesh you break, this blood you let  
 Make desolation in the vein,  
 Were oat and grape  
 Born of the sensual root and sap;  
 My wine you drink, my bread you snap.

<sup>161</sup> Krapp, *Vercelli Book*, pp. 61-65.

<sup>162</sup> *Collected Poems, 1934-1952*, London; Dent, p. 39. Elder Olson finds a similar identification of Cross and Eden Tree in the sonnet sequence "Altarwise by owl-light." See his *The Poetry of Dylan Thomas*, University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. 77-78.

The same analogies play through Thomas's story "The Tree"; see *Adventures in the Skin Trade*, Norfolk, Conn.; New Directions, 1955, p. 98: "his God grew up like a tree from the apple-shaped earth. . . . Always pray to a tree, said the gardener, thinking of Calvary and Eden."

# Henry of Harclay's Questions on Immortality

ARMAND MAURER C.S.B.

**B**OTH of the Questions of Henry of Harclay edited in the appendix of this article concern the problem of immortality. The first considers the problem in its broadest aspect, inquiring whether any creature necessarily exists and is by nature indestructible. It lays down the principles determining Harclay's conclusions in the second Question, which asks more specifically whether the human soul is immortal.

The two Questions are also linked together by their opposition to the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. He is the main subject of criticism in both. Harclay's chief concern is to uphold orthodoxy and the traditional views of the Fathers of the Church regarding the freedom and omnipotence of God and the basic nothingness of creatures. He sees in St. Thomas a theologian who has betrayed these Christian truths and fallen into heresy through his love of Greek philosophy and his attempt to reconcile Aristotle with the Christian faith.<sup>1</sup>

Harclay's preoccupation in these Questions is thus allied to that of his fellow Oxonians and contemporaries, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham, both of whom were intent on safeguarding the faith against Greek and Arabian necessitarianism.<sup>2</sup> This concern was not new to Oxford in the fourteenth century. As early as the first half of the thirteenth century, Robert Grosseteste criticized certain "moderns" who tried to make Aristotle a Catholic and ended by making themselves heretics.<sup>3</sup> In levelling the same charge against St. Thomas, Harclay follows the tradition begun by Grosseteste of guarding the Christian faith against the contamination of pagan Aristotelianism.

## THE CONTINGENCY OF CREATED BEING

The main point at issue in Henry of Harclay's present polemic against St. Thomas is the contingency of creatures. Harclay insists that it is possible for every creature not to exist. God alone is a necessary being. If anything else exists, it is because it has been created by God, and once created God can annihilate it if he chooses. Why should God not be able to annihilate one of his creatures? The basic reason why anything is impossible is not that God cannot do it but that the thing itself is impossible to do. If God, then, could not annihilate a creature, it would be because the creature of its nature could not be annihilated. But of itself every creature, including spiritual beings like angels, can be annihilated. Hence no creature of itself or by its very nature is a necessary being; of itself it is possible for it not to exist (I, 21, 22).

Harclay's second point is that this is equally true of every creature. There are no degrees of necessity or contingency. An angel is no more necessary in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, Appendix I, 12; II, 41-44. Unless otherwise indicated, references to Harclay are to the Questions edited in the Appendix. I, 12 refers to Question I, paragraph 12.

St. Thomas is also Harclay's principal subject of criticism in his Question on the univocity of being. Cf. A. Maurer, "Henry of Harclay's Question on the Univocity of Being", *Mediaeval Studies* XVI (1954), 1-18.

<sup>2</sup> For Scotus' relations with the philosophers, cf. E. Gilson, *Jean Duns Scot* (Paris, 1952), especially pp. 641-653. For Ockham, cf. L. Baudry, *Le Tractatus de Principiis Theologiae attribué à G. d'Occam* (Paris, 1936), pp. 42, 43: En résumé, la

philosophie de Guillaume d'Occam se présente comme un effort de la pensée chrétienne pour se libérer des entraves de l'aristotélisme. Cf. E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1954), p. 498.

<sup>3</sup> Non igitur se decipiant et frustra desudent ut Aristotelem faciant Catholicum, ne inutiliter tempus suum et vires ingenii sui consumant et Aristotelem Catholicum constituendo seipsos hereticos faciendo. Robert Grosseteste, *Hexaemeron*, Ms. Oxford, *Queens College* 312, fol. 40<sup>va</sup>. Quoted in A. C. Pegis, *Saint Thomas and the Greeks* (Milwaukee, 1939), p. 89.

its being than a frog, nor is a frog any more contingent than an angel, for the Christian faith teaches that God conserves both of them in existence. His will is no more necessitated to hold one thing in existence than another (I, 23).

On both these points Harclay sets himself in opposition to St. Thomas. Citing the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, he shows that according to St. Thomas not all created beings are contingent; some are necessary, and what is more, absolutely necessary. An example of an absolutely necessary creature is a *per se* subsisting form, like an angel, which contains no matter or passive potency subject to privation. A creature of this sort has no potentiality to non-existence. Only material creatures whose matter is receptive of other forms have potentiality to non-existence. In short, only beings which are changeable and corruptible can cease to exist (I, 3). Moreover, in his *Summa Theologiae* St. Thomas asserts that a form subsisting *per se* cannot lose its being, for being follows inseparably upon form: *esse consequitur formam inseparabiliter*. It could lose its being only if it could lose its form. But this is obviously impossible in a creature which is a form alone (I, 6).

To Harclay, this is a scandalous doctrine in the writings of a Catholic theologian. St. Thomas, for his part, sees nothing offensive in it. Indeed, he looks upon it as entirely normal, for it is eminently fitting for a perfect agent like God to produce beings similar to himself to the extent that this is possible. Now it is not impossible for a creature to be a necessary being. The only reason that could be urged against it is that the creature depends upon God for its existence. But dependence on a cause does not militate against necessity in the effect. A conclusion, for instance, depends upon its principle and yet it is as necessary as the principle itself. It is to be expected, therefore, that the beings closest to God and most like him, namely the separated substances, are farthest removed from potentiality to non-existence (I, 4, 5).

But surely, it might be argued, God could take his causal influence away from creatures and then they would cease to exist. This shows that no creature is necessary. To St. Thomas, however, the supposition that God might remove his influence from his creatures is impossible, because if he did so the divine will would change, and we know that this will is immutable (I, 7).

It might also be advanced that creatures have been made from nothing and consequently tend to return to nothing. From this it would seem that in themselves they have potentiality to non-being. St. Thomas replies with a distinction. Creatures may be said to tend to nothing in two senses: first, because it is in God's power to give them existence or not; second, because the creatures themselves have potentiality to non-being. In the first sense creatures do tend to nothing, but not in the second. God has the power to give them existence or not, but this does not entail a potentiality in creatures themselves to non-being (I, 8).

As Harclay is well aware, this distinction is crucial for the Angelic Doctor's position. St. Thomas invites us to look at creatures in two ways: from the point of view of their dependence on God, and from the point of view of their own natures and their proximate principles. From the first standpoint creatures have only a hypothetical necessity: they exist only on the supposition that God wills to create them. From the second standpoint, however, creatures involve absolute necessity. For example, it was not necessary for animals to be created, but once created it is absolutely necessary for them to be mortal because they are composed of contraries. Consequently, owing to the very nature of a creature and its proximate principles it contains absolute necessity, even though this necessity, like the creature itself, depends entirely upon God.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Sciendum est itaque quod, si rerum sunt a primo principio, inveniuntur de-  
creaturarum universitas consideretur prout pendere ex voluntate, non ex necessitate

St. Thomas proceeds to show that there is absolute necessity in creatures owing to both matter and form, which are their essential principles. Matter in itself is potential. Hence anything material can either be or not be; in a word it is corruptible. Form, on the other hand, is act, and through it things actually exist. Through form, then, certain creatures necessarily exist. These are of two types: first, separated substances which, because they are immaterial, have no potentiality to non-being; second, heavenly bodies, whose forms completely actualize their matter, with the result that their matter retains no potency to further form and hence no potency to non-being. Other bodies composed of the four elements, and the elements themselves, have forms which do not completely actualize the potentiality of their matter. Since their matter remains in potency to receive other forms, they are corruptible; consequently they do not exist necessarily.<sup>5</sup> But this does not entail any tendency in them to nothing. A thing can cease to exist through the loss of its form, but matter itself remains and a new form becomes actual in it when the previous form is removed. So in the whole created universe there is no potentiality by which things can tend to nothing.<sup>6</sup>

The point of disagreement between St. Thomas and Harclay is now fairly evident. They agree on the absolute dependence of creatures upon God, as well as on the freedom of God in creating and on his power to annihilate his creatures. The precise moment of disagreement is reached when St. Thomas invites us to consider creatures *in their own natures and proximate principles*. St. Thomas takes these natures seriously, as Aristotle taught him to do. He sees them as involving absolute necessities, which indeed have their origin in God but which God will not violate. This is the case with the relation of spiritual substances to existence. Pure forms, they lack matter which is the root of potentiality. Hence they are not strictly speaking contingent; they have within themselves no potentiality to non-being. They are subsistent forms; and since being necessarily follows upon form (*esse per se consequitur ad formam*), they possess their being by right of their nature, and necessarily. They cannot lose their being as a material thing does when it loses its form. Of course, they are not identical with their being; in God alone nature and being are identical. They are endowed with being as a gift from God, who has the power to take it away if he wishes. But we are sure that he will not exercise that power, for he has willed the necessary existence of the separated substances and his will is immutable.

In criticizing St. Thomas, Harclay strikes at what he considers the central error in his position, namely the claim that an immaterial substance has no potentiality to non-existence. Harclay sees two possible meanings of this statement. It means either that the immaterial substance cannot annihilate or destroy itself, or that non-being is formally opposed to the notion of such a creature. The first must be rejected, for no creature can annihilate or destroy itself. If this were the meaning of the statement, every creature would be necessary and have no potentiality to non-being. The second meaning of the statement is

principii, nisi necessitate suppositionis, sicut dictum est. Si vero comparantur ad principia proxima, inveniuntur necessitatem habere absolutam. Nihil enim prohibet aliqua principia non ex necessitate produci, quibus tamen positis, de necessitate sequitur talis effectus: sicut mors animalis huius absolutam necessitatem habet propter hoc quod iam ex contrariis est compositum, quamvis ipsum ex contrariis componi non fuisset necessarium absolute. Similiter autem quod tales rerum naturae a Deo producerentur, voluntarium fuit: quod autem, eis sic statutis, aliquid proveniat

vel existat, absolutam necessitatem habet. *Contra Gentiles* II, 30. Cf. *De Potentia* V, 3; *Summa Theologiae* I, 9, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Contra Gentiles*, *ibid.* Diversimode.

<sup>6</sup> In illis etiam rebus in quibus est possibilitas ad non esse, materia permanet; formae vero sicut ex potentia materiae educuntur in actum in rerum generatione, ita in corruptione de actu reducuntur in hoc quod sint in potentia. Unde relinquitur quod in tota natura creata non est aliqua potentia per quam sit aliquid possibile tendere in nihilum. *De Potentia* V, 3.

also unacceptable. If non-being were formally opposed to the notion of an immaterial substance, it would be impossible for it not to exist, and God could not annihilate it (I, 9).

Moreover, when an immaterial substance is said to have no potentiality to non-being, what is meant by "potentiality"? Potentiality is either subjective or objective. In the case of subjective potentiality, a passive subject remains the same from one term of a change to another; for example, wood, which can be changed from white to black. In this sense of the term no creature is potential to non-being, for no subject remains identical while changing from being to non-being. The other kind of potentiality, called objective, obtains when two terms do not contradict each other. In this sense an angel does have potentiality to non-being, for non-being is not contradictory to it; otherwise God could not annihilate it. Hence in no distinctive or significant sense can an immaterial substance be said to lack potentiality to non-being (I, 10).

In justice to St. Thomas it must be said that this criticism does not come to grips with his doctrine of the necessary being of spiritual creatures. As is usual in controversy, Harclay has couched the problem in his own terms which make his conclusion inevitable. St. Thomas' own position is not set within the limits laid down by Harclay but is a consequence of his own conception of created being and its metaphysical structure.

The only subject of change, according to St. Thomas, is a material substance, which is potential or contingent through its matter. It is precisely because an angel lacks matter that it has no internal potentiality to non-being. There is no other passive subject of change (such as a real essence), which might remain identical whether it exists or not.<sup>7</sup> In this, St. Thomas agrees with Harclay. He also agrees that non-being is not formally contradictory to the notion of an angel or of any creature. It does not imply a contradiction for a creature absolutely not to exist; if it did, creatures would be eternal. The reason why no contradiction is involved in a creature's non-existence is that it is not identical with its being (*esse*), nor is being included in its definition. Hence it is possible for God to take away a creature's being and so annihilate it.<sup>8</sup>

In what sense, then, does St. Thomas teach that it is impossible for an angel not to exist? The being of any creature is other than its essence or form, but it necessarily follows upon the form: *esse per se consequitur ad formam*.<sup>9</sup> So once being is given to a pure form, like an angel, it necessarily belongs to it. There is a necessary connection between the form and the being by which it exists. Being is not essential or necessary to a creature because it enters into its very definition, but because it is a necessary consequent of form. Hence an immaterial form, once endowed with being, will necessarily exist; it will have no potentiality to non-existence.

<sup>7</sup> Quia in omni mutabili est invenire aliquid quod subvertitur ei quod per mutationem amovetur, et de hoc dicitur quod potest mutari. Sed si accipiamus totum esse creaturae quod dependet a Deo, non inveniemus aliquid substratum de quo possit dici quod potest mutari. *Sent.* I, d. 8, q. 3, a. 2 (Paris, 1929), p. 214.

<sup>8</sup> Creaturas autem simpliciter non esse, non est in se impossibile quasi contradictionem implicans (alias ab aeterno fuissent. Et hoc ideo est, quia non sunt suum esse): ut sic cum dicitur, Creatura non est omnino, oppositum praedicati includatur in definitione, ut si dicatur, Homo non est animal rationale: hujusmodi enim contradictionem implicant, et sunt secundum se impossibilia. *De Potentia* V, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Quod per se alicui competit, de necessitate et semper et inseparabiliter ei inest;

sicut rotundum per se quidem inest circulo, per accidens autem aeri; unde aes quidem fieri non rotundum est possibile, circulum autem non esse rotundum est impossibile. Esse autem per se consequitur ad formam: per se enim dicimus secundum quod ipsum (I *Poster.*, IV, 9; 73b); unumquodque autem habet esse secundum quod habet formam. Substantiae igitur quae non sunt ipsae formae, possunt privari esse, secundum quod amittunt formam: sicut aes privatur rotunditate secundum quod desinit esse circulare. Substantiae vero quae sunt ipsae formae, nunquam possunt privari esse: sicut, si aliqua substantia esset circulus, nunquam posset fieri non rotunda. Ostensum est autem supra quod substantiae intellectuales sunt ipsae formae subsistentes. Impossibile est igitur quod esse desinant. *Contra Gentiles* II, 55.

In this way St. Thomas is able to maintain the necessary being of spiritual creatures while at the same time denying any contradiction in their non-existence. This is bound to appear absurd to Henry of Harclay who does not accept the Thomistic notion of being upon which the conclusion depends. He is one of the many post-Thomistic thinkers who deny the real composition of essence and being (*esse*) in created being.<sup>10</sup> For him, if *esse* were something added to essence, it would be a form or *habitus*. In fact, he says, existence adds nothing to form or substance except a relation—presumably a relation of substance to its cause.<sup>11</sup> This implies a rejection of St. Thomas' doctrine of *esse* as the act of form or essence in creatures, and the reduction of existence to a relation between creatures and God. Under these circumstances we can understand why Harclay claims that all creatures are equally contingent in their being. Since all creatures are equally related to God in being freely created by him, they depend upon him equally and are equally contingent upon his creative act. For St. Thomas, on the other hand, being is proportionate to the essence or form of which it is the act.<sup>12</sup> The mode of being of any creature will therefore be proportionate to the essence of the creature. The mode of being of material, corruptible things is contingency; the mode of being of spiritual, incorruptible things is necessity.<sup>13</sup>

St. Thomas owes to Aristotle and his Arabian commentators his recognition of the dimension of nature and the necessities inherent in it. His own doctrine of necessity and contingency, however, is not identical with theirs but conforms to his original notion of being. Avicenna taught him the existence of two kinds of necessary being (*necesse esse*): one which is necessary through itself, namely God, and another which receives its necessity from God, such as the being of the separate substances or angels. Avicenna locates the necessity of these creatures in their relation to their cause: they must exist because they emanate necessarily from God. However, they are possible in themselves, since they are not identical with their existence but receive it from God.<sup>14</sup> St. Thomas significantly reverses the position of Avicenna. The potentiality of creatures to non-existence, which Avicenna attributes to creatures in themselves, St. Thomas locates in God. The bond between them and their cause is not one of necessary emanation but of free creation and conservation in existence. The absolute necessity of certain creatures does not reside in their relationship to God but in themselves through their inner structure and principles. From this point of view St. Thomas finds Averroes' doctrine more reasonable than Avicenna's: potentiality to non-existence is to be found only in material, corruptible beings, not in subsistent forms lacking matter.<sup>15</sup> In this strikingly original manner

<sup>10</sup> For the history of this problem, cf. E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1955), pp. 420-427.

<sup>11</sup> II, 28. If this is indeed Henry of Harclay's meaning, he agrees with Vital du Four and Henry of Ghent that existence is the relation of a thing to its efficient cause. Cf. E. Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

<sup>12</sup> Sed considerandum est quod ea quae a primo ente esse participant non participant esse secundum universalem modum essendi, secundum quod est in primo principio, sed particulariter secundum quemdam essendi modum determinatum qui convenit vel generi huic vel huic speciei. Unaquaeque autem res adaptatur ad unum determinatum modum essendi secundum modum suae substantiae. *De Substantiis Separatis* VI, n. 44; *Opuscula Omnia* I (Paris, 1949), p. 151.

<sup>13</sup> For St. Thomas' doctrine of contingency

and necessity, cf. C. Fabro, "Intorno alla nozione 'Tomista' di contingenza", *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* XXX (1938), 132-149; T. Wright, "Necessary and Contingent Being in St. Thomas", *The New Scholasticism* XXV (1951), 439-466.

<sup>14</sup> Dein necesse-esse potest esse necesse-esse per se, et potest esse necesse esse non per se. Quod autem est necesse-esse per se ipsum est illud quod non esse posito, sequitur repugnantia; non quidem propter aliquid aliud a se, quodlibet illud aliud sit, sed propter suammet essentiam. Necesse-esse vero non per se, est illud quod, posito aliquo alio, quod non sit ipsum, ipsum fit necesse-esse. N. Caramia, *Avicennae Metaphysices Compendium* (Rome, 1926), p. 63. Cf. *Metaphysics* I, 7 (Venice, 1508), 73<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 4, 99<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Si ergo loquamur de possibilitate ad non esse ex parte rerum factorum, dupliciter circa hoc aliqui opinati sunt. Avicenna



St. Thomas synthesizes the Christian doctrine of the omnipotence and freedom of God, and the Aristotelian and Averroist teaching of the absolute necessity of certain beings in the universe and of the universe as a whole.<sup>16</sup>

Henry of Harclay looks at the universe with eyes different from those of St. Thomas. His view of nature—at least on the present subject—is quite innocent of the speculation of Aristotle and the Arabians, but reflects rather the pre-scholastic outlook of the Fathers of the Church. He cites St. Augustine (in reality Vigilius of Tapsus), St. Gregory the Great, and St. John Damascene as witnesses that creatures are not immortal or imperishable by nature but only by divine grace. These theologians assure us that anything created from nothing tends by its nature or essence to relapse into nothing unless it is upheld by God (I, 18-20). Damascene contends that anything with a beginning naturally has an end. Consequently, an angel is immortal not by nature but by grace (I, 19). Does not St. Paul say that God alone has immortality? By immortality, Harclay explains, the Apostle does not mean simply the absence of death, for many creatures have everlasting life. Rather, he means that to God alone absolute non-existence is contradictory; or to put it another way: God alone exists necessarily (I, 11).

This view was shared by many of the early Christian writers. For example, St. Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* opposes the natural immortality of the soul on the grounds that if it were immortal by nature it would be uncreated. The lot of anything begotten is death unless it is preserved in existence by God's will.<sup>17</sup> This was also the opinion of Clement of Alexandria and Lactantius.<sup>18</sup> It survived in the middle ages in the minds of theologians anxious to uphold the tradition of the Fathers of the Church in the face of what they considered the paganizing influence of the philosophers, especially Aristotle. Thus in the thirteenth century St. Bonaventure, following Damascene,<sup>19</sup> attributed to every creature a natural *vertibilitas*, or tendency to lapse into nothing. God alone is by nature *invertibilis*; creatures possess this characteristic only as a grace from God.<sup>20</sup> This view of the universe as ontologically "empty"

namque posuit (lib. VIII *Metaph.*, cap. 6), quod quaelibet res praeter Deum habebat in se possibilitatem ad esse et non esse. Cum enim esse sit praeter essentiam cujuslibet rei creatae, ipsa natura rei creatae per se considerata, possibilis est ad esse; necessitatem vero essendi non habet nisi ab alio, cujus natura est suum esse, et per consequens est per se necesse esse, et hoc Deus est. Commentator vero (in XI [XII] *Metaph.*, text 41, et in libro *De Substantia Orbis* [c. 7]) contrarium ponit, scilicet quod quaedam res creatae sunt, in quarum natura non est possibilitas ad non esse; quia quod in sua natura habet possibilitatem ad non esse, non potest ab extrinseco acquirere sempiternitatem, ut scilicet sit per naturam suam sempiternum. Et haec quidem positio videtur rationabilior. Potentia enim ad esse et non esse non convenit alicui nisi ratione materiae, quae est pura potentia. *De Potentia* V, 3.

In his Commentary on the *Sentences* St. Thomas cites with approval Avicenna's statement that all creatures are possible in themselves. This possibility, he says, is simply their dependence on God. In his later writings he abandons this terminology with its Avicennian overtone. Cf. *Sent.*, I, d. 8, q. 3, a. 2; p. 213.

<sup>16</sup> It has been suggested that Avicenna in his own way attempted to harmonize the necessity of the universe, as taught by

Aristotle and the Neoplatonists, with the Moslem theology of creation and the freedom of God. He does this, however, not like St. Thomas, but by asserting the possibility of all creatures in themselves and their necessity in relation to their cause. Cf. E. Fackenheim, "The Possibility of the Universe in Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Maimonides", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* XVI (1947), 43.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. St. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 5; PG 6, 488.

<sup>18</sup> For the views of these theologians, with texts, cf. H. Karpf, *Probleme altchristlicher Anthropologie* (Gütersloh, 1950), pp. 102-103, 140. Cf. also W. Götzmann, *Die Unsterblichkeitsbeweise in der Väterzeit und Scholastik bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Karlsruhe, 1927).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Omnia quae sunt, aut creabilia sunt, aut increabilia. Si igitur creabilia quidem sunt, omnino sunt et vertibilia. Quorum enim esse a versione inceptit, haec versioni subicentur, vel corrupta, vel secundum electionem alterata. St. John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa* 3, n. 2 (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1955), pp. 16-17.

<sup>20</sup> Si vero tertio modo dicatur immutabilitas (scil. secundum totam rei substantiam), sic omnibus creaturis inest per gratiam, nulli autem per naturam nisi soli Deo. Invertibile enim per naturam est, quod ex

and in constant danger of lapsing into nothing is in marked contrast with that of St. Thomas who upheld the natural indestructibility of angels, human souls, and the material universe as a whole.

Closer to Henry of Harclay, and his more immediate sources, are Henry of Ghent and Duns Scotus, both of whom deny that any creature exists necessarily. According to Henry of Ghent, there is a conflict between the philosophers and Catholic doctrine on this point. Aristotle considered many creatures to be formally necessary of themselves. Avicenna came closer to the truth, for he realized that every creature is in itself only a possible existent. But he erred in thinking some creatures must exist because they are necessarily produced by God. Catholic truth assures us that only God is a necessary being; no creature is or can be formally necessary either in itself or through its cause.<sup>21</sup>

Duns Scotus also recognizes the controversy between theologians and philosophers on this question: *in hac quaestione est controversia inter theologos et philosophos*.<sup>22</sup> Aristotle, he says, held that everything except God is produced by him as by an efficient cause, and in itself is formally necessary. As for himself, Scotus maintains that everything has been contingently created by God, so that nothing except God is formally necessary; every creature is a possible being and prone to lapse into nothing: *nihil aliud ab ipso (scil. Deo) est formaliter necessarium, sed possibile, et in nihil vertibile*.<sup>23</sup>

After Henry of Harclay, William of Ockham continues this traditional doctrine of the theologians, denying necessary existence to everything except God. He alone is immutable in the sense that he is free from the radical possibility of non-being which Damascene called *versio*. Ockham adds that this is known to us only by faith; it cannot be proved by natural reason.<sup>24</sup>

This seems to have been the common teaching of the theologians in the circle in which Harclay moved. He conformed to it without adding anything strikingly new or original. His conservatism and traditionalism, however, only throw into stronger relief the novelty and daring of the Thomistic doctrine of contingency and necessity.

#### THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

Harclay himself applies the conclusions of the Question just analyzed to the problem of the immortality of the human soul. He has established that no creature is imperishable by nature; of itself everything created tends to revert to nothing. This holds good for human souls as well as for angels. Yet, as a matter of fact the human soul will live forever. Nothing except God can destroy it, and he has willed to preserve it in existence forever. Corruptible by nature, the soul is incorruptible and immortal by the will and grace of God (II, 3).

If immortality is not a natural property of the soul, we should not expect human reason to be able to prove it; nor should we be surprised if a philosopher

se ipso habet, ut possit stare; hoc autem est, in quo nulla est vanitas et in quo omnino nulla essentiae mutatio nec ad esse, nec ad non esse; et hoc est solum aeternum. Ideo haec invertibilitas est in solo Deo et est proprie proprium eius. Invertibilitas autem per gratiam inest omnibus vel pluribus creaturis, quia Deus sua gratuita bonitate cetera continet, ne in nihil cedant. St. Bonaventure, *Sent.*, I, d. 8, p. 1, a. 2, q. 2. (Quaracchi, 1882), p. 160.

<sup>21</sup> Et sic appellando creaturam quicquid est aliud a Deo, philosophus posuit plurimas creaturas esse ex se formaliter necesse esse; quod omnino falsum est; immo omnis creatura et omne aliud a Deo, ex se est possibile esse et non esse, ut posuit Avicenna, cuius opinio in hoc multo verior

fuit et propinquior veritati catholicae: quod, scilicet secundum sextum modum essendi supra positum, omnis creatura ex se est possibile esse, ita quod praeter primum nullum aliorum sit necesse esse. Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* VIII, 9 (Paris, 1518), fol. 316<sup>r</sup>. Cf. *Summa* 30, 2 (Paris, 1520), fol. 179 D-E.

<sup>22</sup> Duns Scotus, *Rep. Paris.*, I, d. 8, q. 3, n. 4; *Opera Omnia* XXII (Paris, 1894), p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 23, p. 163. Cf. *Opus Oxon.*, I, d. 8, q. 5, n. 22; IX, p. 761. Cf. E. Gilson, *Jean Duns Scot* (Paris, 1952), pp. 254-278.

<sup>24</sup> Nihil aliud a Deo est immutabile primo modo (i.e. without that change called by Damascene *versio*), quamvis hoc non possit ratione naturali probari. *Sent.*, I, d. 8, q. 7 (Lyons, 1495) D.

without revelation, like Aristotle, had no clear and unequivocal knowledge of it. One of the main lessons Harclay wishes to teach in his Question on the immortality of the soul is that in the last resort it is not philosophy but faith which gives us a true conception of the soul.

Not all mediaeval thinkers agreed with him on this point. Many tried to establish the immortality of the soul with arguments taken from Aristotle, as well as with proofs of their own. Harclay assembles the main Aristotelian texts used by men like St. Albert and St. Thomas for this purpose (II, 5-15). He then presents other proofs for immortality, beginning with that of St. Thomas in his Commentary on the *Sentences*, which establishes the incorruptibility of the intellectual soul from the fact that the intellect does not use a corporeal organ. This in turn rests upon the capacity of the intellect to know all corporeal forms, universals, and itself (II, 16). Harclay does not mention St. Thomas' metaphysical proof for immortality in the *Summa Theologiae*, which depends upon his doctrine that being necessarily belong to form. Since the human soul is a subsistent form, it cannot lose its being.<sup>25</sup> No doubt Harclay considers this line of reasoning adequately refuted in his previous Question.

After St. Thomas' proof for immortality, Harclay presents those of James of Viterbo, which are based upon the dignity, mode of operation, and simplicity of the soul (II, 17-20). Finally, he gives the Augustinian proof that the soul must be immortal since truth, which is immortal, resides in it (II, 21). Unfortunately, he does not examine these proofs or subject them to criticism. But he obviously does not think them convincing, for he considers the immortality of the soul an object of faith and not of demonstration by human reason (II, 3, 22).

Harclay's attitude towards Aristotle on this subject is difficult to assess. It is as ambiguous as the Stagirite's own statements. Harclay loyally bows to the decision of Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, who in 1277 condemned the proposition that Aristotle did not hold the intellectual soul to be immortal (II, 4). At the same time, he shows at great length by citations from Aristotle that the soul is the substantial form of the body and as such it is not separable from the body. However, this does not seem to embarrass Harclay, who calmly states that it is compatible with the condemned proposition (II, 23). Unfortunately, he does not tell us how these two statements can be reconciled. We can surmise, however, that he believed Kilwardby's position justified by the Aristotelian description of the intellect as a kind of soul which is divine, incorruptible, separated from matter, and eternal (II, 5-11). This ill accords, however, with the many statements of Aristotle leading us to believe that the soul is the substantial form of the body. If the intellectual soul is indeed separable from the body and not educed from the potentiality of matter, it is not the substantial form of man (II, 27).

The reader receives the impression that Harclay does not take very seriously the apparent conflict in Aristotle's statements regarding the soul. He is critical of those who, like St. Thomas, try to reconcile them with each other and with the Catholic faith, calling the soul both an immortal substance and the substantial form of the body. He himself favors Averroes' interpretation of Aristotle.

I believe (he writes) that the Commentator expresses Aristotle's mind in the third book of the *De Anima*, since the intellect, like God, receives

<sup>25</sup> Manifestum est enim quod id quod secundum se convenit alicui, est inseparabile ab ipso. Esse autem per se convenit formae, quae est actus. Unde materia secundum hoc acquirit esse in actu, quod acquirit formam; secundum hoc autem accidit in ea corruptio,

quod separatur forma ab ea. Impossibile est autem quod forma separetur a seipsa. Unde impossibile est quod forma subsistens desinat esse. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiae* I, 75, 6.

nothing new, for contradictories exist simultaneously in the soul just as they do in God . . . So a new concept in us is only a new phantasm joined to the separated intellect. And there is no argument proving the opposite. So I hold only by faith that the intellectual soul is the form of man.<sup>26</sup>

This would lead us to believe that Harclay was an Averroist in his interpretation of Aristotle. It is to be noted that like the Latin Averroists he finds no rational argument to disprove Averroes' doctrine, but turns to faith which teaches its contrary.

From Harclay's Question on the immortality of the soul, as well as from his Question on the plurality of substantial forms, we can gather the main lines of his own conception of the human soul. He gives both theological and philosophical reasons for a plurality of substantial forms in man. Man has, in fact, three distinct souls—vegetative, sensitive, and intellectual—each of which is a substantial form. He criticizes St. Thomas for assuming that a substantial form gives being purely and simply, so that a substance that is simply one, like a man, can have only one substantial form. For Harclay, each substantial form in man gives him an added substantial perfection: no one of them gives him his total substantial being.<sup>27</sup>

Created by God, intellectual souls owe neither their being nor their individuality to the bodies they inform. Indeed, there is no reason why God cannot create them prior to their entrance into bodies, as St. Augustine and Origen taught, although as a matter of fact they are created at the moment they inform bodies (II, 46-49). They have an absolute nature in which they are unrelated to matter; their function as corporeal forms is not essential but accidental to that nature (II, 36).

Aristotle popularized the notion that numerical distinction is due to a distinction of matter, so that two beings can differ in number only if they are material. This accounts for his doctrine that the intellectual soul, which is immaterial, is one in number and not multiplied according to the multiplication of human bodies (II, 34). St. Thomas tried to reconcile Aristotle with the Catholic faith by maintaining both the multiplicity of human souls and their individuation by matter. Thus in his Commentary on the *Sentences* he attributes the formal distinction between two souls to matter. This is how he pictures the individuation of a soul: God creates a soul and at the same moment places it in matter, from which it receives a distinctive mark or character (*signatio*) which individuates it and makes it numerically distinct from every other soul. Without this individuation through matter it could not be distinguished numerically from another soul. Moreover, once the soul is individuated through matter, it remains individuated forever, even when separated from the body. Similarly, when a seal imprints a figure on wax, the printing of the figure depends on the seal, but the existence of the figure remains even when the seal is removed. The same is true of the soul with respect to the body. Its individuation depends on the body, but not the very existence of the individuated soul (II, 40).

<sup>26</sup> II, 61. At the Council of Vienne (1311-1312) the proposition was condemned that the rational or intellectual soul is not the form of the body *per se* and *essentialiter*. Cf. H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (Rome, 1957), n. 481, p. 223. This Council was contemporary with Harclay's teaching career as a master of theology at Oxford, which began about 1310. He became Chancellor of Oxford in 1312. Cf. F. Pelster, "Heinrich von Harclay", *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* IV, 923. He himself

taught that the soul is not the form of the body essentially but accidentally. Cf. II. 36.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Henry of Harclay, *Quaestio utrum in homine sit alia forma substantialis praeter intellectivam*, Ms Worcester F. 3, fol. 209<sup>v</sup>. For St. Thomas' doctrine of the unity of substantial form, cf. *Contra Gentiles* II, 58. On this problem, cf. E. Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas* (New York, 1956), pp. 193-196.

Harclay is aroused to sharp words against St. Thomas for this doctrine, which he brands as bold and contrary to the Catholic faith. It ought to be eliminated as plain heresy: *Unde et in opinione, ut videtur mihi, est truculentia. Abradi debet sicut haeresis plana*. For one thing, it denies God's freedom, for St. Thomas openly proclaims that God cannot produce the soul before the body because it can be individuated only through the body. Furthermore, St. Thomas' crude metaphor of the seal and the wax is out of place. It conveys the impression that the body in some way acts upon the soul, stamping it with an individual mark. Now this individual mark must be something substantial like the soul itself. If it is identical with the soul, the body would cause the soul itself, which is heretical. If it is something different from the soul, what causes the soul to acquire it? The soul must already be individual in order to receive it as its own. In short, the soul must be individual in its own right, apart from the individuality it acquires from the body (II, 41).

For these and similar reasons Harclay finds it impossible to accept St. Thomas' doctrine of the individuation of the human soul through matter. Nor is this surprising in view of his rejection of the Thomistic notion of being upon which it rests. St. Thomas would agree that the illustration of the seal and the wax is only a metaphor; it does not perfectly fit the situation of soul and body. The seal and the wax are two distinct substances; the body and soul are not. So the body cannot individuate the soul as one substance acting upon another. Indeed, there is no body apart from the soul, for it is the soul that gives the body existence and life.<sup>28</sup> But because the soul is the form of the body it is received by the body according to the latter's capacity and measure. So the soul will have a being (*esse*) limited to the body's capacity. But this limited being, acquired by the soul in the body, is not from the body nor dependent upon it.<sup>29</sup> The being of the soul is from God, and the soul possesses it in its own right (*per se*).<sup>30</sup> Far from receiving it from the body, the soul communicates its being to the body by informing it, so that soul and body share one and the same being.<sup>31</sup> For St. Thomas, then, matter is indeed the soul's passive principle of individuation; it makes possible a multiplicity of souls each numerically distinct from the other. It is not, however, the active principle of individuation. According to St. Thomas, everything has its being and individuation from the same source: *unumquodque secundum idem habet esse et individuationem*.<sup>32</sup> It is through itself as a form, and ultimately from God, that the soul possesses its being and individuation.

The natural immortality of the human soul follows as a matter of course. Possessed of its own being and individuality, it cannot lose them through the destruction of the body. In adopting this stand, St. Thomas did not for a minute think that he was subtracting anything from God, for he acknowledged that the whole being of the soul is due to God, including its necessary existence. He was simply giving to nature its due, which after all is to glorify the God who created it. In making his decision against St. Thomas, Henry of Harclay

<sup>28</sup> Cf. St. Thomas, *Quaestiones Disputatae De Anima* 9.

<sup>29</sup> Sed quamvis individuatio animarum dependeat a corpore quantum ad sui principium, non tamen quantum ad sui finem, ita scilicet quod cessantibus corporibus, cesset (*ed. esset*) individuatio animarum. Cujus ratio est, quod cum omnis perfectio infundatur materiae secundum capacitatem suam, natura animae ita infundetur diversis corporibus, non secundum eandem nobilitatem et puritatem: unde in unoquoque corpore habebit esse terminatum secundum mensuram corporis. Hoc autem esse terminatum, quamvis acquiratur animae in

corpore, non tamen ex corpore, nec per dependentiam ad corpus. St. Thomas, *Sent.*, I, d. 8, q. 5, a. 2, ad 6<sup>m</sup>; p. 231.

<sup>30</sup> Sic igitur esse animae est a Deo sicut a principio activo, et in corpore sicut in materia, nec tamen esse animae perit pereunte corpore; ita et individuatio animae, etsi aliquam relationem habeat ad corpus, non tamen perit corpore pereunte. St. Thomas, *De Anima* I, ad 2<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> . . . illud idem esse quod est animae, communicat corpori, ut sit unum esse totius compositi. *Ibid.*, ad 1<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, ad 2<sup>m</sup>.

leaves us in no doubt as to his own position. Firmly entrenched in the patristic tradition, he spurns as hostile to the faith the novel metaphysics of St. Thomas Aquinas.

## APPENDIX

Each of the two Questions here edited is extant in only one manuscript:

I Utrum aliud a Deo sit simpliciter necesse esse. *Cod. Vat. Borghes.* 171, fols. 21<sup>v</sup>-22<sup>r</sup>.

II Utrum anima intellectiva sit immortalis. *Cod. Worcester F. 3*, fols. 211<sup>r</sup>-214<sup>r</sup>.

These manuscripts are described by F. Pelster, "Heinrich von Harclay, Kanzler von Oxford, und seine Quästionen", *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* (Rome, 1924), 323, 324. We owe to the late Fr. Pelster all our information on the life and works of Harclay. His death unfortunately prevented him from editing Harclay's *Quaestiones*.

The Worcester manuscript has several lacunae and omissions, as well as scribal errors. There are marginal corrections by the original scribe and by a later hand. Where I could suggest a plausible emendation, I have done so. Diamond brackets < > indicate an insertion not found in the manuscript.

### I

#### UTRUM ALIUD<sup>1</sup> A DEO SIT SIMPLICITER NECESSE ESSE

<1> Quod sic. Aristoteles VII *Metaph.*:<sup>2</sup> Materia est qua res potest esse et non esse. Sed multae creatae sunt sine materia. Ergo multae sunt quae non sunt indifferenter ad<sup>3</sup> esse et non esse. Ergo sunt necesse esse vel impossibiles<sup>4</sup> non esse.

<2> Oppositum. Si sic, maxime esset verum de angelo. Sed ille non. Ergo, etc. Quod non ille, patet per Damascenum, libro II, capitulo 2:<sup>5</sup> "Angelus non natura, sed gratia, est immortalitatem accipiens."

<3> Ad istam quaestionem respondet Frater Thomas multis locis. Tenet pro conclusione quod formae per se subsistentes sunt absolute et simpliciter necesse esse. Unde et recte haec verba dicit II libro *Contra Gentiles*, capitulo 29.<sup>6</sup> Prima ratio sua ibi, quia tales formae non habent materiam nec potentiam pas- (21<sup>vb</sup>)-sivam subjectam privationi. Verba ejus sunt.<sup>7</sup>

<4> Praeterea, secunda ratio sua ibidem:<sup>8</sup> Divina perfectio exigit quod producat sibi simile quantum non repugnat. Sed in hoc quod creatura est necesse esse assimilatur Deo; et necesse esse non repugnat creaturae. Ergo divina perfectio exigit quod talis creatura producat. Quod autem hoc non repugnat creaturae proba. Quia si repugnaret, hoc solum esset quia esset ab

<sup>1</sup> Ms aliquid.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. 7, 1032a21.

<sup>3</sup> Ms aliquid.

<sup>4</sup> Ms compossibiles.

<sup>5</sup> Angelus igitur est substantia intellectualis, semper mobilis, arbitrio libera, incorporea, Deo ministrans, secundum gratiam, non natura, immortalitatem suscipiens. St. John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa* 17 (II, 3), (St. Bonaventure, New York, 1955), p. 69, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Contra Gentiles* II, 30.

<sup>7</sup> Illas enim res simpliciter et absolute necesse est esse in quibus non est possibilitas ad non esse. Quaedam autem res sic sunt a Deo in esse productae ut in earum natura sit potentia ad non esse. Quod quidem contingit ex hoc quod materia in eis est in potentia ad aliam formam. Illae

igitur res in quibus vel non est materia, vel, si est, non est possibilis ad aliam formam, non habent potentiam ad non esse. Eas igitur absolute et simpliciter necesse est esse. *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Ad divinam perfectionem pertinet quod rebus creatis suam similitudinem indiderit, nisi quantum ad illa quae repugnant ei quod est esse creatum: agentis enim perfecti est producere sibi simile quantum possibile est. Esse autem necesse simpliciter non repugnat ad rationem esse creati: nihil enim prohibet aliquid esse necesse quod tamen suae necessitatis causam habet, sicut conclusiones demonstrationum. Nihil igitur prohibet quasdam res sic esse productas a Deo ut tamen eas esse sit necesse simpliciter. Immo hoc divinae perfectioni attestatur. *Ibid.*

alio. Sed esse ab alio non repugnat necessitati, nam<sup>9</sup> conclusio est a principio, et tamen conclusio est necessaria sicut principium.

<5> Item, tertio ibidem.<sup>10</sup> Quae magis appropinquant Deo, magis recedunt a non esse et recedunt a potentia non essendi, secundum quam contingit res non esse. Ergo quae sunt Deo propinquissima, cuiusmodi sunt substantiae separatae, maxime recedunt a potentia non essendi.

<6> Praeterea, idem prima parte *Summae*, quaestione 9, articulo 2,<sup>11</sup> ponit rationem, et dicit haec verba: Ipsae formae sunt per se subsistentes. Sed esse consequitur formam inseparabiliter; et nihil corrumpitur nisi per hoc quod amittit formam. Unde in ipsa forma non est potentia ad non esse. Haec sunt verba.

<7> Praeterea, in *Scripto*<sup>12</sup> super primum,<sup>13</sup> distinctio 8, facit tale argumentum. Nam dicit sic: Si illae substantiae possent non esse, hoc maxime esset quia Deus eis subtraheret suam influentiam. Sed hoc est impossibile; ergo antecedens. Quod hoc sit impossibile, probat sic. Illud non est contingens cuius contrarium est impossibile vel quod non potest poni in esse sine positione impossibilis. Sed illud est huiusmodi. Nam si subtraheret eis suam influentiam, tunc mutaretur sua voluntas; quod est impossibile.

<8> Ipse arguit contra seipsum in libro *Contra Gentiles*<sup>14</sup> sic: Illa quae sunt ex nihilo quantum in se est, in nihilum intendunt. Ergo habent potentiam non essendi. Respondet negando consequentiam. Quia res creatae eo modo dicuntur in nihilum tendere quo modo sunt ex nihilo. Hoc non est nisi secundum potentiam agentis. Nam non fuit in eis potentia creata praecedens earum esse, quae fuit respectu eorum esse. Ita dico nunc quod in potestate Dei est dare eis esse et non esse, verum ipsae non habent potentiam non essendi.

<9> Contra istam opinionem. Aut tu intelligis quod creatura immaterialis non potest non esse quia non potest causare effective suum non esse, hoc est, non potest seipsum adnihilare vel corrumpere; aut tu intelligis quod non potest non esse quia sibi formaliter repugnat non esse. Si primo modo, tunc omnis creatura et omnis res non posset non esse et per consequens esset necesse esse, quia nulla res potest seipsam adnihilare vel corrumpere. Si intelligas secundo modo, quia ideo non potest non esse quia sibi formaliter repugnat non esse, tunc non posset Deus eam facere non esse. Consequens falsum. Consequentiae probatio: Quia illud quod repugnat alicui, illud cum eo includit contradictionem, et tale non potest fieri a Deo. Ergo, etc.

<10> Praeterea, quaero quid intelligis quando dicis quia non habent potentiam

<sup>9</sup> Ms corrupt.

<sup>10</sup> Quanto aliquid magis distat ab eo quod per seipsum est ens, scilicet Deo, tanto magis propinquum est ad non esse. Quanto igitur aliquid est propinquius Deo, tanto magis recedit a non esse. Quae autem iam sunt, propinqua sunt ad non esse per hoc quod habent potentiam ad non esse. Illa igitur quae sunt Deo propinquissima, et per hoc a non esse remotissima, talia esse oportet, ut in eis non sit potentia ad non esse. Talia autem sunt necessaria absolute. —Sic igitur aliqua creata de necessitate habent esse. *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Substantiae vero incorporeae, quia sunt ipsae formae subsistentes, quae tamen se habent ad esse ipsarum sicut potentia ad actum, non compatiuntur secum privationem huius actus; quia esse consequitur formam; et nihil corrumpitur nisi per hoc quod amittit formam. Unde in ipsa forma non est potentia ad non esse, et ideo huiusmodi substantiae sunt immutabiles et invariabiles secundum esse. *Summa Theo-*

*logiae* I, 9, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Alia ratio est, quia nihil dicitur possibile cuius contrarium est necessarium, vel quod non potest esse, nisi impossibili posito. Esse autem creaturae omnino deficere non potest, nisi retrahatur inde fluxus divinae bonitatis in creaturis, et hoc est impossibile ex immutabilitate divinae voluntatis, et contrarium necessarium. *Sent.* I, d. 8, q. 3, a. 2 (Paris, 1929), p. 214.

<sup>13</sup> Ms principium.

<sup>14</sup> Si autem dicatur quod ea quae sunt ex nihilo, quantum est de se, in nihilum tendunt; et sic omnibus creaturis inest potentia ad non esse:—manifestum est hoc non sequi. Dicuntur enim res creatae eo modo in nihilum tendere quo sunt ex nihilo. Quod quidem non est nisi secundum potentiam agentis. Sic igitur et rebus creatis non inest potentia ad non esse: sed Creatori inest potentia ut eis det esse vel eis desinat esse influere; cum non ex necessitate naturae agat ad rerum productionem, sed ex voluntate, ut ostensum est. *Contra Gentiles* II, 30.

non essendi? Aut intelligis tu per illam potentiam aliquod subjectum possibile reale extra animam quod vel cui repugnat non esse quia non est illa potentia transmutabilis de esse ad non esse, sicut lignum est transmutabile de albo in nigrum et materia de habitu in privationem. Quod si sic intelligis, nulla res non potest non esse, nedum angelus sed nec rana nec alia creatura, quia in nulla creatura est dare aliquod subjectum quod manet idem sub utroque terminorum, scilicet esse et non esse. Unde rana non habet in se potentiam aliquam realem quae potest concipere non esse ranae sicut materia recipit privationem formae. Si autem alio modo intelligis quod potentia ad non essendum non sit potentia realis passiva, sed potentia quae est non repugnantia terminorum, quam alii<sup>15</sup> vocant potentiam objectivam, certum est quod angelus isto modo habet potentiam<sup>16</sup> non essendi. Aliter Deus non posset facere eum non esse. Si esset repugnantia terminorum, tunc arguo: Illud quod isto modo potest non esse non est simpliciter necesse esse. Nam tunc anima Antichristi esset impossibile esse, et anima Sortis esset necesse esse. Probatio: Nam anima Antichristi non habet potentiam essendi modo nisi non repugnantiam terminorum. Nam habet necessario potentiam passivam realem respectu esse nec in se nec in materia. Praeterea, anima Sortis, quae modo est, esset necesse esse, quia non habet aliquam potentiam realem, nec in se nec in materia, quae potest esse subjectiva non esse. Ergo quacumque via data, angelus non est simpliciter necesse esse.

<11> Praeterea, ut videtur, ista opinio<sup>17</sup> est contra auctoritatem sacrae scripturae. Nam I Ad *Timotheum* VI<sup>18</sup> dicit Apostolus de Deo: *qui solus habet immortalitatem*. Quaero quid intelligis per immortalitatem? Si intelligat privationem mortis proprie dictae, id est separationem animae a corpore vel formae a materia—quod si sic, non solus Deus est immortalis sed multi alii, puta angeli. Unde Dionysius quarto capitulo *De Divinis Nominibus*:<sup>19</sup> “Omnes substantiae intellectuales vivunt et vitam habent indeficientem, mundae existentes ab universa morte et materia et generatione.” Ergo secundum hoc falsum diceret Apostolus quod solus Deus habet immortalitatem.<sup>20</sup> Praeterea, et accidentia sunt immaterialia, quia Porphyrius<sup>21</sup> dicit quod perimi possunt, alterari nequaquam. Ergo non solus Deus est immortalis, quia nec solus ille est immutabilis mutatione proprie dicta, nec solus Deus est incorporealis. Ergo si Apostolus dicit verum, oportet quod immortalitas in Deo significet repugnantiam ad non essendum simpliciter. Ergo illud convenit solum Deo. Ergo necesse esse convenit soli Deo.

<12> Ad primum argumentum pro sua positione, quando dicit quod ideo sunt necesse esse quia non habent materiam subjectam privationi, dico quod consequentia non valet. Omnis Catholicus debet eam negare. Praeterea, Philosophus eam negaret. Nam lumen in medio et accidentia non habent materiam partem sui, et tamen non sunt necesse esse, sed possunt desinire quantum est a parte sui. Si autem tu intelligis quod forma quae non habet materiam partem sui nec est perfectio materiae, quod illa est simpliciter necesse esse, verum est quod ista fuit opinio Philosophi,<sup>22</sup> quia tales formae nec possunt non esse, nec a se nec a Deo effective; sed illud est contra fidem.

<13> Ad secundum argumentum dico quod divina perfectio non solum non exigit quod aliquid sit simpliciter necesse esse ut sibi assimiletur, sicut ipse accipit; immo divina perfectio exigit quod nullum tale sit, quia (22<sup>ra</sup>) divina

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Henry of Ghent, *Summa* 59, 2 (Paris, 1520), fols. 138<sup>r</sup>-139<sup>v</sup>; Duns Scotus, *Opus Oxon.* II, d. 12, q. 1, n. 10; XII (Paris, 1893), p. 556.

<sup>16</sup> *Ms. add. a.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ms. add. ut videtur.*

<sup>18</sup> St. Paul, I Ad *Tim.* vi, 16.

<sup>19</sup> Dionysius, *De Divinis Nominibus* IV, 1; PG 3, 693; *Dionysiaca* I (Paris, 1937), pp. 147, 148.

<sup>20</sup> St. Paul, *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> I have not found this in Porphyry's *Isagoge*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Metaphysics* XII, 7, 1073a 3-40.



perfectio <exigit> quod non sit nisi unus Deus, et alia omnia sunt producta de nihilo ab eo et quod possunt redigi in nihilum per eum. Sed si essent necesse esse simpliciter, hoc repugnaret eis.

<14> Ad probationem, quando arguitur: Non esset alia causa quia non esset necesse esse nisi quia sunt ab alio; sed illud non obstat, quia conclusio est a principio et tamen est necesse esse—Respondeo ad illud quod causa quare non sunt necesse esse <est> quia sunt ab alio contingenter. Unde Deus libere et nulla necessitate produxit eas in esse, et libere manu tenet<sup>23</sup> eas in esse; non sic de principio et conclusione. Nam conclusio non dependet nec sequitur a principio contingenter, sed simpliciter necessario, ita quod contradictio est ponere principium nisi sequatur conclusio; quod non est verum de Deo et creatura.

<15> Ad aliud argumentum, cum dicitur: Quae magis appropinquant Deo, etc., ego dico, sicut patebit in positione, quod, quae magis appropinquant Deo, non magis recedunt a potentia non essendi; immo sunt<sup>24</sup> simpliciter loquendo aequaliter contingentes. Nec approximatio ad Deum, stando infra limites creaturae, est propter necessitatem essendi maiorem, quia quaelibet creatura aequaliter et aequae contingenter dependet a Deo. Sed major appropinquatio ad Deum est secundum <ordinem> perfectionis et nobilitatis; et hoc accidit potentiae<sup>25</sup> non essendi vel essendi. Unde Philosophus I *Ethicorum*<sup>26</sup> dicit quod album unius anni non est perfectior quam<sup>27</sup> album unius diei.

<16> Ad illud argumentum, cum dicitur quod sunt formae subsistentes, et esse consequitur formam inseparabiliter, et nihil potest corrumpi nisi propter hoc quod amittit formam—Respondeo: Ista ratio probat, si aliquid valeat, Deus non potest angelos adnihilare quia non potest ab eis formam separari, quia non potest separari ipsos a seipsis. Et propter hoc dico quod non oportet quod omnis destructio vel adnihilatio sit per separationem et remotionem partis a parte, sed sufficit non repugnantia illius ad non esse.

<17> Ad aliud, cum arguitur quod non posset non esse nisi Deus subtrahet ab eis suam influentiam, etc., ista ratio probat quod Deus non potest modo angelum corrumpere vel adnihilare quia sua voluntas mutaretur.<sup>28</sup> Praeterea, breviter omnia venirent ex necessitate quaecumque Deus voluit et praevidet evenire, quia aliter mutaretur sua voluntas, et sanctus quicumque<sup>29</sup> in via esset necessario sanctus, quia dicitur *praelegit eos ante mundi constitutionem ut essent sancti et immaculati. Ad Epheseos* I.<sup>30</sup> Cum igitur sua voluntas sit immutabilis,<sup>31</sup> et per te ideo res est simpliciter necesse esse quia voluntas Dei, qua vult rem esse, est immutabilis, sequitur quod quicumque<sup>32</sup> sanctus esset simpliciter necessario sanctus; et per consequens non mereretur in aliquo, quia in necessariis non est meritum neque demeritum.

<18> Ad ultimum, cum dicitur quod non sequitur: res quantum est de se tendunt in nihilum, ergo habent potentiam non essendi, ipse negat consequentiam. Quia non, sicut dicit, res tendunt in nihilum quo modo sunt de nihilo, sed sunt de nihilo per potentiam Dei et non per potentiam suam. Et confirmatur sua responsio per Anselmum 12 capitulo *De Casu Diaboli*, qui dicit quod potentia qua res potest esse simpliciter non est aliquid in re sed in agente, sicut ponit exemplum: "liber potest scribi, et homo potest vinci, etc."<sup>32</sup> Istud non valet, ut videtur, quia etsi in re non sit potentia realis quae potest esse

<sup>23</sup> Ms lac.

<sup>24</sup> Ms est.

<sup>25</sup> Ms potentia.

<sup>26</sup> *Nicomachean Ethics* I, 6, 1096b23.

<sup>27</sup> Ms quod.

<sup>28</sup> Ms mutatur.

<sup>29</sup> Ms quaecumque.

<sup>30</sup> St. Paul, *Ad Ephesios* i, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Ms mutabilis.

<sup>32</sup> Ut si dico: liber potest scribi a me: utique liber nihil potest, sed ego possum scribere librum. Et cum dicimus, iste non potest vinci ab illo, non aliud intelligimus quam: ille non potest vincere istum. St. Anselm, *De Casu Diaboli* 12; *Opera Omnia* I (Seckau, 1938), p. 253.

subjecta privationi esse, tamen res quantum est ex parte sui desinit<sup>33</sup> esse, et ideo similiter potest non esse. Et hoc est quod dicunt auctoritates sanctorum. Augustinus I *Contra Felicianum*, responsione XVI<sup>34</sup>:<sup>34</sup> "Creatura ex nihilo prolata est. Et propter hoc quantum ad se attinet ex eo quod est in id quod non est, id est in nihilum, nisi perpetua gratia fecerit, naturae suae qualitate vertenda est." Ecce quod dicit creaturam non natura immortalem, sed gratia tantum.

<19> Item, idem dicit Damascenus libro 2, capitulo 2:<sup>35</sup> "Angelus est immortalis non natura sed gratia." Probat hoc:<sup>36</sup> "Omne enim quod incipit, et finitur secundum naturam." Ecce quod angelus non habet immortalitatem ex natura sed ex gratia.

<20> Praeterea, Gregorius XVI libro *Moralium*<sup>37</sup> dicit sic: "Cuncta quae ex nihilo sunt, eorum essentia rursum ad nihilum tenderet, nisi eam auctor regiminis manu teneret." Ecce quod dicit eas, quantum in se est et de natura sua, tendere in nihilum. Quod Augustinus<sup>38</sup> ipse arguit, quod per potentiam Dei sunt de nihilo et tendunt in nihilum, hoc est verum quantum ad potentiam activam, quia non per alium creantur nec adnihilantur; tamen in eis est potentia ad non essendum, id est non repugnantia ad non essendum. Et de potentia activa intelligit Damascenus in loco praeallegato.<sup>39</sup>

<21> Dico tunc breviter ad quaestionem quod omnis creatura potest non esse, et nulla, quantum est ex parte sui, est necesse esse nec determinat sibi esse. Dico ulterius quod omnis creatura aequaliter et aequae potest non esse, ita angelus sicut rana.

<22> Primum proba per unam rationem. Haec est simpliciter vera: Deus potest facere angelum non esse; et haec est impossibilis: Deus non potest facere angelum non esse. Tunc arguo: propriissima<sup>40</sup> causa cujuslibet impossibilis, quare est impossibilis, est non quia Deus non potest facere hoc, sed quia res in se non est factibilis. Ergo causa quare haec est impossibilis: Deus non potest angelum adnihilare, est quia angelus non est adnihilabilis de se. Ergo ista est primo<sup>41</sup> et per se impossibilis: Angelus non est adnihilabilis. Ergo ejus opposita est primo et per se vera: Angelus, quantum est ex parte sui, est adnihilabilis. Ergo quantum est a parte sui non est necesse esse.

<23> Secundum proba, videlicet quod angelus, quantum est a parte sui, non magis est necesse esse quam rana. Et arguo sic: Si consequentia sunt aequae contingentia, antecedentia sunt aequaliter contingentia. Ista propositio probatur, quia ex necessario non sequitur contingens. Eadem ratione ex magis necessario non sequitur aequalius contingens. Modo ista consequentia est bona: Angelus est; ergo Deus conservat vel manu tenet angelum in esse; et consequentia simpliciter necessaria. Item, ista consequentia est necessaria: Rana est; ergo Deus conservat ranam in esse. Modo ista duo: Deus conservat ranam in esse, est ita<sup>42</sup> contingens sicut ista: Deus conservat angelum in esse. Nam utrumque est contingens ad utrumlibet, quia non magis necessatur voluntas divina ad conservandum angelum quam ad conservandum (22<sup>th</sup>) ranam. Ergo antecedentia sunt aequae contingentia. Ergo aequae contingens est ista: Angelus est, sicut ista: Rana est. Et ista credo quod necesse est dicere secundum fidem Christianam.

<24> Ad argumentum principale in oppositum, dico quod intentio Philosophi fuit quod separata a materia intantum erunt necesse esse quod nec poterant non esse, nec a se nec a Deo. Unde etsi posuisset eas creatas effective a Deo, non tamen contingenter diceret eas creari a Deo; sed eadem necessitate qua

<sup>33</sup> Ms add. non.

<sup>34</sup> St. Augustine, *Contra Felicianum* 7; PL 42, 1162. This is not a work of Augustine but of Vigilius of Tapsus. Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology* (St. Louis, 1908), p. 616.

<sup>35</sup> St. John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa* 17 (II, 3), p. 70, n. 5.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> St. Gregory, *Moralium Libri* XVI, 37, n. 45; PL 75, 1143.

<sup>38</sup> St. Augustine, *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> St. John Damascene, *ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Ms corrupt.

<sup>41</sup> Ms passio.

<sup>42</sup> Ms ista.

Deus est Deus, eadem necessitate poneret quod Deus produceret eas in esse. Et hoc est contra nostram fidem, et ideo non est tenendum.

II

UTRUM ANIMA INTELLECTIVA SIT IMMORTALIS

<1> Quod non. Nulla substantia immortalis potest esse actus et forma alicujus corruptibilis. Sed anima intellectiva est forma rei corruptibilis, id est hominis. Ergo non est incorruptibilis.<sup>1</sup> Major probatur, quia corruptibile et incorruptibile differunt secundum genus, X *Metaphysicae*.<sup>2</sup> Ergo non est inter illa proportio. Formae autem ad subjectum necessarium est proportio.

<2> Oppositum. Aristoteles II *De Anima*<sup>3</sup> dicit quod intellectiva separatur a corpore sicut perpetuum a corruptibili.

<3> Dicendum quod firma fide tenendum quod anima intellectiva immortalis est, id est incorruptibilis<sup>4</sup> ab aliqua potentia nisi a Deo solo qui creavit eam. Et tunc tenendum non est de facto anima habuit initium suae durationis. Nam Deus creat quod et de facto omnis anima creata a Deo (211<sup>v</sup>) manebit in perpetuum, Deo volente et conservante. Nam ipsa<sup>5</sup> de se tenderet in nihilum cum sit de nihilo. Unde sicut in alia <quaestione><sup>6</sup> dictum est, non est necesse esse de se, nec alia creatura, sed contingens tantum, sicut rana vel aliud corruptibile, licet non potest corrumpi nisi a Deo tantum.

<4> Sed hujus quaestionis difficultas est ex hoc: utrum ratione naturali et per rationem Aristotelis posset probari quod anima intellectiva est incorruptibilis. Utrum autem fuisset hoc de intentione Aristotelis quod fuisset immortalis, de hoc jam expediti sumus per articulum Oxoniensem. Damnatu est enim articulus qui dicit: non habetur ab Aristotele quod intellectiva maneat post separationem.<sup>7</sup>

<5> Item, multi doctores<sup>8</sup> hanc partem tenentes probant per rationes Aristotelis et per alias quod anima intellectiva est incorruptibilis, adducendo primo auctoritatem Aristotelis, secundo per rationes ostendendo idem. Primo una auctoritate I *De Anima*, c. 1, *Rationabilius dubitabit*. Dicit Aristoteles sic:<sup>9</sup> "Intellectus autem videtur substantia quaedam existens et non corrumpi." Et probat quod non corrumpitur, quia tunc per senium corrumpetur, quod falsum est. Probat quod est falsum; nam si senex acciperet oculum juvenis, ita videret sicut juvenis. Ergo anima non senescit, licet organum debilitetur.

<6> Praeterea, infra eodem capitulo dicit sic:<sup>10</sup> "Intellectus<sup>11</sup> autem fortassis divinius<sup>12</sup> aliquid et impassibile est"<sup>13</sup> quam corpus. Ergo est incorruptibilis.

<7> Praeterea, II *De Anima*:<sup>14</sup> "De intellectu et perspectiva potentia nihil adhuc manifestum est, sed videtur genus alterum animae esse, et hoc solum contingit<sup>15</sup> separari sicut perpetuum a corruptibili."

<8> Praeterea, III *De Anima*, c. *De parte autem animae*,<sup>16</sup> dicit quod non est similis possibilitas<sup>17</sup> in sensu et intellectu. Nam sensus in cognoscendo excellentiora sensibilia minus cognoscit inferiora, ut visus cum videt lumen intensum minus cognoscit aliquid<sup>18</sup> visibile, ut album vel nigrum. Intellectus autem, secundum Aristotelem, in cognoscendo excellens<sup>19</sup> intelligibile non minus cog-

<sup>1</sup> Ms corruptibilis.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. 10, 1058b28.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. 2, 413b27.

<sup>4</sup> Ms mortalis, corrected in margin to incorruptibile.

<sup>5</sup> Ms ipse.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *supra*, Appendix I.

<sup>7</sup> One of the thirty propositions condemned in 1277 by Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury: Item quod non est inventum ab Aristotele, quod intellectiva manet post separationem. *Cartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* I (Paris, 1899), p. 559.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. St. Albert, *Summa de Creaturis* II,

61, 2; XXXV (Paris, 1896), pp. 521-531; St. Thomas, *De Unitate Intellectus* I, 16-22; *Opuscula Omnia* I (Paris, 1949), pp. 84-90.

<sup>9</sup> 408b18.

<sup>10</sup> 408b29.

<sup>11</sup> Ms Item.

<sup>12</sup> Ms dicimus.

<sup>13</sup> Ms ejus.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. 2, 413b24-27.

<sup>15</sup> Ms contingere.

<sup>16</sup> Ch. 4, 429a29-b5.

<sup>17</sup> Aristotle's text reads impassibilitas.

<sup>18</sup> Ms aliud.

<sup>19</sup> Ms add. tunc.

noscit minus intelligibile, immo magis secundum Philosophum. Hoc non esset nisi esset incorruptibilis. Nam si esset corruptibilis, ut sensus, corrumpetur ab excellentia intelligibili sicut sensus corrumpitur ab excellentia sensibili.

<9> Praeterea, Aristoteles eodem III *De Anima*, eodem capitulo,<sup>20</sup> dicit de intellectu agente, "Hic intellectus est separabilis et impassibilis et immixtus, substantia actu<sup>21</sup> ens." Et infra parum,<sup>22</sup> "Separatus est autem solum, et hoc solum immortale et perpetuum est."

<10> Praeterea, XII *Metaphysicae*, c. 3,<sup>23</sup> quaerit Aristoteles quae causae de genere causarum sunt simul cum suo effectu. Et dicit quod causa efficiens non est necessario simul cum suo effectu. Causa formalis est simul cum suo effectu ut in pluribus. Excipit tamen animam intellectivam, quae manet corrupto composito. Unde dicit Aristoteles sic: "Moveres<sup>24</sup> quidem causae velut prius autem existentes. Quae autem ut ratio simul. Si autem posterius aliquid manet,<sup>25</sup> perscrutandum. In quodam enim nihil prohibet, ut si est anima tale, <non omnis> sed intellectus. Omne<sup>26</sup> nam<que> impossibile forsitan."

<11> Praeterea, Aristoteles II *De Generatione Animalium*, c. 6:<sup>27</sup> "Relinquitur autem intellectum solum de foris advenire et divinum esse solum. Nihil enim ipsius communicat corporalis operatio." Ex isto fit duplex argumentum. Primum ex primo dicto. Si enim de foris est, non educitur. Sed nulla forma corrumpitur nisi illa educitur de potentia materiae. Et secundo praedicto, cum dicitur quod nihil ipsius communicat corporalis operatio, arguitur quod est semper. Ita enim arguit Aristoteles I *De Anima*.<sup>28</sup> Si, inquit, haberet forma spiritualem operationem et distinctam, esset separabilis. Sed ex dicto ejus in libro *De Animalibus*<sup>29</sup> patet quod habet talem operationem. Ergo est separabilis.

<12> Praeterea, Aristoteles IV libro *De Partibus Animalium*<sup>30</sup> dicit quod homo inter cetera animalia solum est recti corporis propter hoc quod naturam et substantiam habet divinam. Sed corruptibilis substantia non est divina, id est non est similis Deo. Ergo oportet quod sit incorruptibile aliquid in homine. Ergo, etc.

<13> Praeterea, ex libro *Ethicorum* ostenditur idem. Nam forte, secundum Aristotelem III *Ethicorum*,<sup>31</sup> exponere se debet morti propter bonum commune. Sed hoc non faceret nisi aliam vitam speraret.<sup>32</sup>

<14> Praeterea, X *Ethicorum*<sup>33</sup> dicit Aristoteles quod felicitas speculativa permanentior est quam felicitas activa. Sed activa felicitas permanet usque ad finem vitae. Ergo et speculativa permanet ulterius, et non nisi in anima. Ergo anima immortalis.

<15> Praeterea, Aristoteles eodem X<sup>34</sup> dicit quod sapiens secundum intellectum operans et hunc curans est Deo amantissimus; ergo Deo gratissimus. Ergo necessario habebit mercedem majorem a Deo quam alius non secundum intellectum operans. Sed illa merces non expectata in vita ista. Ergo manifesta probatio quod non incidat. Nam istud Aristoteles in libro *De Bona Fortuna*<sup>35</sup> dicit, quod secundum intellectum operantem non sunt fortunati; immo universaliter bene fortunati non sunt sapientes, sed impelluntur a quodam principio superiori quam sit intellectus. Unde secundum ipsum bona fortuna est sine

<sup>20</sup> Ch. 5, 430a17.

<sup>21</sup> *Ms* corrupt.

<sup>22</sup> 430a22.

<sup>23</sup> 1070a21.

<sup>24</sup> *Ms* moveretur.

<sup>25</sup> aliquid manet: *ms* corrupt.

<sup>26</sup> *Ms* esse.

<sup>27</sup> Ch. 3, 736b27.

<sup>28</sup> Ch. 1, 403a11.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 27.

<sup>30</sup> Bk. II, ch. 10, 656a7-13.

<sup>31</sup> Ch. 12, 1117b7-19.

<sup>32</sup> *Ms* separaret.

<sup>33</sup> Ch. 7, 1177a22.

<sup>34</sup> Ch. 9, 1179a22.

<sup>35</sup> Et propter hoc, quod olim dicebatur, bene fortunati vocantur qui si impetum faciant dirigunt sine ratione existentis. Et consilium non expedit ipsis: habent enim principium tale quod melius intellectu et consilio. Cf. Th. Deman, "Le 'Liber de bona fortuna' dans la théologie de S. Thomas d'Aquin", *Revue des sciences phil. et théol.*, XVII (1928), 40. Excerpted from *Ethica Eudemia* VII, 14, 1248a29-32.

ratione. Natura ergo secundum intellectum operans in hac vita non sentit amorem Dei tantum sicut ille qui non operatur secundum intellectum.

<16> Secundo ostenditur hoc per rationes unus doctor Thomas. In *Scripto* II, d. 19,<sup>36</sup> facit hanc rationem: Omnis potentia cognitiva quae in operando non utitur organo corporali est incorruptibilis. Intellectus est hujusmodi. Consequentiam supponit. Antecedens probat tripliciter. Primo, illa operatio quae se extendit ad omnes formas corporales caret omni forma corporali. Ideo, secundum Aristotelem,<sup>37</sup> oculus non est color ut omnium colorum sit<sup>38</sup> receptivus. Sed ratio intelligendi extendit se ad omnes formas corporales. Ergo non utitur aliquo organo corporali. Secundo, quia intelligere est universalium, et universalis non recipiuntur in organo corporali, sed tantum intentiones individuatae.<sup>39</sup> Tertio, quia intellectus cognoscit seipsum. Nulla autem potentia organica redit supra se modo quia in omni potentia organica organum est medium inter potentiam cognoscentem et omne cognitum. Sed inter idem et seipsum non cadit medium. Ergo, etc.

<17> Praeterea, alius doctor, Jacobus Augustiniensis, in illa quaestione: Utrum anima esset capax scientiae si non esset immortalis,<sup>40</sup> arguit sic, ex parte dignitatis, ex parte modi operationis, tertio ex parte simplicitatis. Ex parte dignitatis dupliciter. Primo sic: Nam propter dignitatem debet esse Deo propinquissima, nam ad imaginem Dei est. Ergo nulla creatura inter ipsam et Deum. Ista consequentia probatur per Augustinum XI *De Trinitate*, c. 5.<sup>41</sup> Dicit enim sic: (212') "Non sane omne quod est in creaturis aliquo modo est simile cum Deo quasi ejus imago. Dicendum quod illa sola qua superior est ipse solus est. Ea quippe prorsus de illo exprimitur inter quam et ipsum nulla <natura> est interjecta." Ergo ratione imaginis debet esse Deo propinquissima. Sed apud Deum non est transmutatio nec vicissitudinis obumbratio.<sup>42</sup> Ergo tantum anima elongatur a transmutatione <quantum> creatura potest elongari. Ergo immortalis.

<18> Praeterea, adhuc ex dignitate imaginis arguitur. Nam anima, eo quod est ad imaginem Dei, capax Dei est et particeps ejus potest esse, secundum Augustinum XIV *De Trinitate*, c. 8.<sup>43</sup> Sed esse particeps<sup>44</sup> Dei est esse capax beatitudinis. Sed beati non<sup>45</sup> . . . ibidem XII, c. 3, XIII libro, c. 8:<sup>46</sup> Vera enim beatitudo non est nisi<sup>47</sup> aeterna. Ergo anima est capax naturaliter<sup>48</sup> aeternitatis.

<19> Secundo, probatur hoc ex ratione modi operationis vel cognitionis. Nam Augustinus dicit XII libro *De Trinitate*, c. 12:<sup>49</sup> Intellectus vero<sup>50</sup> transmutabilia intransmutabiliter cognoscit secundum intransmutabiles<sup>51</sup> rationes. Sed intransmutabilis cognitio arguit esse intransmutabile.<sup>52</sup>

<20> Tertio, ostendit animam esse incorruptibilem ex ejus simplicitate. Nam si simplex, non potest corrumpi.

<21> Augustinus in libro *De Immortalitate Animae*<sup>53</sup> nititur ostendere quod anima sit immortalis. Et vis totius deductionis consistit in hoc quod ratio et scientia vel veritas est immortalis; ergo anima. Consequentia probatur diffuse. Vel enim veritas est in anima ut in subjecto, et tunc est propositio plana cum

<sup>36</sup> St. Thomas, *Sent.* II, d. 19, q. 1, a. 1 (Paris, 1929), pp. 481-482.

<sup>37</sup> *De Anima* III, 4, 429a21.

<sup>38</sup> *Ms* sunt.

<sup>39</sup> sed . . . individuatae: *ms* non tantum intellectus? indistinctae. *St. Thomas' text reads:* Secundo, quia intelligere est universalium; in organo autem corporali recipi non possunt nisi intentiones individuatae. *Op. cit.*, p. 481.

<sup>40</sup> James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* I, q. 11; *Ms* Troyes 269, fol. 99<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> PL 42, 991.

<sup>42</sup> *St. James* i, 17.

<sup>43</sup> PL 42, 1044.

<sup>44</sup> *Ms* corrupt.

<sup>45</sup> *Ms* lacuna of about seven letters. This sentence does not appear in the text of James of Viterbo.

<sup>46</sup> PL 42, 1022.

<sup>47</sup> *Ms* ut.

<sup>48</sup> naturaliter: *ms* lacuna.

<sup>49</sup> Ch. 2; PL 42, 999.

<sup>50</sup> *Ms* non?

<sup>51</sup> *Ms* transmutabiles.

<sup>52</sup> *Ms* transmutabile.

<sup>53</sup> Chs. 4-6; PL 32, 1023-1027.

sunt conjuncta sicut duae substantiae. Et tunc probat quod non potest separari diffuse, sicut patet. Dimitto quia longum est et multum praeter propositum.

<22> Contra istam opinionem probatio. Videtur quod non possit probari ratione naturali. Nam Augustinus XIII *De Trinitate* c. 9,<sup>54</sup> dicit sic: "Humanis cogitationibus hoc invenire conantes,<sup>55</sup> vix pauci magno praediti ingenio abundantes<sup>56</sup> otio, doctrinisque subtilissimis eruditi, ad indagandam solius animae immortalitatem pervenire potuerunt": et forte non invenitur tam ingeniosus.

<23> Adhuc volo salvare articulum,<sup>57</sup> quod invenitur ab Aristotele quod anima est immortalis. Item, dico quod oppositum sequitur ex dictis Aristotelis, et hoc non repugnat articulo. Videtur ergo mihi quod non potest stare cum dictis Aristotelis quod anima intellectiva sit immortalis, supposito quod sit forma substantialis hominis. Sed quod sit forma corporis videtur esse expressum ab Aristotele in multis locis.<sup>58</sup>

<24> Praeterea, II *De Anima*<sup>59</sup> definit animam, quod est "actus corporis physici organici, vitam habentis in potentia." Et ne dicatur quod non vult extendere<sup>60</sup> suam definitionem ad animam intellectivam—Contra, quia infra dicit sic:<sup>61</sup> "anima qua vivimus, sentimus et intelligimus." Et de anima loquens dicit sic:<sup>62</sup> "non est enim corpus actus animae, sed ipsa corporis cujusdam."<sup>63</sup> Ergo anima intellectiva est actus corporis. Sed XII *Metaphysicae* supra<sup>64</sup> allegatum est; intendit ostendere quod aliqua causa formalis potest manere, corrupto illo cujus est forma. Nam dicit quod moventes causae priores sunt effectui. Causa ut ratio, id est forma, sit cum effectui. "In quodam tamen nihil prohibet, ut si est <anima> tale, non omnis, sed intellectus." Ergo intellectus est causa formalis hominis. Modo probo ex hoc quod nullo modo est incorruptibilis per intentionem Aristotelis. Nam Aristoteles VIII *Metaphysicae*<sup>65</sup> in fine, redarguit opiniones<sup>66</sup> aliquorum dicentium materiam et formam esse unum, ergo colligationem tantum. Et ipse vult ostendere causam quare ex materia et forma fit unum. Et dicit<sup>67</sup> quod causa praecisa non est quia haec materia et haec forma, sed quia haec potentia, hic actus, et quia illud quod est in potentia est<sup>68</sup> diversum ab alio quod est in actu. Nam idem quod est in potentia primo postea fit in actu. Et ideo dicit Philosophus haec verba:<sup>69</sup> "Est autem, ut dictum est, ultima materia et forma idem, haec potentia, hic actu." Et subdit:<sup>70</sup> "Quare causa nulla alia nisi ut quod illud movens ex potentia ad actum." Non ergo quaerenda est alia causa quare fit unum ex his nisi quia idem sunt, hic in actu et haec in potentia; et hoc non indiget nisi motore extrinseco educente actum de potentia. Ergo nulla potentia facit unum cum alterato acto; non cum illo actu qui educitur de potentia illa.<sup>71</sup> Cum ergo omnis talis forma quae educitur de potentia subjecti est corruptibilis, vel<sup>72</sup> anima intellectiva est corruptibilis necessario si sit forma substantialis hominis, faciens unum per se cum materia vel corpore, vel ratio Philosophi nihil in mundo valebit.

<25> Et istud confirmatur per Commentatorem. Dicit enim in commento ultimo,<sup>73</sup> non est differentia inter compositionem aeris et trium angulorum, et compositionem animae et corporis. Unde idem est dicere cuprum habet tres angulos et dicere corpus esse animatum. Anima enim ita se habet ad corpus sicut figura ad cuprum. Et subdit Commentator causam deceptionis antiquorum.

<sup>54</sup> Ch. 9; PL 42, 1023. The concluding words of the paragraph are not in the edition.

<sup>55</sup> *Ms* conatis.

<sup>56</sup> *Ms* corrupt.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 7.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *De Anima* II, 1, 412a29; 414a12-27; III, 4, 429a24-28.

<sup>59</sup> Ch. 1, 412a27.

<sup>60</sup> *Ms* ostendere.

<sup>61</sup> 414a12.

<sup>62</sup> 414a18.

<sup>63</sup> *Ms* corrupt.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 23.

<sup>65</sup> Ch. 6, 1045b10-12.

<sup>66</sup> *Ms* operationes.

<sup>67</sup> 1045b16-21.

<sup>68</sup> *Ms* contingit.

<sup>69</sup> 1045b17-19.

<sup>70</sup> 1045b21-22.

<sup>71</sup> The meaning of this sentence is obscure.

<sup>72</sup> *Ms* et.

<sup>73</sup> Averroes, *In VIII Metaph.*, t.c. 16 (Venice 1576), 225D.

Dicit<sup>74</sup> quod causa deceptionis antiquorum est quia ponunt quod illud quod est in potentia et illud quod est in actu esse diversum, et in rei veritate est unum. Illud enim quod fuit in potentia est in actu, et non sunt diversa. Ergo ad hoc quod ex materia et forma fiat unum, manifestum est quod materia illa habeat in se potentiam ante actum formae, qua potentia possit reduci ad actum per agens extrahens, ut subdit Commentator:<sup>75</sup> exitus illius de potentia in actum non habet causam nisi motorem extrinsecum, extrahentem ipsum de potentia in actum. Ergo forma quae non potest extrahi de potentia materiae nullo modo facit unum cum materia.

<26> Praeterea, Commentator supra, commento penultimo:<sup>76</sup> "Translatio enim alicujus de potentia in actum non largitur ei multitudinem sed perfectionem." Et dat causam: "quia non est aliud causatum ab agente ab eo in quod agens agit, sed illud idem quod sit sphaera in potentia fit sphaera in actu." Sed nullum corpus, nulla natura est intellectiva in potentia, nec homo in potentia. Ergo vel ex materia et forma non potest fieri unum per se, puta intellectiva, vel<sup>77</sup> intellectiva educitur de potentia materiae. Est autem intelligendum quod Aristoteles non intendit quod materia fiat forma, sed quod fiat formata, ut patet per verba.<sup>78</sup> Unde compositum fit, et materia est in potentia compositum. Unde non differt a composito nisi sicut illud quod est in potentia ab eodem cum est in actu. Si ergo aliquis videt quod dicit Aristoteles, oportet quod omnis forma quae facit per se unum cum materia quod habeat potentiam in materia quae possit reduci in actum per agens.<sup>79</sup>

<27> Praeterea, probo quod intellectiva non est forma substantialis hominis, dato quod sit separabilis et non educta de potentia materiae. Illa forma non substantialis alicujus, cui in subjecto non opponitur aliqua privatio. Ista propositio est plana. Nam tria sunt principia naturae: materia, forma, privatio; inter quae duo sunt contraria, et privatio, secundum Aristotelem I *Physicorum*.<sup>80</sup> Ergo cuilibet formae substantiali quae est . . .<sup>81</sup> enim c. 5, correspondet non in materia sibi contraria. Sed intellectivae <non> correspondet privatio aliqua in subjecto naturali. Ergo non est forma substantialis. Probatio (212<sup>v</sup>) minoris. Nam privatio in subjecto non est negatio formae intellectivae. Ergo, etc. Privatio illa non negat intellectivam absolute, nam simul stant, quia intellectiva potest esse et non in materia. Ergo illa negatio tantum erit non formae, sed negatio existentiae formae in subjecto tantum. Ergo non privatio formae. Ergo, etc.

<28> Tu dices hoc sufficit ad privationem, quod sit negatio formae<sup>82</sup> non absolute, sed existentiae ejus in subjecto. Contra, probo quod hoc est impossibile. Forma et existentia formae in subjecto sunt duo per te, quia possunt in esse separari ab invicem. Tunc sic illud quo tollitur a subjecto, illud est formaliter habitus. Nam privationi formaliter non contrariatur nisi habitus et forma. Sed privatio tollitur a subjecto per te per solam existentiam formae in subjecto, non per formam absolute. Ergo existentia illa, ut distinguitur a natura absoluta formae, est forma et habitus qui est alterum principiorum naturae. Cum ergo illa existentia non est nisi quaedam relatio (non enim addit supra formam nec substantiam ut aliquid aliud nisi respectum), ergo solus respectus est principium, nec substantiale. Consequens falsum. Multa sequuntur absurda. Nam transmutatio subjecti privatione, quae est unum principiorum naturae, in habitum<sup>83</sup> sibi contrarium, est transmutatio essentialis per quam transitur de non esse simpliciter ad esse simpliciter. Ergo terminus formalis est aliqua

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 225E.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 225F.

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.*, t.c. 15, 224AB.

<sup>77</sup> *Ms* sed.

<sup>78</sup> 1045b17-23.

<sup>79</sup> in actum per agens: *ms* per actum in

agens.

<sup>80</sup> *Physics* I, 7, 190b28-191a22.

<sup>81</sup> Omission in *ms*.

<sup>82</sup> *Ms* fere.

<sup>83</sup> *Ms* habitu.

substantia necessario. Sed<sup>84</sup> propter solam relationem novam non consurgit novum ens simpliciter; et illa transitio subjecti de privatione in habitum<sup>85</sup> non terminatur nisi ad novum respectum.

<29> Item, impossibile est eandem formam numero esse terminum formale duarum mutationum vel productionum totalium; quae productiones differunt numero, immo specie et genere. Ista propositio videtur plana. Si enim totaliter producitur per unam mutationem et unam productionem, alia et producit de illa, licet intellectiva tota producitur et per creationem; unde est terminus creationis. Sed creatio omnino alia mutatio est, extendendo nomen mutationis ab illa mutatione cujus terminus a quo est privatio in subjecto apto nato, et alterius rationis est. Ergo intellectiva nec minus potest esse terminus illius mutationis quo subjectum mutatur de privatione in habitum.<sup>86</sup> Ergo non erit forma substantialis nec principium naturae.

<30> Praeterea, tertio ad principale, quod intellectiva sit educta de potentia materiae si sola forma substantialis hominis secundum intentionem Aristotelis: ista propositio est nota apud Aristotelem, quod homo generat hominem sicut asinus asinum. Unde frequenter dicit illam propositionem II *Physicorum*:<sup>87</sup> "Homo generat hominem ex materia et sol." Nota "ex materia." Similiter VII *Metaphysicae*, primo capitulo:<sup>88</sup> "Eorum autem quae fiunt,"<sup>89</sup> haec quidem natura fiunt, haec autem ab arte." Ostendit quod omne illud quod fit a natura habet aliquid a natura a quo fit sicut materia; habet aliquid quod fit in natura sicut compositum ex forma et materia, vel per illud quod sic intendit formalem terminum generationis. Nam per terminos formales, non materiales, distinguuntur species motus et mutationis. Habetur tertio secundum Aristotelem:<sup>90</sup> in natura quo fit, idem est habens principium naturale. Ponit exemplum:<sup>91</sup> "Homo namque hominem generat." Ista propositio nunquam est vera secundum Aristotelem nisi forma illa substantialis, a quo homo est homo, formaliter produceretur in esse per agens naturae ex materia; alioquin non generat hominem. Unde concludunt theologi<sup>92</sup> quod homo magis proprie causatur quam generatur.

<31> Si dicas quod Aristoteles intendit quod homo generat hominem, quod generat dispositionem propinquam ad receptionem intellectivae—Contra: Illud non potest stare. Aristoteles in capitulo praedicto<sup>93</sup> dividit inter ea quae fiunt a natura et illa quae fiunt ab arte quantum ad principium activum, quia principium activum eorum quae fiunt a natura est forma naturalis extra, sed principium eorum quae fiunt ab arte est ars in mente. Et illud habetur VI *Metaphysicae*.<sup>94</sup> Ideo semper dicit Philosophus quod illa quae fiunt a natura non fiunt ab arte, nec e converso.

<32> Sed ego probo secundum istam responsionem, quod scilicet . . .<sup>95</sup> nam cultellus fit a natura et similiter ab arte. Quod ab arte, manifestum est. Quod a natura, nam natura facit causam et dispositionem propinquam ad formam rei artificiatam cultelli, nam causat ferrum et ferri molitum per calorem, sicut homo causat dispositionem propinquam intellectivae. Eodem modo ergo et aequali ratione possum dicere quod illa facit rem artificiatam, sicut possum dicere quod homo generat hominem per naturam; et plane est contra Aristotelem.

<33> Praeterea, quarto probo quod non stant simul quod anima intellectiva sit incorruptibilis et tamen quod sit forma hominis. Nam tunc multiplicarentur secundum numerum ad multitudinem hominum. Sed anima non potest multiplicari secundum numerum. Ergo, etc. Probatio minoris: Forma subsistens a materia est tantum una in una specie. Ejus probatio secundum Aristotelem,

<sup>84</sup> Ms non.

<sup>85</sup> Ch. 2, 194b13. "Ex materia" is found in the Moerbeke translation.

<sup>86</sup> Ch. 7, 1032a12.

<sup>87</sup> Ms sunt.

<sup>88</sup> Ch. 7, 1032a24.

<sup>89</sup> 1032a25.

<sup>90</sup> Non inveni.

<sup>91</sup> Ch. 7, 1032a15-29.

<sup>92</sup> Ch. 1, 1025b19-25.

<sup>93</sup> Omission in ms.



quia multitudo individuorum in eadem specie est per materiam, sicut in multis locis dicit V *Metaphysicae*, capitulo de uno:<sup>94</sup> Nunc sunt unum quorum materia una. Praeterea, idem dicit eodem quinto capitulo<sup>95</sup> quod ista sunt unum numero quorum materia una. Praeterea, VII *Metaphysicae*:<sup>96</sup> "Callias vero et Socrates diversa quidem propter materiam<sup>97</sup> (diversa namque); idem vero specie, nam individua<sup>98</sup> species."

<34> Praeterea, XII *Metaphysicae*<sup>99</sup> probat caelum esse unum numero; et si essent plures caeli, essent plures motores secundum numerum. "Sed quaecumque sunt numero multa, materiam habent. Quod autem <quod> quid erat esse, non habet materiam; endelechia <enim>." Concludit igitur Aristoteles sic:<sup>1</sup> "Unum et ratione et numero primum movens." Cum igitur intellectiva non habet materiam, sequitur<sup>2</sup> quod est una numero tantum.

<35> Huic argumento multipliciter respondetur. Uno modo sic, quod aliqua est forma separata a materia quae nata est per se existere et non perficere materiam, et illa est tantum in una numero et in una specie. Alia est forma quae, licet separata sit aliquando a materia, tamen apta nata est esse perfectio materiae. Huiusmodi est intellectiva. Illa enim est in confinio inter substantiae corporales et substantias mere spirituales.<sup>3</sup> Et huiusmodi forma, licet separata a materia, potest<sup>4</sup> tamen multiplicari ad multiplicationem partium materiae.

<36> Si arguatur duae animae separatae a materia numero distinguuntur et non sunt forma materiae, respondetur quod adhuc manet aptitudo ad materiam, secundum quas aptitudines distinguuntur. Contra illud: illa aptitudo non respectus realis qui manet sine termino. Ergo vel est respectus rationis tantum vel ipsa substantia animae absoluta. Si respectus rationis, certum est non distinguit realiter. Ergo si per aptitudinem dicuntur distingui, non est aliud nisi quod per naturas proprias absolutas distinguuntur. Et tunc probo quod distinctio eorum non est per materiam; immo magis eorum distinctio corporum causatur ad distinctionem illarum formarum. Probatio: Distinctio in priori est (213<sup>5</sup>) causa distinctionis in posteriori magis quam e converso. Sed anima, quantum ad naturam suam absolutam, prior est natura quam sit forma<sup>6</sup> corporalis, quia esse forma corporis accedit et contingit suae naturae. Ergo prius secundum naturam distinguuntur duae animae quam uniantur corporibus. Ergo non distinguuntur per materiam, sed magis e converso materia per ipsas.

<37> Tu dicis: Anima non est prior secundum naturam aptitudine superficiali. Illud non valet. Nam patet quod aptitudo non significat nisi substantiam animae absolutam.

<38> Praeterea, eodem modo possem dicere quod est rationalis per aptitudinem ad materiam; quod ita est quod non esset rationalis nisi esset apta nata perficere materiam. Si ergo verum est quod dicit Aristoteles, quod distinctio numeralis non est nisi per materiam, impossibile est duas animas separatas esse numero distinctas.

<39> Praeterea, eodem modo dicerem tibi quod definitio specifica et formalis hominis et asini est per accidentia: per ridere et rudere. Probatio: Nam per aptitudines distinguuntur certum est, vocando aptitudines naturas substantiales quae sunt aptae natae: natura hominis apta nata est ridere et asini rudere. Ergo distinctio formarum numeralis non est magis per materiam quam distinctio substantiarum per accidentia contingentia et separabilia. Et tunc nihil valet dictum Aristotelis, quod distinguuntur per materiam.

<40> Alio modo respondet Thomas in *Scripto* suo, d. 8, primi libri.<sup>8</sup> Ipse vult

<sup>94</sup> Ch. 6, 1016a28.

<sup>95</sup> 1016b33.

<sup>96</sup> Ch. 8, 1034a7.

<sup>97</sup> Ms naturam.

<sup>98</sup> Ms necessaria.

<sup>99</sup> Ch. 8, 1074a34-36.

<sup>1</sup> 1074a37.

<sup>2</sup> Ms sibi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Liber de Causis* 2; ed. O. Bardenhewer (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1882), p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Ms prima.

<sup>5</sup> Ms add. corpora.

<sup>6</sup> St. Thomas, *Sent.* I, d. 8, q. 5, a. 2, ad 6<sup>m</sup>; pp. 231, 232.

concordare philosophiam Aristotelis cum fide Catholica cum illis qui volunt servare legem cum Alexandro(?)<sup>7</sup> Et dicit sic, quod in rei veritate distinctio formalis duarum animarum est per materiam formaliter. Imaginatur enim hoc modo quod anima, creata a Deo, in eodem esse infunditur materiae et contrahit a materia quandam characterizationem et quandam signationem, per quam anima est individuata et ab alia anima numero distincta. Et nisi illa caracterizaretur per materiam, non posset distingui numero ab alia anima. Et ista signatio semel facta in anima per materiam, manet in aeternum in anima separata et conjuncta. Unde anima in fiendo dependet hoc modo a materia, etsi non in durando.<sup>8</sup> Ponit exemplum: sigillum imprimit figuram. Unde figura in cera dependet a sigillo quantum ad fieri illius, non tamen quantum ad esse, quia remoto sigillo manet figura. Sic de anima intellectiva respectu corporis. Ita dicit; et dicit quod est intentio Avicennae.<sup>9</sup>

<41> Contra: Cujuscumque fuerit dictum, sive Avicennae sive suum, porro Catholicae fidei est contrarium. Unde et in opinione, ut videtur mihi, est truculentia.<sup>10</sup> Abradi debet sicut haeresis plana. Asserit enim manifeste quod Deus non posset facere animam ante corpus per aliquod ens, quia non possit esse signata nec singularis<sup>11</sup> nisi per corpus. Probatur<sup>12</sup> sic: Illa signatio quam dicis esse creata a corpore non est sicut figura cerae in metaphora rudi quam facis, sed oportet quod sit aliquod substantiale praeter animam. Probatio istius: Aut illa signatio data est aliquid aut nihil. Si nihil,<sup>13</sup> nihil sit . . .<sup>14</sup> Si aliquid, aut igitur idem aliquid quod natura animae creata a Deo, aut aliud aliquid. Si idem, ergo tota substantia animae causatur a corpore, quod est haereticum. Si illa signatio facta a corpore sit aliud aliquid a substantia animae, volo ergo loqui de substantia animae, comparando eam ad istam signationem a qua distinguitur realiter. Haec substantia appropriet sibi istam signationem factam ab hoc corpore, quia aliter esset haec natura animae indifferens<sup>15</sup> ad hoc corpus sicut ad aliud<sup>16</sup> corpus, quod non est verum. Quaero ergo per quam rationem appropriat sibi talem signationem: aut per rationem generalem animae communem Sorti et Platoni. Et hoc non potest esse, quia illud quod convenit animae secundum rationem communem animae Sortis et Platonis non magis convenit Sorti quam Platoni. Ergo oportet quod haec substantia animae appropriet sibi hanc signationem per aliquam rationem magis contractam et limitatam quam sit natura speciei in communi. Et talis est necessaria conditio singularitatis. Ergo anima in se est singularis praeter illam signationem. Ergo frustra ponitur illa signatio pro individuatione animae.

<42> Praeterea, cum signatio, ut argutum est, sit aliud necessario a substantia animae et causatur a corpore, nescio videre quin per virtutem corporalem posset corrumpi. Quidquid enim potest causari ab aliqua virtute corporali potest corrumpi ab aliqua virtute creata. Certum est ergo illa signatio posset per aliquam virtutem creatam deleri. Sed illa deleta, jam non manet anima quae prius, quia non eadem numero nec distincta ab alia. Ergo aliqua virtus creata posset delere animam, quod est contra fidem Evangelii. *Nolite, inquit, timere eos qui occidunt corpus.*<sup>17</sup> Ergo, etc.

<43> Praeterea, anima reunietur corpori in resurrectione et applicabitur sicut forma materiae suae, certum est secundum fidem. Ergo et tunc contrahet anima per eandem rationem unam novam signationem sicut in principio, et nova

<sup>7</sup> Ms Elletandro? Possibly Alexander of Aphrodisias. For Alexander's influence on both Moslem and Christian thinkers, cf. G. Théry, *Autour du décret de 1210: II. Alexandre d'Aphrodise* (Le Saulchoir, Kain, 1926), pp. 34-67, 105-116. William of Auvergne attests that many of his contemporaries adhered to Alexander's doctrines. Cf. p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> Ms durandi.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Avicenna, *De Anima* V, 3 (Venice,

1508), 24<sup>th</sup> b.

<sup>10</sup> Ms truculenta.

<sup>11</sup> Ms corrupt.

<sup>12</sup> Ms probat.

<sup>13</sup> Ms naturalis.

<sup>14</sup> The rest of the sentence is corrupt: quia et ista ea ut.

<sup>15</sup> Ms indivisus?

<sup>16</sup> Ms aliquid.

<sup>17</sup> St. Matt. x, 28.

signatio facit novam animam secundum numerum; ergo alia anima. Consequens falsum.

<44> Tu dicis quod in hoc casu non creabitur alia signatio a corpore, quia primo fuit causata sufficienter et adhuc manet. Contra: Quod non est idem homo qui prius compositum, qui non habet easdem partes essentielles quas prius, non est idem compositum quod prius, praecipue de parte essentiali formali. Sed sic est in proposito. Probatio: Primus homo in nativitate habuit partes essentielles corpus et animam absolute dictam. Sed iste resurgens habebit partem formalem animam signatam, et anima signata et anima non sunt idem sed aliud, sicut totum integrale et pars, ut dictum est. Ergo impossibile est quod idem homo resultet ex eis. Consequens est haereticum.

<45> Praeterea, quod allegatur esse intentio Avicennae,<sup>18</sup> etsi esset, contemnenda esset; tamen Avicenna dicit oppositum directe alicubi VI *Naturalium*, parte 5, versus finem.<sup>19</sup> Dicit enim sic: "Anima non est una sed multae numero, et ejus species una est, sed<sup>20</sup> sine dubio aliquid est propter quod anima est singularis<sup>21</sup> effecta. Illud autem non est impressio animae in materia. Jam enim destruximus hoc; immo est aliquid<sup>22</sup> de effectibus, et aliqua de virtutibus, et aliquod de accidentibus spiritualibus, aut compositum ex illis, propter quod singularis est anima, licet nesciamus illud expresse."

<46> Praeterea, quod dicit animam non posse causari ante corpus videtur esse contra Augustinum. Ipse enim reputat opinionem principalem; immo certe tenet quod anima in principio fuit creata ante corpus et postea sexto die fuit unita corpori. Dicit enim VII *Super Genesim*, c. 7:<sup>23</sup> "Credatur ergo, si nulla Scripturarum auctoritas<sup>24</sup> seu veritatis ratio contradicit, hominem ita factum sexto <die> ut corporis quidem humani ratio causalis<sup>25</sup> in elementis mundi; anima vero jam (213') ipsa crearetur sicut primitus conditus est dies, et creatura lateret in operibus Dei donec eam suo tempore insufflando, hoc est inspirando, formato ex humo corpori insereret." Si<sup>26</sup> sua opinio esset impossibilis, nunquam hoc dixisset.

<47> Praeterea, Augustinus infra videtur innuere quod necesse est hoc dicere propter Scripturam.<sup>27</sup> Dicitur enim *Genesis* I:<sup>28</sup> *creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam*; et postea secundo capitulo<sup>29</sup> legitur quod *formavit Deus hominem de limo terrae et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae*. Tunc arguit Augustinus:<sup>30</sup> Anima ista, quam Deus inspiravit corpori, aut <de aliquo> fuit facta, quod non est verum, aut facta de nihilo. Et tunc quaeret: aut tunc facta, aut prius. Si prius, habetur propositum, quod ante corpus. Si tunc, arguit Augustinus:<sup>31</sup> Ergo Deus non complevit omne opus quod patrat in ratione: haec de quo dicitur quod sexto<sup>32</sup> die fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam, quod non nisi secundum animam intelligi potest. Unde videtur Augustinus dicere quod corpus hominis creavit prius illos sex dies, quia corpus idem in causali ratione fuit primo causatum in elementis. Non ergo fuit impossibile hoc esse, licet non fuerit ista.

<48> Praeterea, opinio Origenis fuit, licet falsa, quod Adam et Eva in paradiso corpora non habuerunt, sed postquam ejecti fuerunt extra paradisum. Et ita exponit illud quod habetur *Genesis* 3:<sup>33</sup> *Fecit quoque Deus Adae<sup>34</sup> et uxori <ejus> tunicas pelliceas*, id est corpora secundum Origenem.<sup>35</sup> Non enim

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *supra*, paragraph 40.

<sup>19</sup> *De Anima* V, 3; 24<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Ms si.

<sup>21</sup> Ms add. vel.

<sup>22</sup> Ms add. aliqua.

<sup>23</sup> *De Genesi ad litteram* VII, 24; PL 34, 368.

<sup>24</sup> Ms amittitur.

<sup>25</sup> Ms talis.

<sup>26</sup> Ms quod?

<sup>27</sup> Ms naturam.

<sup>28</sup> *Genesis* i, 27.

<sup>29</sup> *Genesis* ii, 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, VII, 28, n. 40; PL 34, 370.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. n. 22; PL 34, 366.

<sup>32</sup> Ms tertio.

<sup>33</sup> *Genesis* iii, 21.

<sup>34</sup> Ms Adam.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Ex Origene selecta in Genesim*; PG 12, 102A.

est credendum ipsum fuisse pellitum<sup>36</sup> per eum aut sutorem, sicut dicit Origenus. Et ita omnia habentur in epistola Hieronymi ad Ephiphanium.<sup>37</sup> Sed <si> fuisset Deo impossibile hoc facere, certum est quod non dixisset ita. Unde nullus sanctorum redarguit eum de impossibilitate dicti, sed de falsitate tantum. Sic ergo patet quod non est impossibile animam causari ante corpus; immo certe Augustinus credidit hoc, quod ita fuit.

<49> Sed tu dicis quod communiter allegatur: Augustinus dicit alibi quod in corporibus creantur, in libro *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*.<sup>38</sup> Et Magister allegat libro II, d. 18, ubi dicit sic:<sup>39</sup> "Animas hominum <non> esse ab initio inter ceteras intellectuales naturas,<sup>40</sup> sicut Origenes fingit, dicimus, sed formato jam corpore animam creari et infundi." Dicendum quod potest esse ita quod fuit; tamen alio modo potuit fuisse secundum Augustinum. Praeterea, auctoritas allegata non est Augustini sed Gennadii, presbyteri Massiliensis. Ille, non Augustinus, fecit illum librum *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*.<sup>41</sup>

<50> Praeterea, quinto, quod anima non sit immortalis probatio secundum Aristotelem. Certum est quod opinio Aristotelis fuit quod mundus fuit ab aeterno secundum omnes species.<sup>42</sup> Hoc dico pro tanto quidam<sup>43</sup> vane fingunt mundum fuisse ab aeterno et hominem incepisse in tempore. Illud multipliciter nihil valet, quia contra Aristotelis intentionem. Nam tunc mundus tempore infinito<sup>44</sup> fuisset imperfectus, carens optima sua species, quae est homo.

<51> Praeterea, "Omne illud propter quod, eidem magis", I *Posteriorum*.<sup>45</sup> Sed omnia alia propter hominem. Ergo homo magis est factus. Minor probatur, quia "Omnia creata sunt propter hominem" non est tantum propositio scripturae sacrae,<sup>46</sup> immo Aristotelis in pluribus locis. II *Physicorum*<sup>47</sup> dicit sic: "Utimur tamquam propter nos omnibus quae sunt; sumus etenim et nos quodammodo finis omnium." Praeterea, I *Politicorum*, c. 5:<sup>48</sup> "Aestimandum est plantas genitas esse animalium<sup>49</sup> gratia, et alia animalia hominum gratia. Si ergo natura nihil<sup>50</sup> imperfectum neque frustra facit, necessarium est hominum gratia omnia fecisse naturam." Plane ergo fuisset natura frustra nisi essent homines<sup>51</sup> ab aeterno sicut alia animalia.

<52> Praeterea, expressae sunt auctoritates Aristotelis de hominibus aeternis, sicut de aliis animalibus, primo libro *De Caelo et Mundo* 3,<sup>52</sup> et I *Meteororum*, c. 8:<sup>53</sup> "Non enim semel aut bis, sed infinities debet putare easdem advenisse opiniones<sup>54</sup> ad nos." Ergo <necesse est><sup>55</sup> homines fuisse per infinitum. Praeterea, in libro *De Plantis*, libro primo, c. 2,<sup>56</sup> dicit Aristoteles: "Mundus demonstratus<sup>57</sup> est perpetuus, sempiternus; nec cessavit unquam generare animalia, plantas, et omnes suas species." Ergo homines. Et si dicas quod liber iste non est Aristotelis,<sup>58</sup> ecce auctoritatem de libro *De Animalibus*, libro secundo *De Generatione Animalium*:<sup>59</sup> "Semper est genus hominum et animalium et plantarum. Horum autem principium masculinus et femina." Ergo secundum<sup>60</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Ms pelle.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Epistola 51: S. Epiphaniū ad Joannem Episcopum Jerosolymorum, a Hieronymo Latine reddita*; PL 22, 520-527.

<sup>38</sup> Ch. 18; PL 42, 1216.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II, d. 18, 7; I (Quaracchi, 1916), p. 392.

<sup>40</sup> intellectuales naturas: ms noctellea? malos natura.

<sup>41</sup> For Gennadius of Marseilles as the author of this work, cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology* (St. Louis, 1908), p. 609.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *De Generatione Animalium* II, 1, 732a1.

<sup>43</sup> St. Thomas raises this possibility in *Summa Theologiae* I, 46, 2, ad 8<sup>m</sup>; *De Aeternitate Mundi* 12; *Opuscula Omnia* I (Paris, 1949), p. 60.

<sup>44</sup> Ms corrupt.

<sup>45</sup> Aristotle, *Post. Anal.*, I, 2, 72a29.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Genesis* i, 28-30.

<sup>47</sup> Ch. 2, 194a34.

<sup>48</sup> Ch. 8, 1256b16-22.

<sup>49</sup> Ms add. et.

<sup>50</sup> Ms habet.

<sup>51</sup> Ms hominis.

<sup>52</sup> Ch. 3, 270b19.

<sup>53</sup> Ch. 3, 339b29.

<sup>54</sup> Ms corrupt.

<sup>55</sup> Ms lacuna.

<sup>56</sup> 817b38.

<sup>57</sup> Aristotle's text reads totalis.

<sup>58</sup> The author of this was probably Nicholas of Damas. Cf. P. Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote* (Louvain, 1951), p. 109.

<sup>59</sup> Ch. 1, 732a1.

<sup>60</sup> Ergo secundum: ms corrupt.

Aristotelem homines fuerint ab aeterno. Et magis habetur de hoc in alia quaestione *De Aeternitate Mundi*.<sup>61</sup> Modo ex isto sic necessario animam intellectivam corruptibilem secundum eum, vel infinitae animae fuerunt, certum est; et si sic immortalis, certum est modo sunt; ergo infinitum in actu, quod Aristoteles nititur improbare III *Physicorum*,<sup>62</sup> tam in continuis quam in numeris.

<53> Huic argumento nunquam datur alia responsio salvans mentem Aristotelis. Non potest responderi tenendo quod omnis homo habuit animam rationalem sicut formam suam substantialem nisi petendo fuisse ab aeterno tantum determinatas animas, puta, gratia exempli, quatuor, et illae sufficiunt et sufficerunt pro infinitis corporibus successive, visitando corpora, vadendo de corpore in corpus. Sed illud omnino contradicit Aristotelem. Nam aut redirent in eadem corpora, secundum opinionem Platonis, quam recitat Augustinus XII libro *De Civitate Dei*,<sup>63</sup> dicentis quod post numerales annos, id est multos, ipse redditurus erat ad vitam et legeret in scola Academica eisdem scholaribus numero quibus tunc legebat. Et certum est quod illud repugnat Aristoteli II *De Generatione* in fine:<sup>64</sup> Quorum substantia deperdit, ipsa non redeunt eadem numero, sed specie.

<54> Item, in praedictis a privatione ad habitum impossibilis est regressio; aut intelligis quod animae illae redirent in alia corpora quam prius; et illud fuit absurdum apud Aristotelem, nam anima habet proprium corpus sicut propriam speciem. Unde ipse redarguit istam opinionem I *De Anima*,<sup>65</sup> dicit enim istam Pythagoricam. Dicit enim sic: "Non est <in>conveniens, secundum Pythagoricas fabulas, quamlibet animam quodlibet corpus ingredi. Simile itaque aliquid dicunt, quod si aliquis dicat tectonicam in fistulas ingredi. Oportet quidem artem uti organis, animam autem<sup>66</sup> corpore. Videtur<sup>67</sup> enim unumquodque propriam habere speciem et formam." Haec Aristoteles. Ergo omnino sequitur quod anima est corruptibilis vel erunt modo infinitae in actu, quod non concedet Aristoteles.

<55> Praeterea, sexto, potest argui sic contra illud: quod Aristoteles in I *Caeli et Mundi*<sup>68</sup> asserit quod non est possibile quod aliquid sit <in>corruptibile et aeternum a parte post, et tamen quod habuit motum a parte ante. Si ergo ponat animam fuisse incorruptibilem, necessarium habet ponere eam esse ab aeterno ante consequenter; et tunc sequitur omnia (214') absurda quae prius sunt tacta de reversione animarum ad corpora. Quaelibet sint vera; tamen apud Aristotelem sunt absurda. Et si illud non sequatur, sequitur statim quod infinitae animae fuerunt ab aeterno et infinito tempore, sive caret anima sua perfectione naturali, quae est perficere corpus. Hoc dico si fuisset eam esse<sup>69</sup> perfectioni corporis.

<56> Ad hoc argumentum respondet quidam doctor Thomas,<sup>70</sup> dicens non plus intelligit Aristoteles nisi quod illud<sup>71</sup> habet in se potentiam manendi in perpetuum. Unde anima per potentiam quam habet potest fuisse ab aeterno; et non plus intelligit Aristoteles.

<57> Iste videtur ludere, quia nihil valet totum. Nam si anima haberet esse prius duratione, anima est generabilis. Illud fuit principium apud eum, et omne generabile est corruptibile et omne tale necessario corrumpetur secundum eum.<sup>72</sup>

<58> Tu dicis: anima non est proprie generabilis <et> non corrumpitur quia non componitur ex contrariis. Illud non valet, quia vel sic accipit ille novam generationem vel novam acceptionem esse. Unde probat quod mundus

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Ms. Vat. *Borghes.* 171, fols. 22<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Ch. 7, 207a33-208a4.

<sup>63</sup> Ch. 14; CSEL 40, pp. 588, 589.

<sup>64</sup> Ch. 11, 338b17.

<sup>65</sup> Ch. 3, 407b22-26.

<sup>66</sup> Ms. *add.* in.

<sup>67</sup> Ms. Vide.

<sup>68</sup> Ch. 10, 279b18; ch. 12, 282a1.

<sup>69</sup> Ms. *est.*

<sup>70</sup> Cf. St. Thomas, *Sent.*, II, d. 19, q. 1, a. 1, ad 5<sup>m</sup>; p. 484.

<sup>71</sup> Ms. *add.* quod.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 68.

non potest generari, id est non potest habere esse novum, quia tunc non posset, et per consequens aliquando non erit. Unde si anima aliquando non fuit, ipsa non determinat sibi esse ex natura sua, sicut determinat sibi rationalitatem. Tunc enim semper fuit impossibile:<sup>73</sup> anima non est, sicut anima non est rationalis. Ergo ex parte sui potest non esse, id est non repugnat sibi non esse. Sed secundum Aristotelem<sup>74</sup> omni potentiae<sup>75</sup> <passivae> in natura correspondet activa, quae reducit illud aliquando in actum. Unde in XII *Metaphysicae*, id est capitulo: *Sed quoniam tres erant substantiae*,<sup>76</sup> ubi vult ostendere quod necesse est aliquam esse substantiam immobilem et sempiternam, probat eam non esse generabilem nec corruptibilem. Ergo idem<sup>77</sup> est apud eum accipere esse de novo et generari. Ergo, etc.

<59> Praeterea, septimo sic: Anima intellectiva, si sit separata forma et incorruptibilis, ipsa est actus purus, ita quod ejus<sup>78</sup> operatio et actus et substantia idem. Sed nullum tale potest esse forma perficiens<sup>79</sup> materiam. Ergo, etc. Minor est plana. Probatio majoris secundum Aristotelem eodem modo quod ipse probat XII *Metaphysicae* Primum esse actum purum. Ipse enim probat Primum Movens esse actum purum ex perpetuitate motus facti ab eo. Arguit enim sic:<sup>80</sup> "Adhuc autem substantia ejus non eget potentia, quia tunc non erit motus aeternus. Contingit enim quod Primum est, non esse. Oportet ergo esse principium tale cujus substantia actus." Haec sunt verba Aristotelis.

<60> Eodem modo et immediatius potest argui aeternitas<sup>81</sup> Primi Motoris ex perpetuitate esse ejus. Nam ex perpetuitate motus non <potest> argui ejus<sup>82</sup> substantiam esse actum purum nisi quia perpetuitas motus arguit perpetuam existentiam motus. Tunc arguo tibi de anima eodem modo: ejus<sup>83</sup> substantia non indigeret potentia, quia tunc posset <esse> an non esse; contingit enim quod potest <esse> an non esse. Sed hoc est falsum, quia anima incorruptibilis. Ergo non potest non esse.

<61> Unde credo Commentatorem habere intentionem Aristotelis III *De Anima*,<sup>84</sup> quia intellectus nihil de novo recipit sicut nec Deus, quia contradictoria sunt simul in anima eodem modo sicut ad Deum, apud quem *non est transmutatio nec vicissitudinis obumbratio*.<sup>85</sup> Unde nova intentio in nobis non est nisi nova phantasma<sup>86</sup> copulata cum intellectu separato. Et nulla ratio probat oppositum.<sup>87</sup> Unde solum propter fidem teneo quod intellectiva est forma hominis.

<62> Praeterea, octavo<sup>88</sup> sic: Anima, si sit forma substantialis corporis, ergo ex natura sua et non per aliquid additum natum est facere unum cum corpore. Ergo quando non est aptum natum facere idem cum corpore ut<sup>89</sup> esset forma corporis, tunc desinit esse anima. Unde non valet quod aliqui magistri<sup>90</sup> dixerunt, quod anima nata est perficere corpus semel tantum et non amplius. Illud potest improbari ratione naturali. Nam illud quod inest ratione substantiae et naturae specificae, illud non potest amitti natura manente, sicut risibilitas. Ergo cum aptitudo perficiendi materiam conveniat formae substantiali per naturam suam, non potest amitti manente forma vel substantia formae. Sed anima post separationem non est nata perficere materiam<sup>91</sup> secundum Aristotelem.<sup>92</sup> Ergo vel maxima<sup>93</sup> fuit forma vel desinit esse anima. Probatio istius assumpti, quia

<sup>73</sup> Ms impossibilis.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *De Anima* III, 5, 430a10.

<sup>75</sup> Ms positioni.

<sup>76</sup> Ch. 6, 1071b3.

<sup>77</sup> Ms illud.

<sup>78</sup> Ms ex.

<sup>79</sup> Ms sufficiens.

<sup>80</sup> Ch. 6, 1071b18-20.

<sup>81</sup> Ms auctoritas.

<sup>82</sup> Ms add. contra.

<sup>83</sup> Ms ex.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Averroes, In III *De Anima*, t.c. 5;

ed. F. Crawford (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 404, 405.

<sup>85</sup> St. James i, 17.

<sup>86</sup> Ms fantasi<sup>c10</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> Ms objectum.

<sup>88</sup> Ms nono.

<sup>89</sup> Ms vel.

<sup>90</sup> Non inveni. Cf. *supra*, paragraph 54.

<sup>91</sup> Ms formam.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *supra*, paragraph 54.

<sup>93</sup> The sense of the argument would seem to require nunquam.

impossibile est quod aptitudo naturalis sit ad impossibile simpliciter. Illud est necessarium apud Aristotelem et apud theologum.<sup>64</sup> Sed secundum Aristotelem impossibile est simpliciter quod anima separata iterum perficiat aliud corpus, quia impossibile est simpliciter quod idem corpus redeat, ut probatum est per duplicem auctoritatem Aristotelis supra in libro<sup>65</sup> . . . argumento, ut patet, anima redire ad aliud corpus, sicut est probatum ibidem per Aristotelem.

<63> Tu dicis quod ista ratio probat quod non est apta nata redire ad corpus quia, licet Deus potest resuscitare idem corpus numero, tamen naturaliter est hoc impossibile. Sed aptitudo naturalis non est ad illud quod est impossibile in natura. Ergo, etc. Dico quod argumentum est bonum secundum viam Aristotelis ponentis quod idem corpus numero nulla ratione resurget, quia tunc nulla aptitudo naturalis ordinatur ad illud. Sed secundum viam Catholicam nihil valet. Nos enim credimus<sup>66</sup> firmiter quod multae sunt aptitudines et potentiae<sup>67</sup> naturales passivae quae non possunt reduci ad actum nisi per agens supernaturale, id est per Deum. Et hoc est verum tam de aptitudine alicujus<sup>68</sup> per formam substantialem, sicut est aptitudo materiae ad formam substantialem, tam de aptitudine accidentali qua subjectum natum est recipere formam accidentalem, sicut anima nata est suscipere beatitudinem. Eo enim quod ad imaginem Dei est, capax est beatitudinis; et natura istarum potentiarum est reducibilis ad actum ut per agens supernaturale, scilicet Deum.

<64> Praeterea, si anima esset apta nata perficere corpus post separationem, certe posset ratione naturali, secundum viam Aristotelis, probari resurrectio per propositionem quam frequentissime accipit Aristoteles: "Deus et natura nihil faciunt frustra." Ista propositio habetur I *Caeli et Mundi*,<sup>69</sup> III *De Anima*,<sup>1</sup> versus finem: "Nihil frustra facit natura." Item omnino dicit Aristoteles in libro *De Progressu Animalium*,<sup>2</sup> in principio libri *De Partibus Animalium* in XXIII libro *De Animalibus*, in principio:<sup>3</sup> "Natura nihil facit frustra neque superfluum." Ergo aliquando esset resurrectio per rationem naturalem probatur,<sup>4</sup> quod nunquam concederet Aristoteles; immo pro inconvenienti habet quod resurgat aliquod animatum. Unde I *De Anima* arguit sic:<sup>5</sup> Arguit contra istos qui dicunt animam movere seipsam motu locali, sicut corpus movetur motu locali.<sup>6</sup> Dicit Aristoteles:<sup>7</sup> "Si autem hoc<sup>8</sup> contingeret, et exeuntem iterum ingredi. Ab hoc alio sequetur resurgere mortua animalium." (214<sup>v</sup>) Hoc ergo habet Aristoteles pro inconvenienti.

<65> Praeterea, Avicenna dicit IX *Metaphysicae*, c. 7,<sup>9</sup> quod anima habebit felicitatem vel miseriam. Hoc probari potest ratione demonstrativa; sed<sup>10</sup> quod anima habebit corpus in resurrectione, hoc non probat ratione demonstrativa, sed tantum testimonio prophetae Mathumeth.

<66> Praeterea, nono, potest argui per auctoritatem libri *De Anima*, de quo libro sumuntur auctoritates ad partem oppositam. Aristoteles I *De Anima*, versus principium,<sup>11</sup> movet istam dubitationem, utrum anima habeat aliquas proprias<sup>12</sup> passiones an omnes sunt conjuncti. Et dicit quod hoc scire non leve, scilicet quibus passionibus videtur certum, sicut irasci, confidere et desiderare et hujusmodi, et omnino sentire. Sed de intelligere dubitat aliquis utrum sit proprium animae an sit conjuncti. Et solvit sic:<sup>13</sup> "Si autem et hoc," scilicet

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De Anima* III, 12, 434a31; St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiae* I, 75, 6.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *supra*, paragraph 53-55. There appears to be an omission here.

<sup>66</sup> *Ms* videmus.

<sup>67</sup> *Ms* potentias?

<sup>68</sup> *Ms* aliud.

<sup>69</sup> Ch. 4, 271a35.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 12, 434a31.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De Incessu Animalium* 8, 708a10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *De Partibus Animalium* III, 1, 691b25;

IV, 11, 691b5; 13, 695b18.

<sup>4</sup> *Mss* probat.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. 3, 406b3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ms* add. sicut corpus movetur.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ms* haec.

<sup>9</sup> fol. 106<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> *Ms* scilicet.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. 1, 403a3.

<sup>12</sup> *Ms* personas.

<sup>13</sup> 403a8.

intelligere, "phantasia quaedam<sup>14</sup> est, aut<sup>15</sup> non sine<sup>16</sup> phantasia, non contingit utique, neque hoc sine<sup>16</sup> corpore esse." Ergo cum intellectus sit phantasia, vel non sine phantasia, non est separabilis a corpore.

<67> Praeterea, arguit Aristoteles<sup>17</sup> per modum dubitationis: Si anima habet operationem propriam, ergo contingit ipsam aliquando separari; si non habet, non est separabilis. Et sicut mihi videtur, solvit illud argumentum, quod non arguitur: etsi habeat operationem propriam in corpore, et propter hoc habeat eam separatam. Nam rectum habet propriam passionem in corpore, puta "tangere sphaeram in puncto, non tamen tanget separatum rectum; inseparabile <enim>, siquidem semper cum quodam corpore est."<sup>18</sup> Ergo ista videtur esse de anima, et semper cum quodam corpore est.

<68> Tu dicis ad primum argumentum quod intelligere animae conjunctae non est sine phantasmate, non tamen separatae.<sup>19</sup> Illud non solvit. Nam Aristoteles vult per hoc quod intelligere non est sine phantasmate probare quod non est separabilis secundum operationem, multo minus secundum esse, etsi intelligeret quod intelligere conjungitur.

<69> Praeterea, infra eodem libro dicit<sup>20</sup> quod "Dicere animam irasci, simile est ac si dicat eam texere vel aedificare." Et si forte tu dicas: Verum, quia hujusmodi, sicut irasci, sunt passiones conjuncti, quod ergo mirum quia non insunt animae. Sed non solvit, quia idem dicit de intelligere. Unde consequenter immediate dicit,<sup>21</sup> "Melius autem fortassis est non dicere animam misereri aut addiscere aut intelligere, sed hominem."

<70> Primum argumentum (illud quod assumitur I *De Anima*<sup>22</sup> aperte de senex accipiente oculum juvenis), ita bene probat quod sensitiva, utpote visiva, est incorruptibilis sicut de intellectiva. Nam ille senex videret sicut juvenis, nedum intelligeret. Ideo statim qualiter intelligere corrumpitur quodam interiori corrupto, et non alio modo corrumpitur sensitiva nisi corrupto organo. Unde sequitur continue littera expressa, quod anima non est separabilis. Dicit enim continue:<sup>23</sup> "Hoc autem corrupto", scilicet illo interiori, "impossibile est intelligere aut amare et odire." Et concludit:<sup>24</sup> "Non sunt ergo illius", scilicet animae, "passiones, sed hujus habentis illum, secundum quod illum habet. Quare<sup>25</sup> et hoc corrupto, neque memoratur neque amat. Non enim <erant> illius, sed communis quidem, quod destructum est": expresse quod destructio contingit, non habet aliquas passiones et operationes.

<sup>14</sup> Ms quae.

<sup>15</sup> Ms et.

<sup>16</sup> Ms sit.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *De Anima* I, 1, 403a10.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 403a13.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiae* I, 75, 16, ad 3<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> *De Anima* I, 4, 408b12.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 408b13.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *supra*, paragraph 5.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 408b27.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 408b28.

<sup>25</sup> Ms qualiter.



# Malory's "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere" as Suspense

R. M. LUMIANSKY

IN preparing his edition of Malory's *Morte Darthur*,<sup>1</sup> based on the Winchester Manuscript, Professor Eugène Vinaver rendered a great service to students of the book by presenting a structure for the material, different from Caxton's arbitrary establishment of twenty-one Books, which makes clear the eight major divisions of the work and the various subdivisions within these eight large parts. With the book so divided, fruitful consideration of such matters as Malory's thematic purposes, the relationship of the book's structure to its theme, the comparative evaluation of the book against its sources, and the functions of the individual divisions, becomes far more manageable than was the case with earlier editions.

When we consider the seventh main division—the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere" (Caxton's Books XVIII-XIX)<sup>2</sup>—we find that although a number of able scholars have devoted minute attention to Malory's actual borrowing from sources for this division,<sup>3</sup> relatively scant discussion has occurred of the related question of the literary purpose and general effect behind this actual borrowing. Thus, although we are now fairly certain of just where Malory found particular materials for this division and of just what within it seems original on his part, there is not available a thorough discussion of why Malory used these particular source-materials, rejected or altered their contexts in the sources in many instances, and often added seemingly original matter to them. That lack the present article will attempt to supply.

As I see it, the evidence gained from a careful examination of Malory's text and of his sources points to his intention of having this seventh division serve a very specific function as suspense within the *Morte Darthur* as a whole. The originality in my analysis will hinge around two points: (1) the claim that Malory means us to understand at the end of the Grail-quest that Arthur is aware of the Lancelot-Guenevere adultery and has forgiven the lovers; and (2) the suggestion that a single pattern for suspense recurs in the narrative situation presented by each of the five subdivisions of the seventh tale. I shall also offer a new analysis of Malory's structural technique in The Poisoned Apple and The Fair Maid of Astolat, and new explanations for the presence in the book of The Great Tournament, The Knight of the Cart, and The Healing of Sir Urry.

In the *Morte Darthur*, the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere" follows the sixth division—the "Quest of the Grail"—and precedes the eighth and final large division—the "Death of Arthur." Within the seventh division, we have five structural subdivisions; their titles and source-relationships are indicated by the following table:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1947); hereafter cited as *Works*. My references are to pages in this edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, pp. 1039-1154.

<sup>3</sup> See *Works*, pp. 1573-99; E. T. Donaldson, "Malory and the Stanzaic *Le Morte Arthur*,"

*SP*, XLVII (1950), 460-472; R. H. Wilson, "The Prose *Lancelot* in Malory," *University of Texas Studies in English*, XXXII (1953), 1-13; and the earlier items cited in these references.

<sup>4</sup> See the items cited in note 3 above.

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|--------------------|---|--|
| Caxton, Book XVIII | { | 1. The Poisoned Apple—Based on the Old French <i>Mort Artu</i> and the Middle English <i>Le Morte Arthur</i> .       |
|                    |   | 2. The Fair Maid of Astolat—Based on the Old French <i>Mort Artu</i> and the Middle English <i>Le Morte Arthur</i> . |
|                    |   | 3. The Great Tournament—No known source.   |
| Caxton, Book XIX   | { | 4. The Knight of the Cart—Based on the Old French Prose <i>Lancelot</i> .  |
|                    |   | 5. The Healing of Sir Urry—No known source.  |

As the title given it by Professor Vinaver indicates, the seventh division is mainly concerned with the relationship between Lancelot and Guenevere: their attitudes toward each other, Arthur's attitude toward them, and public opinion of them within the Round Table group. In this respect, the seventh division continues and fits in with an important developing theme running through the earlier divisions of the *Morte Darthur* and projecting forward into the eighth division.<sup>6</sup> In the first division—the "Tale of Arthur"—the King sees, loves, and decides to marry Guenevere; Merlin warns Arthur that Lancelot and Guenevere will love each other, but Arthur weds her anyway (39, 97-98). In the second division—the "Tale of Arthur and Lucius"—we have an indication of Lancelot's love for Guenevere: he is "passynge wroth" because Tristram is allowed to join Iseult in Cornwall instead of going to fight the Romans, whereas Lancelot must leave Guenevere and go to the wars with Arthur (195); but we have here no suggestion of affection on Guenevere's part specifically for Lancelot. In the third division—the "Tale of Lancelot"—Malory's choice and arrangement of source-material seem especially dictated by his desire to show in that division the current state of the Lancelot-Guenevere relationship; the five indications of their relationship within the division—four of which are original with Malory—make clear that at this time Lancelot loves Guenevere but she, though holding him in highest regard, has still given him no assurance that she will grant him her love. Thus the third division serves to show Lancelot and Guenevere, in their own minds and in the minds of society at large, drawing more closely together in preparation for the adultery; but we have here no hint of suspicion on Arthur's part.<sup>6</sup>

The fourth division—the "Tale of Gareth"—contains no reference to the Lancelot-Guenevere relationship. There are, however, in the "Tale of Tristram"—the fifth division—sixteen passages of varying length which concern the attitude of Lancelot and Guenevere toward each other, Arthur's attitude toward them, and the recognition of the adulterous affair by society at large.<sup>7</sup> The total effect of these passages is to show the commencement of the adultery and its development to a degree that awareness of it has spread widely, but there is no indication as yet that Arthur is suspicious. When Morgan le Fay, in an effort to win Lancelot for herself, sends Tristram to the tournament at the castle of the Harde Roche with a shield on which she has put three figures symbolizing Arthur, Lancelot, and Guenevere, the Queen immediately recognizes this clear reference to her adulterous relationship with Lancelot; but Arthur

<sup>6</sup> Donaldson discusses this matter briefly on pp. 469-470 of the article cited in note 3 above.

<sup>7</sup> See my "The Relationship of Lancelot and Guenevere in Malory's 'Tale of Lance-

lot,'" *MLN*, LXVIII (1953), 86-91.

<sup>8</sup> These passages occur in *Works*, pp. 425, 430, 436, 459-460, 485, 486-487, 554-560, 566, 616-617, 653-670, 681, 792-809, 827, 831-833, 839, 845.

is simply puzzled by the figures and suspects nothing (554-560). Later, when Mark writes directly to Arthur concerning the Lancelot-Guenevere adultery, the King refuses to believe him (616-618); and, still later in this division, we see clearly that Arthur suspects nothing, for he believes that Lancelot went out of his mind because of Elaine while many others know that Guenevere was the cause (832-833). One other aspect of the Lancelot-Guenevere relationship in the "Tale of Tristram" should be noticed here briefly. Most of the way through this very large division, which in bulk makes up over a third of Malory's book, complete harmony characterizes the relationship between Lancelot and Guenevere; but as the fifth division nears its conclusion, we find the first of a number of instances in the *Morte Darthur* of the lovers' being at odds because of Guenevere's jealousy and quick temper. In consequence of Lancelot's unwitting connection with Elaine, the Queen angrily forbids him to remain in the court or ever again to come before her; as a result, he is insane for two years (802-808). In time, however, Guenevere deeply laments her action (809), and when Lancelot returns to the court the Queen makes him great cheer and the adultery continues (831-832). In the light of these important developments, it would seem that one main intention Malory must have had for the "Tale of Tristram" was to move the Lancelot-Guenevere relationship much farther along than it had earlier appeared in the *Morte Darthur*.

Then, the sixth division—the "Tale of the Sankgreall"—immediately takes up this progressive treatment of the relationship by showing Guenevere's reluctance to have Lancelot leave her (853, 872); and throughout this division we of course find heavy emphasis upon the adultery and its limiting effect upon Lancelot in his quest of the Grail.<sup>8</sup> A chief development by the end of this division is that Lancelot, having fully realized the implications and effects of his guilt, promises to give up the adulterous relationship with Guenevere. And a most important point—to my knowledge unnoticed by commentators—is that by the end of the Grail-quest Arthur, as well as everybody else connected with the Round Table, has had the opportunity to become fully aware of the adulterous relationship which existed between Lancelot and Guenevere before the Quest, and which was made clear to the reader in the "Tale of Tristram."

At the beginning of the Quest, Arthur was in no way suspicious of Lancelot as his wife's lover (856, 867), but two passages—original with Malory—show that at the end of the Quest the King acquired full knowledge of the earlier adultery:

And there sir Launcelot tolde the kyng of hys adventures that befelle hym syne he departed. And also he tolde hym of the adventures of sir Galahad, sir Percivale, and sir Bors whych that he knew by the lettir of the ded mayden, and also as sir Galahad had tolde hym. (1020)

And whan they had etyn, the kyng made grete clerkes to com before hym, for cause they shulde cronycle of the hyghe adventures of the good knyghtes. So whan sir Bors had tolde hym of the hyghe adventures of the Sankgreall, such as had befalle hym and his three felowes, which were sir Launcelot, Percivale and sir Galahad and hymselff, than sir Launcelot tolde the adventures of the Sangreall that he had sene. And all thys was made in grete bookes and put up in almeryes at Salysbury. (1036)

<sup>8</sup> The pertinent passages occur in *Works*, pp. 853, 856, 862, 863, 864-865, 867-868, 872,

It is difficult to see how Lancelot, in recounting fully his Grail adventures, could conceal the adultery and its limiting effects.<sup>9</sup> Surely, when Lancelot told of his interview with the first hermit (896-899), the King would have understood that the Queen whom Lancelot had loved for years was Guenevere, and that the hermit's specifying of Lancelot's old sin as lechery referred to his adulterous relationship with Guenevere.

Malory must therefore have wanted us to realize, as we begin the seventh large division, that Arthur has thus learned of the earlier adultery between Lancelot and Guenevere, that he has been willing to forgive the lovers in order to save the Round Table, and that he is now placing his hope for the future stability of his marriage and his kingdom in Lancelot's changed ways as a result of his experiences and promise during the Quest. Considerable support for this analysis of the situation at the end of the Grail-quest is to be found by considering (1) the reaction of the court at large, (2) Aggravain's behavior, and (3) Arthur's later words and actions.

As we have seen, the Grail-quest ends with a full recital of events to the King. Since this recital "was made in grete bookes and put up in almeryes at Salysbury" (1036), the court at large presumably knows that Arthur had learned of the earlier adultery but had forgiven Lancelot and accepted his promise that the relationship would not begin again. Consequently, "than was there grete joy in the courte" (1045), joy springing from the general hope that the Round Table has been punished sufficiently for the earlier adultery by the losses during the Quest, and can now continue unhampered in happiness and nobility. But Malory immediately points out that this hope is short-lived, for when the adultery begins again he tells us that "many in the courte spake of it" (1045). And, a few lines later, Lancelot warns Guenevere "that there be many men spekith of oure love in thys courte" (1046). Such attention here to the reaction of the court at large is hard to account for unless we understand that Arthur's forgiving the lovers and putting his faith in Lancelot's promise are general knowledge. Certainly, in the "Tale of Tristram," when the earlier adulterous relationship was in progress, there was not this concern with public opinion. There Arthur would not believe Morgan le Fay's symbols or Mark's letter (554-560, 616-618); but now the King has knowledge of the former relationship, and the matter is much more delicate.

It is Aggravain who in the final division of the book informs Arthur of the recommenced adultery, and his behavior throughout is made more readily understandable by the analysis set forth above of the situation at the end of the Grail-quest. Examination of all the passages in the *Morte Darthur* concerning Aggravain shows that Malory paid close attention to the progressive development of this knight for his climactic role.<sup>10</sup> Early in the book Aggravain is simply mentioned as one of the sons of Morgause. At the end of the "Tale of Gareth" he marries a very rich lady named Lawrell. Then come a number of instances in which he is overcome by various knights; in fact, he never defeats another knight in the whole book, a situation hardly conducive to his being a happy man. We next find two instances of his behaving in cowardly and treacherous fashion—the murders of Dinadan and Lamerok—and about

894, 896, 897, 898-899, 927, 928, 930, 932, 933-334, 941, 1014, 1015, 1017, 1036.

<sup>9</sup> Vinaver (*Works*, p. 1524) strangely implies that Malory is confused in this matter of Lancelot's recounting the Grail adventures to Arthur; in his view Lancelot could not have had sufficient knowledge to place on record "the adventures of the Sangreall that he had sene." However, the text makes clear, first, that Bors—who did have knowledge of all that happened on the Quest—

also reported to the King; and, second, that the clause "that he had sene" is meant to modify "adventures," not "Sangreall." Lancelot was of course in a position to report those adventures which he himself had experienced ("sene"), as well as those he had learned about from the "lettir of the ded mayden" and from Galahad.

<sup>10</sup> For references to these passages, see *Works*, p. 1661.

two-thirds of the way through the "Tale of Tristram" we are told of Aggravain's hatred of Lancelot, of which the latter is aware. But we hear no more of Aggravain for over three hundred pages. It should be noted that despite his hatred for Lancelot, and despite his having dealt treacherously with Lamerok, Aggravain has so far given no indication of an intention to report the adulterous relationship of Lancelot and Guenevere, now widely known to the court at large, to Arthur. But, right after the Grail-quest, when as I see it the King has forgiven the lovers and accepted Lancelot's promise, Aggravain is introduced again: Malory emphasizes this knight's attention to the recommenced adultery and his characteristic of talking a great deal, which cause Lancelot to fear that Aggravain will tell the King of the recommenced adultery. That, of course, is exactly what happens later. The point to be observed here is that in the "Tale of Tristram" Aggravain did not report the adultery to Arthur because he knew the King would not believe him any more readily than he believed Mark; but after the King's forgiving the lovers and putting his faith in Lancelot's promise, Aggravain knows that he is now in a position to convince Arthur, if he can produce evidence. To my mind, no other explanation will account for Malory's handling of Aggravain throughout the book.

Perhaps the clearest support for my reading of the situation at the end of the Grail-quest is to be found in Arthur's actions and words in the final division of the book when Modred tells him of the events which resulted from the trap Aggravain laid for Lancelot. It will be recalled that, contrary to Gawain's wishes, Aggravain tells Arthur that "sir Launcelot holdith youre quene, and hath done longe, and we be your systre sunnes, and we may suffir hit no lenger" (1163). The King is loath to believe this accusation without proof, though we are told that he has "a demyng" of the adultery, presumably as a result of events which occurred in the seventh division. Then Aggravain proposes the trap: the King shall announce his intention to hunt the next day and to be away from the court the next night; Lancelot will stay at home and will visit the Queen; Aggravain and other knights will lie in wait and capture Lancelot in this compromising situation. Arthur agrees, and events unfold as Aggravain has predicted, except that he and all the waiting knights but Modred are killed. Modred, wounded, runs to the King and reports the situation. Arthur then sadly speaks as follows:

"And alas . . . me sore repentith that ever  
sir Launcelot sholde be ayenste me, for  
now I am sure the noble felyshyp of the  
Ronde Table ys brokyn for ever, for wyth  
hym wolle many a noble knyght holde. And  
now hyt ys fallen so . . . that I may nat  
with my worschyp but my quene muste  
suffir dethe," and was sore amoved. (1174)

Note the two occurrences of *now* in this speech. The point is that in the former instance, after learning of the earlier adultery through the full report of the Quest, Arthur could with honor forgive the lovers and hope to save the Round Table because of Lancelot's promise. But *now*, in this instance, he can see no honorable way to forgive Lancelot and Guenevere and save the fellowship; thus the King is deeply saddened. Unless we assume this contrast, the force of the *now's* is lost.

Gawain remonstrates at length, begging Arthur to forgive Lancelot, but to no avail (1174-77). The arrangements for punishing the Queen proceed; Lancelot rescues her, but kills Gaheris and Gareth in the process. When he receives this news, the King faints with grief; upon recovering, he says:

And much more I am soryar for my good knyghtes losse than for the losse of my fayre quene; for quenys I myght have inow, but such a felyship of good knyghtes shall never be togydirs in no company. And now I dare sey . . . there was never Crystyn kyng that ever hylde such a felyshyp togydys. And alas, that ever sir Launcelot and I shulde be at debate! A, Aggravayne, Aggravayne! . . . Jesu forgyff hit thy soule, for thyne evyll wyll that thou haddist and sir Modred, thy brothir, unto sir Launcelot hath caused all this sorrow. (1184)

These words make very clear that Arthur's concern has always been far less for the behavior of his Queen than for the welfare of the Round Table. And it is perhaps not overly fanciful to see in his proud statement that no other king ever held together such a fellowship a reminiscence of the personal sacrifice he earlier had to make by forgiving the lovers in an attempt to preserve the Round Table.

It would seem fair, then, to state that at the end of the "Quest of the Holy Grail" and at the beginning of the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere," Malory intends us to understand that Arthur, having learned of the earlier adultery through Lancelot's account of his experiences during the Quest, decided to forgive the lovers and to place his hope for the future of his fellowship in Lancelot's promise to refrain from further adulterous relationship with the Queen. Accordingly, the whole fate of the Round Table at this point in the *Morte Darthur* hangs on the one problem of whether or not Lancelot can keep his word. Let us now see how Malory handles this problem in the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere." For a time Lancelot holds to his promise, and "than there was grete joy in the courte" (1045), but Malory does not for long keep from the reader the full solution to this chief problem. On the first page of the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere," we find the following passage:

Than, as the booke seyth, sir Launcelot began to resorte unto quene Gwenivere agayne and forgate the promyse and the perfeccion that he made in the queste; for, as the booke seyth, had nat sir Launcelot bene in his prevy thoughtes and in hys myndis so sette inwardly to the quene as he was in semyng outewarde to God, there had no knyght passed hym in the queste of the Sankgreall. But ever his thoughtis prevyly were on the quene, and so they loved tygydirs more hotter than they ded toforehonde, and had many such prevy draughtis tygydir that many in the courte spake of hit, and in especiall sir Aggravayne, sir Gawaynes brothir, for he was ever opynne-mowthed. (1045)

This passage removes from the reader's mind—though not from King Arthur's—any possibility of suspense in connection with Lancelot's promise during the Grail-quest. Malory, however, did provide the reader with suspense and dramatic interest for the seventh division of his book. He so presented the materials from his sources, and he so augmented these borrowings with original matter, as to place before the reader two large and related questions throughout the seventh division. First, we are shown further instances of lack of harmony between Lancelot and Guenevere, and we wonder whether these difficulties

will lead to a permanent separation which will put an end to the adultery and perhaps save the Round Table. Second, we see Arthur pulled two ways: on the one hand, he very much wants to believe that Lancelot will keep his promise, but, on the other hand, he cannot ignore the increasing reasons for suspicion that the adultery has recommenced; the reader therefore constantly wonders at what point the King will finally become fully aware of the recommenced adultery. Malory's handling of these two questions throughout the seventh division, as we shall see below, involves the repetition through the five subdivisions of a single pattern which makes for suspense: beneath the surface of events matters are far from ideal, but superficially all ends well in each of the five instances. In this way the seventh division functions as suspense in the *Morte Darthur* as a whole: in the ascent towards the resolution in the eighth division of the Lancelot-Guenevere relationship whereby each separately comes to a pious end in a religious establishment; and in the descent toward the complete ruin which the Round Table will experience in the eighth division when this superficial stability is shattered by Arthur's having incontrovertible proof that the adultery is again in progress. We shall now see, through an examination of the content and sources of each of the five subdivisions, exactly how Malory presented this suspense in the seventh division.

First, we should consider the large alteration Malory made in the order of presentation for The Poisoned Apple and The Fair Maid of Astolat. Professor Vinaver has indicated how in the *Mort Artu* the two episodes are interwoven in a complicated tapestry-like scheme, involving frequent alternation of parts of each episode plus interspersed bits of other stories.<sup>11</sup> Letting (a) equal The Poisoned Apple, (b) The Fair Maid of Astolat, and other letters parts of other stories, he finds the following progression: a<sup>1</sup> b<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> b<sup>2</sup> x b<sup>2</sup> y b<sup>2</sup> z b<sup>2</sup> m b<sup>2</sup> n b<sup>2</sup> p a<sup>3</sup> a<sup>6</sup> a<sup>4</sup> b<sup>3</sup> a<sup>5</sup>. Since Vinaver does not think that Malory also made use of *Le Morte Arthur* in preparing the seventh division, he sees Malory's technique here chiefly as the unravelling of the interwoven narrative threads of the *Mort Artu* in order to present the two episodes as complete units in the order (a) and (b). But Wilson and Donaldson have clearly shown that Malory did use the Middle English poem, itself based on the *Mort Artu*, as well as the Old French prose text in preparing this division.<sup>12</sup> A reconsideration of Malory's structural technique here is therefore in order, and we must view *Le Morte Arthur* as an intermediate step between the complicated interweaving of *Mort Artu* and the simple unified progression of the *Morte Darthur*. The very important fact—so far unused in discussions of this matter—is that the Middle English poet did about nine-tenths of the unravelling of the Old French tapestry-like technique himself: he reduced the progression to b<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup> b<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup>.<sup>13</sup> This situation makes Vinaver's complicated argument almost completely irrelevant, and we see that Malory's work here, insofar as structural presentation is concerned, involved only two matters: (1) taking the remaining small step to unify b<sup>1</sup> with b<sup>2</sup> and a<sup>1</sup> with a<sup>2</sup>; and (2) reversing the order of episodes to get the progression (a) and (b). A reason for his making these two changes is not far to seek.

In the whole of The Poisoned Apple Arthur believes that Lancelot is holding to his promise made during the Quest; thus, throughout this subdivision the

<sup>11</sup> See *Works*, pp. 1572-1578.

<sup>12</sup> See the articles cited in note 3 above. For the purposes of my argument, it does not matter who is right here. Everyone agrees that Malory used *Le Morte Arthur* as well as *Mort Artu* for later sections of the *Morte Darthur*; surely we can therefore assume that Malory was already familiar with the Middle English poem

when he was preparing the two episodes now under consideration.

<sup>13</sup> See J. D. Bruce (ed.) *Le Morte Arthur* (London, 1903). The passages concerned are as follows:

The Fair Maid of Astolat—b<sup>1</sup> (137 - 839);  
b<sup>2</sup> (952-1317)  
The Poisoned Apple — a<sup>1</sup> (840 - 951);  
a<sup>2</sup> (1318-1671)

King has no suspicion that the adultery has recommenced. When the rest of the court knows that Lancelot and Guenevere now "loved togydirs more hotter than they ded toforehonde," Arthur remains ignorant (1045). The King is unable to understand why the Queen cannot keep Lancelot near her, and he wishes that Lancelot were present to save her from the stake (1051). When Lancelot has defeated Mador and saved the Queen, Arthur is most courteous to him and promises to reward him; then "there was made grete joy, and many merthys there was made in that courte" (1058-59). On the other hand, in *The Fair Maid of Astolat* the King at first has reason to suspect that the adultery has started again, because both the Queen and Lancelot do not accompany him to the tournament at Winchester (1065); later, however, when he penetrates Lancelot's disguise (1066) his suspicions are allayed. Since Malory in the seventh division as a whole will present Arthur as having increasing reason for suspicion, as we approach the complete revelation to him of the recommenced adultery in the eighth division, the obvious requirements of climactic arrangement for this matter led Malory to unify each of the two subdivisions and to put *The Poisoned Apple*, with no evidence of Arthur's suspicion, before *The Fair Maid of Astolat*, in which his suspicion, though rapidly stilled, is nonetheless present.

Let us now return to the main issue in this article: Malory's use of the five subdivisions of the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere" to provide suspense in the progress of the *Morte Darthur* as a whole, suspense derived from the two related questions stated earlier—the increasing lack of harmony between Lancelot and Guenevere, and the degree of Arthur's awareness of the recommenced adultery. As we just saw, in *The Poisoned Apple* there is no indication of the King's being at all suspicious; however, the growing lack of harmony between the two lovers—which, as we noticed earlier, was introduced in the "Tale of Tristram"—forms the central theme in this subdivision. Right after we are told that the adultery has recommenced (1045), we learn that Lancelot "had many resortis of ladyes and damesels which dayly resorted unto hym that besoughte hym to be their champion." He accepts these requests in order to please Christ and also to allay suspicion by avoiding the Queen: "Wherefor the quene waxed wrothe with sir Launcelot." She accuses him of slackening love for her; he maintains that religion, caution, and regard for her reputation explain his actions; she is not convinced and expels him for the second time from the court and her presence. Though very sad, Lancelot this time does not faint or become insane; rather, he seeks advice from his kinsmen, and Bors sends him to Sir Brascias, a nearby hermit. As he departs, Lancelot charges Bors, "in that ye can, gete me the love of my lady quene Gwennyvere." Here, then, at the beginning of the subdivision we see a separation of the lovers resulting from Guenevere's unreasonable anger. After Lancelot's departure, the Queen makes every effort to seem undisturbed and, in a parallel to his earlier accepting the requests of many ladies, she arranges a banquet for twenty-four knights. Thus, in a way wholly original and directly connected with the lack of harmony between Lancelot and Guenevere, Malory sets the stage for the episode of the poisoned fruit.<sup>14</sup> As this subdivision progresses, Patryse dies of the poisoned apple, Mador accuses the Queen of treason, and Bors agrees to defend her "onles that there com by adventures a better knyght than I am to do batayle for her" (1053). When Bors tells Lancelot of this arrangement, the latter is happy at the opportunity to relieve Bors and win the Queen's good graces again. And that is exactly what happens: when Lancelot has overcome Mador, the Queen and he "made grete joy" of each

<sup>14</sup> These matters are absent from the *Mort Morte Arthur*. *Artu* (see *Works*, p. 1583) and from *Le*



other (1059). For the first subdivision, therefore, we see a pattern specifically designed to furnish suspense: in the beginning the two lovers are at odds and it looks as if they may be permanently separated, but as events unroll Lancelot saves the Queen and they are reunited in their adulterous relationship. On the surface all now seems well in Arthur's court, but actually the adultery is leading it to its doom.

This pattern of suspense is present, as we saw earlier, in *The Fair Maid of Astolat* in connection with the degree of the King's awareness of the adultery: he at first has cause for suspicion, but subsequent events point contrarywise. The pattern is also apparent in this second subdivision from the passages concerning the more frequent lack of harmony between the lovers. Near the beginning, the Queen upbraids Lancelot for staying behind with her while Arthur has gone to the tournament; in contrast to his completely subservient attitude in the two preceding instances (802-809, 1047), Lancelot is here sharply ironic with the Queen; and she is unpleasantly formal towards him:

"Have ye no doute, madame," seyde sir Launcelot.  
 "I alow youre witte. Hit ys of late com syn ye were  
 woxen so wyse! And therefore, madam, at thys tyme  
 I woll be ruled by youre counceyle, and thys nyght  
 I woll take my reste, and to-morrow betyme I woll take  
 my way toward Wynchestir. But wytte you well,"  
 seyde sir Launcelot unto the quene, "at that justys  
 I woll be ayenste the kyng and ayenst all hys felyship."

"Sir, ye may there do as ye lyst," seyde the quene,  
 "but be my counceyle ye shall nat be ayenst youre  
 kyng and your felyshyp, for there bene full many  
 hardē knyghtes of youre bloode."

"Madame," seyde sir Launcelot, "I shall take the  
 adventure that God woll gyff me." (1066)

Lancelot's decision to fight in disguise against King Arthur presumably results from his annoyance with the Queen. Here, then, we have the lovers at odds again; and when Guenevere learns that "hit was sir Launcelot that bare the rede slyve of the Fayre Maydyn of Astolat, she was nygh ought of her mynde for wratthe" (1080). She even proclaims to Bors that she does not care if Lancelot is dead. Lancelot finds that Gawain has recognized his shield, and his first reaction is concern that Guenevere will be angry with him (1082); Bors soon makes this concern an actuality for him and urges him to love the Fair Maid of Astolat, but Lancelot cannot forget Guenevere (1084). Then Bors unsuccessfully tries to mollify the Queen (1087). So matters stand until Lancelot returns to the court, at which time Guenevere will not speak to him despite his efforts to see her (1092). When the Fair Maid's corpse arrives, the Queen inconsistently says to Lancelot in Arthur's presence, "ye myght have shewed hir som bowntē and jantilnes whych myght have preserved hir lyff." In answer, Lancelot makes a statement which seems his indirect way of warning her that she must cease her unreasonable demands of him:

"Madame," seyde sir Launcelot, "she wolde none  
 other wayes be answerde but that she wolde be my  
 wyff, othir ellis my paramour, and of thes two I  
 wolde not graunte her. But I proffird her, for her good  
 love that she shewed me, a thousand pound yerely to  
 her and to her ayres, and to wedde ony maner of knyght  
 that she coude fynde beste to love in her harte. For,  
 madame," seyde sir Launcelot, "I love nat to be

constrayned to love, for love muste only aryse of the harte selff, and nat by none constraynte." (1097)

Apparently the warning has its desired effect, for as soon as the Fair Maid is buried harmony is restored:

Than the quene sent for sir Launcelot and prayde hym of mercy, for why that she had ben wrothe with hym causeles.

"Thys ys nat the firste tyme," seyde sir Launcelot "that ye have ben displese with me causeles. But, madame, ever I muste suffir you, but what sorow that I endure, ye take no forse." (1098)

Again Lancelot and Guenevere are united in adultery. Thus, in this subdivision we have had a repetition of the pattern for suspense which we observed in *The Poisoned Apple*: the lovers are at odds and seem headed for a permanent separation which might save the Round Table from ruin; but they resolve their differences and the adultery continues. Though all now seems superficially well in the court, beneath the surface there still exists the cause for future trouble.

The third subdivision, *The Great Tournament*, seems almost wholly original with Malory,<sup>15</sup> and there has been a marked lack of discussion of Malory's reasons for including this material. In my opinion, its chief function is to continue the suspense which has resulted from the two preceding subdivisions. We are here given an ostensibly happy view of the Round Table engaged in its favorite pastime and training procedure, a large tournament: when the "cry" announces the time and place, "many knyghtes were glad and made them redy to be at that justys in the freyshyste maner" (1103); the King himself takes a vigorous part in the jousting (1108); the Queen sits on the platform as one of the judges (1108); Arthur, in commenting favorably on the events of the tournament, delivers a lecture on the chivalric essentials, ending "And allwayes a good man woll do ever to another man as he wolde be done to hymself" (1114); and the subdivision closes with the following cheerful paragraph:

So than there were made grete festis unto kyngtis and deukes, and revell, game, and play, and all maner of nobeles was used. And he that was curteyse, trew, and faythfull to hys frynde was that tyme cherysshed. (1114)

This whole situation takes us back to the early days of the Round Table, before the Grail-quest and before the beginnings of the adultery, when Arthur's hopes were high for a brave new world guided by the chivalric virtues of his utopian fellowship. Nowhere in this subdivision do we find any indication that Arthur suspects the adultery. But such an ideal impression is purely superficial, for side-by-side with this attractive and hopeful view, we are again clearly shown the adulterous aspects of the Lancelot-Guenevere relationship, which is leading the Round Table to its doom. Shortly after Arthur proclaims the great tournament to be held "besydes Westemynster, uppon Candyllmasse day," Guenevere summons Lancelot and says:

"I warne you that ye ryde no more in no justis nor turnementis but that youre kynnesmen may know you, and at thys justis that shall be ye shall have of me a slyeve of golde. And I pray you for my sake to force yourself there, that men may speke you worshyp.

<sup>15</sup> See *Works*, p. 1578.

But I charge you, as ye woll have my love, that ye warne your kynnesmen that ye woll beare that day the slyve of golde uppon your helmet."

"Madame," seyde sir Launcelot, "hit shall be done."  
And othir made grete joy of othir. (1103)

The recommenced adultery is in full progress; Guenevere, presumably to erase the memory of Lancelot's having worn the Fair Maid's red sleeve (1068), here demands that he wear her token. Lancelot has again assumed his completely subservient role, and carries out her haughty instructions to the letter. Nothing points toward a permanent separation of the lovers. The situation contrasts sharply with the ideal impression of the Round Table that derives from this great tournament itself. Thus, in this subdivision we find another instance of the pattern of suspense which I think Malory is establishing for the entire "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere": superficially all seems well, but beneath the surface the situation points toward the coming disaster.

For source-materials in the fourth subdivision, The Knight of the Cart, Malory shifted from the *Mort Artu* and *Le Morte Arthur*, which he had used for the first two subdivisions and to which he returns for the eighth and final division of his book. Here he selected material in the Prose *Lancelot*, from which he had earlier borrowed for his "Tale of Lancelot."<sup>16</sup> This very act of inserting matter from a different source presupposes a careful plan on Malory's part, and it seems clear that this plan was based on his desire to continue the suspense he had developed in the three preceding subdivisions. That Malory carefully planned his presentation of The "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere" is also indicated by the chronological continuity to be found as we move from subdivision to subdivision: The Poisoned Apple begins right after the Quest and ends with the court in quiet happiness, which continues until the beginning of The Fair Maid of Astolat on "Lady day of the Assumpcion"; this second subdivision ends at Christmas and The Great Tournament begins immediately thereafter, ending with a period of feasts and revelry which presumably cover the month of January; at the beginning of The Knight of the Cart we are told, "And thus hit passed on frome Candylmas untill Ester, that the moneth of May was com," and the action in this subdivision covers the period until Pentecost, at which time The Healing of Sir Urry begins. Then the eighth division opens the following May, allowing time for the year during which Lancelot travelled only by cart (1154).

There is also some evidence earlier in the *Morte Darthur* which suggests that Malory's use here of Meleagant's abduction of Guenevere was not a last-minute or haphazard decision. Twice in the "Tale of Tristram" we find what seem foreshadowing touches concerning Meleagant. First, when Lamorak leaves Tristram and stops at a chapel, Meleagant comes to the same chapel but does not notice Lamorak. "And than thys knyght sir Mellygaunce made hys mone of the love that he had to quene Gwenyver, and there he made a wofull complaynte" (485). The next day Lancelot, Lamorak, Meleagant, and Bleoberis engage in a discussion of a knight's proper regard for his lady, and the fact of Meleagant's love for Guenevere is made clear to all. Since in the source this fact is kept secret from Lancelot,<sup>17</sup> one suspects that Malory's alteration here is intentional preparation for the Lancelot-Meleagant animosity in The Knight of the Cart. Second, in the course of the tournament at Surluse, we are told that Bagdemagus sends away "his sonne Mellyagaunce, bycause sir

<sup>16</sup> See the article by Wilson cited in note 3 above. Wilson's view that the Prose *Lancelot* is the only source for the fourth subdivision seems to me preferable to

Vinaver's claim that Malory also used here a version of Chretien's *Charrette* (*Works*, pp. 1578-81).

<sup>17</sup> See *Works*, p. 1458.

Launcelot sholde nat mete with hym; for he hated sir Launcelot, and that knewe he nat" (658). Here Malory's alteration of his source<sup>18</sup> seems aimed at preparing for the regular stress to be placed on Meleagant's fear of Lancelot in *The Knight of the Cart* (e.g., 1124).<sup>19</sup>

Malory's presentation in *The Knight of the Cart* is much shorter than the corresponding section in the *Prose Lancelot*.<sup>20</sup> In shortening the account, Malory also made a marked alteration in the emphasis emerging from the episode. Whereas the French prose-writer devoted most attention to the earlier matters concerning Lancelot's use of the cart and his overcoming various obstacles to reach Guenevere, Malory's treatment lays heaviest stress on the bloodstained bed and the jeopardy in which the Queen is placed. In this connection it is important to note that Guenevere's being in danger of burning at the stake (1137) is Malory's original addition; this fact suggests that Malory's purpose in making this addition was to place this instance in a planned progression of three such situations in the *Morte Darthur*.<sup>21</sup> First, in *The Poisoned Apple* the Queen, accused of treason for the murder of Patryse, was saved from the stake by Lancelot's defeating Mador; here she was completely innocent of the charge. Second, we have the present instance in *The Knight of the Cart* when Lancelot saves her from the stake by defeating Meleagant; here the question of her guilt is a quibble: she did share her bed with Lancelot, but she is innocent of Meleagant's actual charge that one of the wounded knights was allowed to enter her bed. Third, in the eighth division Guenevere will be accused directly by Modred of an adulterous relationship with Lancelot, and will be saved by him from the stake through the fighting in which Gaheris and Gareth are killed (1174-78); here the Queen is undeniably guilty. Thus, we have a climactic progression: Guenevere at first innocent, then directly innocent but indirectly guilty, and finally directly guilty.

*The Knight of the Cart* continues the suspense, present in the three preceding subdivisions, deriving from the two questions concerning the lack of harmony between the lovers and the degree of Arthur's awareness of the recommenced adultery. The subdivision opens with a lengthy discourse, original with Malory,<sup>22</sup> on Maytime and the nature of true love. Here the fresh description of the coming of Spring and the idealistic attitude toward love form an ironic contrast to the covert adultery which Lancelot and Guenevere are conducting. This passage also points forward to the similar material which will ironically introduce the eighth division (1161), just before the continued adultery brings about the final crisis. Presumably motivated by a desire to prevent suspicion of the adultery—a motivation she had earlier stressed (1048, 1066)—Guenevere arranges the Maying expedition with the "Quenys Knyghtes," during which she is captured by Meleagant. When Lancelot receives her plea for help, he comes immediately and rapidly reaches Meleagant's castle.<sup>23</sup> Then Meleagant, fearful of Lancelot, begs Guenevere to make peace, and she tells Lancelot that there is now no need for fighting. At this point, we find another possibility of a quarrel between the lovers:<sup>24</sup>

"Madame," seyde sir Launcelot, "syth hit ys so  
that ye be accorded with hym, as for me I may nat  
agaynesay hit, howbehit sir Mellyagaunte hath done

<sup>18</sup> See *Works*, p. 1491.

<sup>19</sup> This fear is Malory's original conception; in the *Prose Lancelot* Meleagant defies Lancelot; see H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, 203.

<sup>20</sup> See Sommer, IV, 154-226.

<sup>21</sup> See *Works*, p. 1596. Vida D. Scudder earlier suggested this purpose behind Malory's originality; see *Le Morte Darthur*

... *And Its Sources* (1921), p. 320.

<sup>22</sup> See *Works*, p. 1591.

<sup>23</sup> As has often been observed, Malory almost completely shifts the emphasis away from the Cart-episode, which traditionally had been the core of the story.

<sup>24</sup> Malory's treatment is completely different from that in the *Prose Lancelot*; see Sommer, IV, 201-206.

full shamefully to me and cowardly. And, madame," seyde sir Launcelot, "and I had wyste that ye wolde have bene so lyghtly accorded with hym I wolde nat a made such haste unto you." (1129)

But Lancelot's displeasure rapidly fades and he tells the Queen, "Madame, . . . so ye be pleased, as for my parte ye shall sone please me" (1129). The possibility of a rift is soon over, and Lancelot spends that night in bed with the Queen (1131). There is no further indication of lack of harmony between the lovers, and the subdivision ends with the recommenced adultery continuing after Lancelot slays Meleagant.

Arthur does not appear in *The Knight of the Cart* until the Queen and the wounded knights return to the Court; meanwhile, Lancelot is imprisoned as a result of Meleagant's trick (1135). When told of Meleagant's charging the Queen with infidelity and of Lancelot's challenging Meleagant, Arthur says, "I am aferde sir Mellyagaunce hath charged hymselff with a grete charge." Here Arthur is completely noncommittal about what presumably is uppermost in his mind—the bloodstained bed as evidence of the Queen's infidelity—and simply adds that Lancelot will almost certainly appear to defend the Queen. Meleagant's insistence forces Arthur to have Guenevere "brought tyll a fyre to be brente" (1137); when Lancelot does not appear, Lavayne asks the King to allow him to take Lancelot's place. Arthur agrees:

"Grauntermercy, jantill sir Lavayne," seyde kynge Arthur, "for I dare say all that sir Mellyagaunce puttith uppon my lady the quene ys wronge. For I have spokyn with all the ten wounded knyghtes, and there ys nat one of them, and he were hole and able to do batayle, but he wolde prove uppon sir Mellyagaunce body that it is fals that he puutith uppon my lady." (1137)

Note that this passage—original with Malory<sup>25</sup>—gives evidence of Arthur's having been busy with the question of Guenevere's possible infidelity: he has satisfied himself that no one of the wounded knights shared her bed. Lancelot then arrives and kills Meleagant, and this subdivision, like the three preceding, ends happily: "And than the kynge and the quene made more of sir Launcelot, and more was he cherysshed than ever he was aforehande" (1140). We thus see at the close of the *Knight of the Cart* the same pattern for suspense observed in the earlier subdivisions: all seems well superficially, but beneath the surface the adulterous relationship continues. And here Arthur has good reason to suspect the adultery, for though the Queen has been saved and the disturbance caused by Meleagant has been successfully quieted, the King has had absolutely no explanation for the bloodstained bed. Since he established that no one of the wounded knights was guilty, circumstances point straight toward Lancelot as the culprit.

The fifth and final subdivision—*The Healing of Sir Urry*—is Malory's original addition. It has been suggested that Malory added this material in order to glorify Lancelot and to present a kind of convocation of the Arthurian worthies just before the tragic eighth division.<sup>26</sup> Be that as it may, there seems to me another explanation of Malory's intention, which fits the pattern we have been examining. As we just saw, Arthur is justified at the end of *The Knight of the Cart* in suspecting that the adultery is again in progress.<sup>27</sup> Then the appearance of Urry and his mother, the circumstance whereby only "the beste

<sup>25</sup> See Sommer, IV, 222.

<sup>3</sup> above, and *Works*, p. 1578.

<sup>26</sup> See the article by Wilson cited in note

<sup>27</sup> Arthur's suspicion here seems to be

knyght of the worlde" (1145) can heal Urry, and the failure of everyone else to heal the wounded knight, present the King with an excellent opportunity for testing Lancelot. In Arthur's mind, the situation would seem to be as follows: If Lancelot can heal Urry, after the King and others have failed, he is "the beste knyght of the world," a title for which he could not qualify if he has broken his promise made during the Quest to refrain from the adultery; but if Lancelot cannot heal Urry, Arthur has evidence that the adultery has recommenced. Thus it is that we are told the King's purpose in having Urry searched: "to wyte whych was the moste nobelyste knyght amonge them all" (1149); and thus Arthur is impatient at Lancelot's absence—"Mercy Jesu! seyde kynge Arthur, 'where ys sir Launcelot du Lake, that he ys nat here at thys tyme?'" (1150). Further, Arthur explicitly sets the stage for the testing of Lancelot when he sees the latter approaching—"Pees,' seyde the kynge, 'lat no man say nothyng untill he be com to us'" (1151).

Upon Lancelot's arrival we have the following passage:

Than seyde kynge Arthur unto sir Launcelot, "Sir, ye muste do as we have done," and tolde hym what they had done and shewed hym them all that had serched hym.

"Jesu defende me," seyde sir Launcelot, "whyle so many noble kyngis and gnyghtes have fayled, that I shulde presume uppon me to enchyve that all ye, my lordis, myght nat enchyve."

"Ye shall nat chose," seyde kynge Arthur, "for I commaunde you to do as we all have done."

"My moste renowned lorde," seyde sir Launcelot, "I know well I dare nat, nor may nat, disobey you. But and I myght or durste, wyte you well I wolde nat take uppon me to towche that wounded knyght in that entent that I shulde passe all othir knyghtes. Jesu deffende me frome that shame!"

"Sir, ye take hit wronge," seyde kynge Arthur, "for ye shall nat do hit for no presumpcion, but for to beare us felyshyp, insomuche as ye be a felow of the Rounde Table. And wyte you well," seyde kynge Arthur, "and ye prevayle nat and heale hym, I dare sey there ys no knyght in thys londe that may hele hym. And therefore I pray you do as we have done." (1151-52)

Two points are noteworthy here. First, the King's manner with Lancelot differs greatly from his customary kindly tone: he gives Lancelot a flat command to "search" Urry, leaving him no way to avoid this test. Second, Lancelot is hesitant to be put in this position, presumably because of his adulterous guilt; he attempts to escape the test on grounds of modesty, but Arthur advances "fellowship" as the reason Lancelot must "search" Urry.

When the other knights and Urry himself beg Lancelot to "search" the wounds, Lancelot clearly states his unworthiness: "'A, my fayre lorde,' seyde sir Launcelot, 'Jesu wolde that I myght helpe you! For I shame sore with myselff that I shulde be thus requyred, for never was I able in worthynes to do so hyghe a thyng'" (1152). Then he says to the King, "I muste do youre commaundemente, whych ys sore ayenst my harte." Seeing no way out, Lancelot now prays to the Trinity for the power to heal Urry. Included in his prayer

referred to when in the eighth division of the adultery (*Works*, p. 1163). Malory states that the King had "a demyng"

is his request "that my symple worshyp and honesté be saved"; apparently, Lancelot understands this situation as a test presented by the King, a test which he fears he shall fail. But he then proceeds to heal Urry. Arthur is overjoyed, and Lancelot weeps like a child with relief because his unworthiness, stemming from the adultery, has not been made apparent by failure to heal Urry.

That Lancelot is able to heal Urry, despite the recommenced adultery, is understandable in accord with Malory's definition of "the beste knyght of the worlde." For him the term means "best worldly knight"; the sections of the Grail-quest concerning Lancelot made clear Malory's conception of Lancelot as "the best worldly knight," despite the adultery and his limitations as a spiritual knight. Earlier, in the Elaine section of the "Tale of Tristram" Lancelot, as "the beste knyght of the world" had been able to free a lady from boiling waters after Gawain had failed to help her (792). Similarly, this definition in The Healing of Sir Urry does not disqualify Lancelot because of the adultery. But his success in healing Urry does not lead Lancelot to consider himself exonerated from the adulterous guilt. When we next see him, trapped in the Queen's room, he makes clear his continued realization that their relationship is "wronge" and his previous arrangement with Bors and others against just such an emergency (1166).

As the King sees it, however, Lancelot has passed the test; Arthur's suspicion does not have to be followed up, and he happily arranges a tournament and rewards Urry and Lavayne with knighthood (1153). Thus, the subdivision ends with the same situation we observed in each earlier instance: on the surface all seems well, but the adulterous relationship of Lancelot and Guenevere, which will bring about ruin for all, continues. Though for the time being joy reigns in the court, we are told just before the end of the seventh division, "But every nyght and day sir Aggravayne, sir Gawaynes brother, awayted quene Gwenyver and sir Launcelot to put hem bothe to a rebuke and a shame" (1153); and the eighth division will open with Aggravain's determination to inform the King of the adultery.

In summary, it would seem that Malory selected, altered, and augmented the materials he used for the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere" with the specific intention of giving the seventh division a function as suspense—in the structure of the *Morte Darthur* as a whole, and in connection with the presentation of the Lancelot-Guenevere relationship throughout the book. The suspense derives from the two related questions concerning the lack of harmony between Lancelot and Guenevere and the degree of Arthur's awareness of the adultery. In each of the five subdivisions we have found the same pattern of suspense: there is a crisis in the affairs of the court; the crisis is seemingly happily resolved, but the continued adultery provides the basis for the future tragedy. In this way the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere" serves as preparation for the series of crises in the eighth division, which cannot be successfully resolved and which bring about both Arthur's awareness of the recommenced adultery and the eventual separation of the lovers.

Finally, if the evidence presented here concerning suspense in the "Tale of Lancelot and Guenevere" has merit, it should weigh heavily against Professor Vinaver's claim that Malory wrote eight separate romances, and for the unqualified acceptance of the *Morte Darthur* as an intentionally unified work.<sup>28</sup> For when read in this light, this seventh division contributes greatly to the functioning of the other divisions and cannot be adequately understood if considered completely alone.

<sup>28</sup> See my "The Question of Unity in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," *Tulane Studies in English*, V (1955), 29-39; the references therein cited; the review by R. T. Davies in

*RES*, n.s. VII (1956), 330-331; and my "Gawain's Miraculous Strength": Malory's Use of *Le Morte Arthur* and *Mort Artu*, *Etudes Anglaises*, X (1957), 97-108.

# Coins of Little Value in Old French Literature

URBAN T. HOLMES JR.

IN texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we are frequently confronted with what seem to be deprecatory remarks about the worth of various coins. It is to render some of these expressions more meaningful that we have undertaken the present article. Since the reign of Stephen all English money, known as *esterlenc*, was royal. The English king had his mints established in various centers throughout the land where in certain instances he granted the profits of one or more dies to a bishop, an abbot, or a baron; but in exchange value, and in the name and image on the obverse, all money was the king's.<sup>1</sup> On the reverse, however, there appeared the responsible moneyer and the place where he operated: e.g., Rogier on Cant[erbury], Edmund on Lund[on], and so forth. The money of Henry II became so fixed in the minds of his subjects that the name and design remained immobilized during the reigns of Richard and John who made only superficial alterations in the design.

Across the Channel, however, in the twelfth century and in the first quarter of the thirteenth, there were many mints in which the French king had no part. A considerable number of feudal lords, bishops, and abbots struck their own money, although these coining privileges were supposed to go back to some royal grant. This provided a prominent role for the money changers of Paris, Troyes, and elsewhere. Their expert touch in distinguishing between silver and copper, false dies and the genuine article, combined the skills of receiving teller, silversmith, and numismatist all in one. Philip Augustus began to change some of this in the direction of uniformity by emphasizing the royal moneys, and still more was done during the reign of Saint Louis.<sup>2</sup> The twelfth-century French kings had their own royal mints, notably in Paris, Bourges, Château-Landon, Dreux, Etampes, Pontoise, Sens, Mantes, Montreuil-sur-mer, and Orleans; but these issues were not being pushed outside the royal domaine. The name of Louis which appeared on the coins of some feudal mints was only an immobilization of the name of Louis IV (d'Outremer) who reigned 921-954, and who had had direct authority in these places. This was true at Bourbon, Angoulême, Périgord, and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Possibly the bishop at Langres was flattering the current French king when he used the name Louis on his deniers. There was an approximate standard of purity achieved by most of the feudal coins. They varied around 4/12 of fine silver, the remainder being of copper. The tournois of Saint Martin at Tours was only a small fraction below this. I have indicated elsewhere how the coinage of Bordeaux was made to conform to this standard in the first quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> Because of this persisting tendency toward 4/12 in fineness the feudal coinages as a rule did not have wide separations in value. When the standard differed greatly it was very clearly understood. There were some *gros deniers*. The money of Toulouse was double that of Melgueil and Tours; the *mançois* of Normandy had this double value. The deniers of Cluny, and those of Morlaas in Gascony were not double but they were somewhat more valuable. Four of the king's *parisis*, minted at Paris, passed for five of the tournois. English *esterlencs* were four times the value of the tournois and similar coinage. One does not have to be expert to perceive the interrelationship of many of the designs on the feudal

<sup>1</sup> D. F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. The Cross and Crosslets ("Tealby") Type of Henry II* (London, 1951), lxxiv-clxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See the splendid article by Thomas N.

Bisson in *Speculum*, XXXII (1957), 443-69.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Lafaurie, *Les monnaies des rois de France*, I (Paris: Emile Bourgeois, 1951), II.

<sup>4</sup> *Schweizer Münzblätter* (Juli 1957), 40.



coinage. The image of Saint-Mayeul of Souvigny, devised by the Cluniacs, is generally recognizable in the moneys of related abbeys, as at Tournus, and at Saint-Martial de Limoges. At Saint-Martial this image approached a superior standard of art. These deniers are now referred to as *barbarins*. The details of the bearded face changed from die to die, but some of the designs are well conceived.

The crude earlier coinage of the dukes of Normandy gave way in the early twelfth century to *mançois* and angevins which were thereafter struck at Rouen. The earlier coins were sometimes referred to as *romeisins* (*Rotomagus-inos* ?), probably in a tone that reflected scorn: Vous ne vaudrez un romoisin (*Prise d'Orange*, v. 1512). The goldsmiths of Rouen had a lucrative trade in cutting dies. How else can we explain the term *deniers rouennois* used around 1200 to designate other moneys—the deniers of Chartres, Vendôme, Châteaudun, and Guingamps?<sup>5</sup> The first three of these had on the obverse a crude distortion of a face once used on the money of Thibaut I of Blois (d. 973-78).<sup>6</sup> We know that these circulated towards Brittany, and that may be why Chrétien de Troyes made his robber knight say of the harness of Enide that "Li palefrois et la sanbue Et li peitraus et li lorains Valent mil livres de chartains" (*Erec*, vv. 2810-13). The scenes of the *Erec* were supposedly laid in a kind of pseudo-Brittany. But this explanation is not satisfactory. There must have been some special reason, other than a desire for rhyme in *-ains*, why Chrétien had his robber price the equipage of Enide in the money of Chartres. The money of Normandy proper is illustrated in this passage from Philippe Mouskés:

Li rois Ricars—De la prison fu moult lassés . . . Fu sa raençons aravie,  
Et de besans et d'estrelins, Et de mansois et d'angevins Qui li vinrent de  
Normendie (vv. 20,053-062).

The *mançois*, of which the important hoards all date from the thirteenth century, still continued the design which they received from Count Herbert II of Maine (1051-62) in the mid-Eleventh century.<sup>7</sup>

Obviously the first step in establishment of better royal authority over a district was to impose the use of the king's money. That was what Philip Augustus wanted to do, although the progress was slow. A hoard discovered at Montheil, near Bellac—not far from Limoges, which was buried about 1212, does not have a single royal coin.<sup>8</sup> Of the 313 pieces which it contained 68 are *barbarins* of Limoges, 152 were money struck by the local count of La Marche, while the remaining coins came from the viscount of Thurenne and the lord of Château-Meillant. Another hoard, a little later in date, found at La Creuse (Haute-Saône), which lies across France from Bellac, shows coins of Saint-Martial of Limoges, others from the abbot of Souvigny, from the viscount of Limoges, the count of La Marche, the counts of Déols-Châteauroux, from Nevers, Montluçon, Saint-Aignan, Lyon, Angoulême, Toulouse, Provence, and semi-royal angevins, tournois, and *mançois*.<sup>9</sup> There are no parisis! Evidently Saint-Martial de Limoges was an important financial center as well as a focal point for developments in music, drama, and art. In a decree of 1204, which is most important for us, Philip Augustus stabilized the currency for the newly acquired territory which he had wrung from King John.<sup>10</sup> The tournois of the semi-royal

<sup>5</sup> Cf. reference in note 10.

<sup>6</sup> Lafaurie in *Revue numismatique*, sér. 5, XVI (1952), 129.

<sup>7</sup> The obverse has the legend COMES CENOMANNIS and the reverse has SIGNUM DEI VIVI. This coin is no. 3 on our Plate.

<sup>8</sup> Jean Lafaurie, *Le trésor de monnaies féodales de Montheil* (Paris, Imprimerie

naionale, 1951).

<sup>9</sup> Jean Lacroq in *Bulletin de la société d'émulation du Bourbonnais*, XLIII (1942). See also Henri Hugon, *ibid.* XLI (1940), 36-42.

<sup>10</sup> F. de Souley, *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire des monnaies* (Paris, 1879), 117-18.

mint at Tours are cited as the standard of value. The sterling or English penny was to circulate as four tournois; the *mançois* would pass for two tournois; a marc of deniers rouennois would equal 14 sous tournois, nine deniers short of the marc tournois, and a marc angevin would be 1 sous 3 deniers tournois. Since we know that four deniers parisis equalled five deniers tournois we are thus able to have a fair picture of the exchange rates at this date. It is pleasing to add to this another figure given by Gerald the Welshman, relating to his return from Rome in 1203.<sup>11</sup> When he reached Châtillon-sur-Seine, thirty-eight miles south of Troyes, he was forcibly detained. He was an English subject and Philip and John were at war. The searchers discovered that he had little in his wallet "nec denarios invenerunt praeter octo Diviones, qui sterlingos duos non valebant." This gives the rate of exchange for the Dijon deniers of Eudes III of Burgundy (1193-1218). Since eight tournois would have been precisely equal to two sterling pennies, the Dijon was a trifle less than the tournois.

In the *Huon de Bordeaux* the reciting minstrel observes, after a hard day's work:

Si revenés demain, apres disner. Et si vous proi cascuns m'ait aporté U  
pan de sa chemise une maille noué; Car en ces poitevines a poi de largeté.  
Avers fut et escars qui les fist estorer, Ne qui ains les donna a courtois  
menestrel (vv. 4957-62).

This unfavorable opinion of the Poitevin mailles, or obols, is given unqualifiedly; they are all that way. The present writer has one Poitevin maille which weighs 0.48 gr which from a superficial judgment seems to be of fair alloy. To complicate further our explanation of the poet's meaning there is the view taken by M. Dieudonné who asserted that in Poitou especially, and in a few other places in France at this time, two varieties of maille or obol were struck deliberately: a normal one and a lighter one which passed for one half the value of the other, called a *pite* (common weight 0.3-0.4 gr.). Richard, as Count of Poitiers, moved the mint from the hands of Cluny and set up a separate establishment at Montreuil-Bonnin and at Poitiers itself. It is very likely that a considerable quantity of these Poitevan mailles varied in their weight. After all a maille is a very light coin and requires expert workmanship to maintain it at a standard. But I believe the variation was unintentional. M. Dieudonné does not claim that a *pite*, an intended farthing (or  $\frac{1}{4}$  denier) was made by Richard at Bordeaux; but the present writer has two Aquitanian oboles of Richard which weigh only 0.4 and 0.3 gr, the range which M. Dieudonné assigns to the *pites* of Poitiers. An interpretation of the lines quoted from *Huon de Bordeaux* is that the new Poitevin mints did not have the confidence of the people and that they were not being compelled to conform to the proper standard for their smallest coin, the maille. Similar carelessness was evident among Richard's moneyers at Bordeaux. When the epic character Airol wishes to make a handsome gift to a friend at Poitiers he sends him: "c. mars des boins deniers (*Airol*, v. 3766). Thirty lines further on this good money is identified as parisis.

If Aquitanian money was not of the best, under Richard as Duke of Aquitaine, we are confronted with another problem. Airol's father gives him four sous (48 deniers)—presumably Aquitanian, and adds:

Ceus ferés a vostre oste sempre cangier, S'arés de colongnois .v. saus u  
mieus (vv. 241-42).

It is a fact that the deniers of Cologne circulated rather freely at this time in parts of France. The mark of Cologne (229.456 gr.) was less than that of

<sup>11</sup> "De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae" Brewer, III, 293.  
in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*. ed. J. S.

Paris and Troyes, but Aquitanian currency was not on a par with that of Paris.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps this remark in *Aiol* does no more than reflect a dislike for foreign (German) money. We note in contemporary America that Canadian dollars are often discounted unofficially by casual individuals in the United States, when these dollars are worth more in banking circles. Such a variety of moneys was available in the town of Troyes that the local moneyers doubtless met with impossible competition. Count Henry the Liberal, when making a perpetual rent to the Chapel of Saint-Etienne, specified that this should always be paid in the "monnaie de Troyes".<sup>13</sup>

There is a fascinating record of the values of Italian currencies for the year 1203, with relation to the German imperial mark, in the account book of Bishop Wolfer of Passau.<sup>14</sup> Frater Henricus exchanged money for the Bishop, purchasing Aquilaean, Venetian, Pisan, Sienese, and Bolognese moneys. The actual rates of exchange are listed in the accounts, but are somewhat complicated by the fact that value is often cited in talents. We estimate that the talent was a weight containing some 46-47 deniers, just short of four sous. In Florence the Bishop used Sienese money. Probably the answer is simple enough but we wonder why he did not purchase the fine silver florins, containing the portrait of St. John, which were manufactured in Florence after 1182.

Various kinds of money, other than the *romeisins*, are repeatedly mentioned on occasions when an Old French speaker characterizes something as low in value: N'i ai conquis vaillant j. estampoins (*Raoul de Cambrai*, v. 723); De mon service n'ai qi vaile j. tornois (*ibid.*, v. 728); Ja n'i perdrais le montant d'un balois (*ibid.*, v. 738); Il ne doute arme vaillant j. angevin (*ibid.*, 477); Tote no terre nos tient en tel defois Que n'i prenos vaillissant ij. mansois (*Girart de Viane*, vv. 155-56); Ja ne li coustera deus parisis (*Aiol*, v. 3473). We cannot believe, as we have previously suggested,<sup>15</sup> that each of these varieties of money was despised for a particular reason. They were merely common types of deniers. An exception might be made in the case of the angevin. It has been my privilege to handle for a brief moment the hoard newly discovered at l'Herm (Vendée), in 1952. The money was buried in 1205-10. It consists of a considerable quantity of sterling pennies (short cross I-IV), of Guingamp deniers of Alain de Penthièvre (1184-1212) and of angevins. Among all these coins the angevins are of notably poor quality. This is the only opportunity I have had to observe them in quantity beside many products of other mints. One specimen which I examined closely weighed only 0.72 gr.; it is thin and chipped.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps around 1200 the angevin coinage was notorious for its bad condition. The estampoins of Louis VI must have circulated very freely at one time, since there are extant seven different varieties, and the bracteates of the Bishop of Basel would be frequently found in the eastern districts.

When true contempt is intended the writer is more apt to make use of the fractional values. Chrétien has a lady say: Des lores que je conui primes Chevalier, un seul n'an conui Que je prisasse avers cestui La tierce part d'un angevin (*Lancelot*, vv. 1283-85). We doubt that an angevin was ever split three ways for circulation; so this is equivalent to "nothing". In England pennies were regularly divided into halves, and even into fourths. No halfpenny or maille was minted independently until the close of the thirteenth century

<sup>12</sup> The *colognois* mentioned in the *Aiol* was doubtless the issue of Archbishop Philipp von Heinsberg (1167-91). For wide circulation of the money of Cologne see Walter Hävernack, *Die Münzen von Köln vom Beginn der Prägung bis 1301* (Köln, 1935).

<sup>13</sup> Théophile Boutiot, *Histoire de la ville de Troyes et de la Champagne méridionale*

(Paris, 1870-80), 1, 219.

<sup>14</sup> I. Zingerle, *Reiserechnungen Wolfers von Ellenbrechtskirchen* (Heilbronn, 1877), 58-60.

<sup>15</sup> This is suggested by the present writer in *Speculum* XXXI (1956), 319.

<sup>16</sup> This is at the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. The description is still unpublished.

(except in Ireland). Therefore when Guillaume de Berneville in his *Vie de Saint-Gile*, which is Anglo-Norman, says: "N'ai maaïlle ne denier (v. 835)", he means a penny split through the middle. A penny divided into quarters must have offered many complications. In the fabliau of the *Deus Anglois* one of the Englishmen wishes to buy a lamb from a French farmer, in these terms:<sup>17</sup>

Sire, fait il, par seint Thomas,  
Se tu avez nul anel cras  
Mi chatera molt volentiers,  
Si paie vos bones deniers  
Et bones maaïlles frelins . . .

We assume that there was humor intended in his offer to pay for the Lamb with good farthings, along with pennies. A goodly sum in farthings, which could not be stacked, would be a heap of metal trash. The present writer had a farthing of Henry I which had quite a history, having been picked up from the sand near the site of Dunwich, the lost village. It had belonged to the Carlyon-Britton collection. This piece was so fragile that it disappeared on some occasion from the coin tray, almost as though whisked away by a pixie.

On the continent the halfpenny was minted as an independent value, called an obol or a maille. There is an amusing reference in *Raoul de Cambrai*: Je ne sai rien de putain chamberiere Qui ait esté corsaus ne maaïllere (vv. 1329-30). The mother of Raoul is defending herself, and incidentally informs us that the lowest type of prostitute was called a *maaïllere* because that was her fee. The maille in turn was frequently divided into two halves, much more manageable than the English farthing but worth less. These half mailles were known as *partis*. Their common use is indicated in the *Jeu de Saint-Nicolas*:

Veus tu faire ja le panier?  
Au mains dois tu trois partis (vv. 280 ff)  
Cliquet, tu devoies un lot  
Et puis un denier de ton gieu,  
Et trois partis pour le courlieu:  
Che sont cinc deniers, poi s'en faut (vv. 680 ff).

The messenger had for his fee only three quarters of a denier.

The reader has probably noted that the men who composed the extant versions of *Raoul de Cambrai* and of *Aiol* had a fondness and some feeling for details of currency. In *Aiol* the poet takes pains (vv. 1923-28) to illustrate that there were twelve denier in a sou. From one of his sous Aiol makes an offering, on an altar, of four deniers, and then he has eight deniers left. Still more interesting is a passage (*Aiol*, vv. 6611-14) where we are given the usual wage of a day laborer, working on the roads:

Sire, prendés .c. sous de moneés deniers:  
Por sainte carité les tous doins volentiers;  
Si en povés .ij. mois bien loer .iiij. ovriers  
A refaire la voie, dont il est grans mestiers . . .

It would seem from this that an individual workman of the kind received twenty-five sous a month, which meant ten deniers a day on which to live. Chrétien de Troyes (*Yvain*, v. 5314) is our informant that a person who earned twenty sous a week would find that insufficient. These were people who owned

<sup>17</sup> That this fabliau of the *Deus Anglois* was in existence by 1177 is suggested by the obviously sly reference to the word *ason*, for *asnell*, when Renart is speaking Anglo-

French in Branch I of the *Roman de Renart*, vv. 2422-25. I am citing the text of the *Deus Anglois* from B. N. MS. 19152, f. 47 e.

no land and got no perquisites at a generous court. We have records of porters, wardens, chaplains, engineers who received from 2 deniers to seven a day.<sup>18</sup> But these men ate at the lord's table and were favored in still other ways. Compared to the needleworker in the *Yvain* the road mender was hard-pressed. He would need to calculate his expenses in *partis*, four to a denier, to make his money go around.

The purpose of this article is to acquaint the reader with some of the money of Old French literature. We have two plates which will illustrate the varieties mentioned.<sup>18</sup> These show (1) a *barbarin* of the Abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges, P.A. 50-16; (2) a *romeisin*, P.A. 174, var.; (3) a *mançois*, P.A. 1546; an angevin, P.A. 1498, (5) an obol of Chartres, P.A. 17-36; (6) a tournois of Saint-Martin of Tours, P.A. 16-36; (7) a denier of Eudes III, minted at Dijon, P.A. 130-17; (8) a King John penny, short cross IV. late; (9) an obol of Poitier, Richard I, P.A. 25-14; (10) an obol of Aquitaine, P.A. 27-68; (11) a *colognois* of Philipp v. Heinsberg; (12) a twelfth-century *balois* of Basel; (13) an *estampois*, Lafaurie 114; (14) a King John halfpenny, short cross Vc; (15) a denier of Troyes, P.A. 59-49; (16) a *parti* of Philip Augustus, Lafaurie 182. The sou, which is a money value mentioned throughout Old French texts, is seldom visualized clearly by even experienced mediaevalists. For this reason we are reproducing (17) a complete sou in parisis of Louis VII of France (Lafaurie, 139-142). About fourteen of these sous (some 160-168 deniers) were needed to make a marc of silver.

A dishonest moneyer could multiply his normal income by debasing the alloy, reducing the proper weight of the coin, or by using counterfeit dies. In 1155-56 when Henry II of England was assuming control he checked on these practices and as a result he punished many culprits with mutilation of their bodies. For the mutilating of one of these bad moneyers the Crown paid six sous eight pennies, another similar operation cost only five sous; a public executioner did the job for several men for sixteen sous eight pennies.<sup>19</sup> University of North Carolina.

<sup>18</sup> The P. A. references are to Poëy-d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, 3 vols (Paris, 1858-62). The Lafaurie numbers

refer to the volume in note 2 above.  
<sup>19</sup> D. F. Allen, *ibid.*, cxi.

# Some Holy Heroes of Irish Monasticism and their Relations with *Scotia Minor*

GARETH W. DUNLEAVY

THE pre-Christian Irish heroes of saga and romance have never gone unnoticed by *Sasanach* men of letters. The flashing chariot wheels of Cuchullain; the beauteous Etain posed before her fountain; the bloody severed head of the vanquished Anluan swinging at the waist of the victorious Conall and the feats of Finn have cast long shadows that have intrigued, enchanted, perplexed and charmed. Arnold's "Celtic magic," a legacy of wildness from a literature of archaism, has left a clear trail.

Hardly less spectacular in their activities than any pagan Irish Achilles were the early Irish churchmen beginning with Patrick. About their names grew up a formidable body of literature; cattle-raids, destructions and hostings gave way to visions, voyages, and *vitae* of holy heroes whose exploits seen only in terms of miles traveled were considerable. From Bede's account of St. Fursa to Tennyson's ballad of Maeldune, the voyaging missionary monks have been memorialized. As late as 1721, the power of the St. Brendan voyage tradition had mariners searching futilely for an island with his name. The tenth-century *Vision of Adamnan* and the twelfth-century *Purgatorium Patricii*, possibly known to Dante, testify to the popularity of stories about the saints who ventured over the "white-maned, white-bosomed" sea in cork-like currachs whose modern counterparts made of laths covered with tarred canvas are raced on Galway Bay.

This essay, like Spenser's, will try to "gather a likelyhode of truethe" concerning seven Irish churchmen whose names are linked with western Britain and Scotland in the sixth and seventh centuries; to "hunte out a probabilitye of thinges which I doe leaue vnto your iudgement to beleeeve or refuse" concerning these men and their part in the building of a cultural bond between Britain and Ireland that reached fruition with the establishment of Northumbrian Lindisfarne by Aidan in 635.

Undisturbed by the Roman and Anglo-Saxon invasions, Ireland received Christianity in the mid-fifth century from missionaries of Gaul and Western Britain and from refugee scholars of Gaulish schools such as those at Trèves, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Poitiers. Missionaries and scholars both brought with them conventional liturgical documents and a knowledge of pagan letters and skills in literary letter writing and oratory which took their place beside the written and oral traditions and conventions of the pre-Christian era.<sup>1</sup>

Most names and documents relating to the fifth-century Christianization of Ireland are elusive and amorphous to say the least. For example, Prosper's *Chronicon* would credit a certain Palladius with being the first missionary to Ireland from Rome, but the man remains a phantom to this day.<sup>2</sup> A document such as the *Hisperica Famina* may some day shed more light on the period once its provenance has finally been determined.<sup>3</sup> This may be said also of two shape-shifting, but forward-looking worthies named Camelac and Sechnall, who

<sup>1</sup> M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques D'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), pp. 48-169; K. Meyer, *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and Transmission of Letters* (Dublin, 1913), p. 6 et seq.; more recently, N.K. Chadwick, "Intellectual Contacts between Britain and Gaul in the Fifth

Century," *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 190-91.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (New York, 1929), I, 165.

<sup>3</sup> *The Hisperica Famina*, ed. F. J. H. Jenkinson (Cambridge, 1908), xi.

by leaving evidence of their Gaulish training in the form of Latin hymns, provided themselves with a foothold on historicity.<sup>4</sup>

A fair start on the task of collecting and interpreting evidence pointing to the existence of Irish relations with Britain before and during the time of Patrick was made by Slover. He called attention to Gildas' account of Irish attacks on Britain in the fourth century; the presence of coin hoards in Ireland that indicated hostile Irish raids on England; and the *Confessio* of St. Patrick, written in the second half of the fifth century which gives an account of Patrick's abduction to Ireland at the age of sixteen by Irish slavers. Slover also saw a tradition of Irish settlement in Britain reflected in the story of the *Expulsion of the Dessi* and the presence of ogham inscriptions in both Ireland and Western Britain. Significant, too, in Slover's opinion, were the Irish royal exiles and fugitives whose stories told in *Cath Magh Mucruimhe*, the *Destruction of Dind Ríg*, and the *Battle of Magh Rath* proved that St. Columba was not the first Irishman to make the rough passage to Britain.<sup>5</sup>

When the curraghs sailed west from Britain in the fifth century they carried Christian missionaries from a citadel of British Christianity, Candida Casa, now Whithorn in Wigtownshire, Scotland.<sup>6</sup> Candida Casa, according to Bede (H. E. III, 4), had been founded by Ninian, a Briton who had been given tutelage in Rome and had returned to his native land.<sup>7</sup> Ninian is commemorated in several Irish martyrologies and one, the *Martyrology of Oengus*, states that he personally founded a church in Ireland. Tradition holds him to have been "founder" of two churches in County Tyrone and County Antrim.<sup>8</sup> What stock can be put in the story of Ninian's Irish enterprises is uncertain, but it is almost a certainty that his Candida Casa first sent missionaries to Ireland and later received Irish converts for training.<sup>9</sup>

A second British establishment from which missionaries sailed for Ireland was Menevia (Ir. *Muine*), the present port of St. David's near the extreme western point of the mainland of Wales. The founder of Menevia was Dewi, or David to the ecclesiastical biographers who set down his story in 1090.<sup>10</sup> David's death is recorded in the Irish *Annals of Tigernach* and Slover noted a local St. David tradition existing in County Tallaght.<sup>11</sup>

Llancarvan, also in Wales, provided a third point of departure for British Christians on their way to convert the wild people of the *tuaths* including the first two of our holy heroes, Brendan and Finnian, whose names are linked with Llancarvan in miscellaneous saints' lives.<sup>12</sup> One ninth-century life of St. Malo identifies Brendan as a one time abbot of Llancarvan.<sup>13</sup> Finnian (d. 552) was born at Myshall in County Carlow and according to his *vita* early became a monk in Wales: "When the holy Finnian grew up, he was taken to a bishop at Fortchenn, and read the psalms and the ecclesiastical orders with him. . . .

<sup>4</sup> Kenney, p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> C. H. Slover, "Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland," Univ. of Texas Bull., Stud. in Engl., No. 6 (Austin, 1927), pp. 14-15, 32.

<sup>6</sup> For accounts of the founding of Candida Casa and estimates of its influence see *Venerabilis Bædæ Opera Historica*, ed. C. H. Plummer (Oxford, 1886), II, 128; *History of the Church of Ireland*, ed. W. A. Phillips (Oxford, 1933), I, 72-73; also G. A. F. Knight, *Archæological Light on the Early Christianizing of Scotland* (London, 1933), I, 113-127.

<sup>7</sup> *Bædæ Opera Historica*, trans. J. E. King (London, 1930), I, 341. All subsequent H. E. references are to this edition.

<sup>8</sup> *History of the Church of Ireland*, I, 72-73.

<sup>9</sup> *Lives of Saint Ninian and Saint Kentigern*, ed. and trans. A. P. Forbes (Edinburgh, 1874), p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Kenney, p. 179.

<sup>11</sup> Slover, "Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland," Univ. of Texas Bull., Stud. in Engl., No. 7, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> The views stated by Plummer and Stokes regarding the credibility and usefulness of saints' lives in investigations of this type are recommended for the reader's consideration. See *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1910), I, xci; and *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. and trans. W. Stokes (Oxford, 1890), xci-xciii.

<sup>13</sup> Slover, "Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland," p. 1.

Now when he reached the age of thirty he went over the sea. He came to Tours. There he found an elder named Caemon. They were for a time together and they made a union. After that Finnian went to Cell Muine [St. David]. There he found before him three sages named David, and Gildas, and Cathmael.<sup>14</sup> Hagiographical tradition further ascribes to Finnian a period of thirty years' study in Britain after which he is alleged to have been diverted from a trip to Rome by an angel who advised "that what would be given to thee at Rome, would be given to thee here" and he is ordered back to Ireland to "renew the faith of the people."<sup>15</sup> Finnian in compliance with this order establishes a monastery and school at Clonard and gradually, Clonard gains a reputation in hagiographical tradition as the place where Scriptures are best taught and studied. From the hand of a later alumnus of Clonard, Aileran (d. 665), comes a tract reflecting the nature of the theological discipline at Clonard. It is entitled *Interpretatio mystica progenitorum domini Jesu Christi* and is an adaptation of St. Jerome's "Book of Hebrew Names," offering testimony to the early prevalence in the Irish schools of the allegorical method of Scriptural exposition.<sup>16</sup> It may offer some clue also as to the type of instruction which had been received by Finnian during his stay at St. David's.

At least two other Latin *vitae* reflect the influence of Clonard, and indirectly, of British Christianity on the lives of their respective subjects. The first of these is the life of St. Molua (d. 622):

"Et noluit sanctus Molua in illo loco manere, quia impedimentum ei seculares ibi faciebant, set ipsum locum benedixit. Et constituto illic monasterio, uenit inde ad sanctam scolam sancti Finniani in sua ciuitate Cluain Hayard, que est in confinio Lagenensium et Nepotum Neill. In qua scola multitudo sanctorum 'Hybernie' diuinitatem apud sanctum Finnianum, virum sapientissimum, scrutabatur."<sup>17</sup>

Tradition makes St. Ruadan of Lothra (d. 584) a pupil of Finnian's also:

"Qui inspiratus Sancto Spiritu, reliquit patriam et parentes, et perrexit ad sanctum Finnianum virum sapientissimum, qui habitabat in sua ciuitate Cluayn Iarhaird [Clonard], que est in confinio Lagenensium et regionis Midhi."<sup>18</sup>

In addition to hagiographical evidence there are place-names and church dedications that often shed light on the sphere of influence of a given Irish churchman at home and in Scotland and Wales.<sup>19</sup> Numerous dedications to Finnian are found in both eastern and western Scotland. In the Cornwall district of Argyllshire is the parish of Killinan, known formerly as Kilfinan, the f having dropped out through aspiration.<sup>20</sup> Another dedication to Finnian is found in the name of the parish of Kilwinning in the Cunningham district of Ayrshire, southwest Scotland.<sup>21</sup> Five and one-half miles northwest of Port William in Mochuam parish, Wigtownshire, also in southwest Scotland, was a chapel dedicated to Finnian.<sup>22</sup> Still another dedication to the first holy hero was the church of the parish of Bona, now included in Inverness in northwest Scotland.<sup>23</sup> Finnian is remembered in central Scotland at Inverness in Glenlyon, Perthshire, where a chapel and well bear the name of St. Wynnin.<sup>24</sup> In northeast Scotland

<sup>14</sup> *Lives of Saints*, p. 223.

<sup>15</sup> *Lives of Saints*, p. 224.

<sup>16</sup> Kenney, p. 376.

<sup>17</sup> *Vit. Sanct. Hib.*, II, 213-14.

<sup>18</sup> *Vit. Sanct. Hib.*, p. 240.

<sup>19</sup> For conflicting views on the degree of trust to be placed in dedications see E. G. Bowen, *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (Cardiff, 1954); Owen Chadwick,

"The Evidence of Dedications in the Early History of the Welsh Church," in *Studies in Early British History*, pp. 173, 175, 182, 185.

<sup>20</sup> J. M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1915), II, 80.

<sup>21</sup> Mackinlay, II, 81.

<sup>22</sup> Mackinlay, II, 82.

<sup>23</sup> Mackinlay, II, 83.

<sup>24</sup> A transposition brought about through



Finnian's name was given to a chapel at Gartly parish, Aberdeenshire, another chapel was dedicated to him at Abersnetwick in Monymusk parish, and two more Aberdeenshire parishes had St. Finnian as the titular head of their churches.

St. Brendan of Clonfert (d. 583) had even stronger ties with Britain and Scotland. Brendan, born on Fennit Peninsula, County Kerry, studied for five years under St. Ita (d. *circa* 570-77) and became a disciple of Finnian's, later studying with Gildas at Lllancarvan. Between 558 and 564 he returned to Ireland to establish Clonfert in Galway, which was to become noted for the austere rule which he laid down for its members. Clonfert was to survive as an important center of learning until 895, after which date the Irish annals record its having been ransacked and plundered on five separate occasions by Scandinavian raiders.<sup>25</sup>

At least one Scottish source, the *Breviary of Aberdeen*, reflects a vitality of mind and body in Brendan appropriate to the hero: "Brendan flourished among the Scots. When 532 years from the birth of Christ had passed: a man renowned for great abstinence and virtues, the father of nearly three thousand monks, he was held in the greatest esteem during those times for his extreme sanctity and doctrine."<sup>26</sup>

The *vita* of St. Molua (d. 609) in the *Breviary of Aberdeen* also gives some clue to the discipline practised at Clonfert. Molua is referred to as having sprung from noble birth and having been "from infancy instructed in liberal and divine studies under the blessed Abbot Brendanus."<sup>27</sup> Known to the Middle Ages chiefly as the fabulous traveler to the "Isles of the Blessed" Brendan became one of the first heroes of voyage literature.<sup>28</sup> This extract from the Irish life of Brendan casts him in the heroic mould: "Brendan, son of Finnlug, sailed over the wave-voice of the strong-maned sea, and over the storm of the green-sided waves, and over the mouths of the marvellous awful bitter ocean, where they saw the multitude of the furious red-mouthed monsters with abundance of great sea-whales."<sup>29</sup> That Brendan made the voyage to Scotland, and perhaps to Strathclyde, Wales, is reasonable to assume, but like the adventurers of 1721 we cannot verify the icebergs and the green islands.

A most impressive and reliable source for the activity of Brendan in North Britain and Scotland is Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*. Adamnan, whose sources included oral accounts of survivors from the earliest days at Hii, gives the following incident:

"Alio in tempore quatuor, ad sanctam visitandum Columban, monasterium sancti fundatores de Scotia transmeantes, in Hinba eum invenerunt insula quorum illustrium vocabula longellus. Mocu, Aridi, Cainnechus Mocu Dalon, Brendanus Mocu Alti, Commaus Nepos Leathain."<sup>30</sup>

As with Finnian, there is corroborative evidence in the form of dedications and place-names pointing to Brendan's travels in Britain and Scotland. Among his dedications are those at Kilbrandane, Kilbrennan, and Kilbramman, in Killarow parish, Islay.<sup>31</sup> He also became known as the patron saint of Bute whose inhabitants were once known as the "Brandanes." Brendan is remembered in the dedication of the church of Kilbirnie in Ayrshire;<sup>32</sup> Dunbarney parish in Perthshire, written "Dunburness," may also derive its name from St. Brendan.<sup>33</sup>

scribal error. The sequence was probably f to v to w.

<sup>25</sup> *Chronicon Scotorum* [Rolls], ed. W. Hennessy (London, 1886), p. 145.

<sup>26</sup> *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ed. and trans., A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922), I, 19.

<sup>27</sup> *Early Sources*, I, 20.

<sup>28</sup> M. Dillon, *Early Irish Literature* (Chicago, 1948), p. 124.

<sup>29</sup> *Lives of Saints*, p. 253.

<sup>30</sup> *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, ed. J. Fowler (Oxford, 1920), p. 175.

<sup>31</sup> Mackinlay, II, 67.

<sup>32</sup> Mackinlay, II, 68.

<sup>33</sup> Mackinlay, II, 69.

Brendan's name also holds a place in such Scottish literature of the folk as this quaint milking song:

Come Brendan from the ocean,  
Come, Ternan, most potent of men,  
Come, Michael valiant, down  
And propitiate to me the cow of my joy.<sup>34</sup>

Among the many herdsman's invocations of the Western Highlands is one that asks for "the protection of Brendan of the ship."<sup>35</sup>

The third sixth-century Irish ecclesiastic whose British contacts deserve attention is Ciaran of Clonmacnoise (d. 556). He was born in Connacht, and trained in the monastic discipline at Clonard according to the Irish life which reads: "After these things, then it was time to go as a scholar to Findian of Clonard in order to learn wisdom."<sup>36</sup> While at Clonard, Ciaran was exposed to the theological training for which that establishment was noted: "Pater Finnianus ait sancto Kiarano:

'Fili legat apud te ista virgo ancilla Christi, filia regis terreni, interim, quousque cella uirginum sit ei edificata.' Quod opus sanctus Kiaranus obediens accepit; et legit apud eum uirgo psalmos et alias lecciones."<sup>37</sup>

Between 542 and 550 Ciaran founded a monastery at Clonmacnoise in West Meath on the River Shannon. Like Brendan, he laid down an extremely austere rule for his monks, which became known as the "law of Ciaran." Ciaran probably died at an early age without having played an important part in the development of Clonmacnoise's reputation for being second only to the monastery of Armagh as a center of learning and literature.<sup>38</sup> According to *Chronicum Scotorum*, Clonmacnoise survived seven burnings and plunderings between 816 and 1111. Undoubtedly Ciaran's ghost was shocked to see Ota, the wife of the Scandinavian chieftain, Turges, profaning the high altar of Clonmacnoise by giving prophecies from it.<sup>39</sup>

Ciaran's restricted activity is reflected by the small number of dedications to him. In western Scotland there is one chapel dedication on Bute at Kilkeran in Rothesay parish and a second Kilcheran on the island of Lismore, and in Kilchernan parish, Islay, there is a Kilchieran. To the north is St. Queran's chapel at Strathmore in Holkirk parish, Caithness; in central Scotland is Dail-ma-Chiaran, "the field of St. Ciaran," at Glenlyon in Perthshire.<sup>40</sup> *Carmina Gadelica* contains one charm for a disease of the eye which invokes Ciaran:

I place this charm to mine eye  
As the King of Life ordained,  
From the bosom of Peter and Paul,  
The third best amulet under the sun.  
Pour Mary, pour Bride  
Pour Patrick, King of Laws  
Pour Columba the kindly,  
Pour Ciaran, saint of power.<sup>41</sup>

St. Comgall of Bangor (d. 601) is the fourth founding saint of Irish monasticism whose travels by the cockleshell hide and thong craft helped draw together *Scotia Major* and *Scotia Minor* in the sixth and seventh centuries. Comgall,

<sup>34</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, ed. A. A. Carmichael (Edinburgh, 1900), I, 259.

<sup>35</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, IV, 41.

<sup>36</sup> *Lives of Saints*, p. 267.

<sup>37</sup> *Vit. Sanct. Hib.*, I, 206.

<sup>38</sup> Kenney, pp. 377-78.

<sup>39</sup> *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* [Rolls], ed. and trans. J. H. Todd (London, 1867), p. 226.

<sup>40</sup> Mackinlay, II, 86-87.

<sup>41</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, II, 55.

born in Ulster, studied under Finnian, and became founder and first abbot of Bangor between 555 and 559. Comgall's *vita* states: "Also in the seventh year after the monastery of Bangor had been founded, the holy father Comgall sailed to Britain, wishing to visit certain saints, and to remain there for a time. He founded a monastery there, in a certain village in the district of Heath, there he remained for a while."<sup>42</sup> Comgall's visit to Hii with Brendan as reported by Adamnan has already been noted.

There is only one dedication to Comgall in Scotland, at a church in Durrisparish in the Mearns,<sup>43</sup> but he is commemorated indirectly through his pupil, St. Mirren, a native of northern Ireland, who settled in Paisley about 560. There is a chapel at Cill-Mearain, and a St. Mirren's Church in Sutherland, and another in the south at Kirkmirren in Kelton parish, Kirkcudbrightshire. The name of Comgall's pupil is also borne by a chapel at Inchmurrin in Loch Lomond, near where the Leven flows out of the lake.<sup>44</sup> *Carmina Gadelica* reveals no folk invocations and prayers to Comgall matching those to Brendan and Ciaran.

St. Kevin (d. 618), founder of Glendalough, and a probable veteran of more than one trip by curragh over the choppy Irish sea, was a native of Leinster, educated by St. Petroc of Cornwall who had been a missionary to Ireland. Extant versions of Kevin's life tell little of his British relationships. Slover noted one life of Kevin coming from the hands of a certain Sclyf who claimed to have been Kevin's pupil, writing that he was once in danger in the "eastern land" when his tutor came to his rescue. Since the "eastern land" usually means Britain in Irish hagiographical tradition, the implication here is that Kevin at one time visited Britain and brought back a pupil with him.<sup>45</sup> Also from the Irish life of Kevin comes the statement that many kings of both Ireland and Britain chose to be buried in the cemetery at Glendalough, "for the love of God and Coemgen."<sup>46</sup> Many among them had responded to the tradition abroad in *Scotia Major* and *Scotia Minor* that seven trips to Glendalough equalled a pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>47</sup>

Although there are several church-dedications to Kevin in western Scotland he is not mentioned in the folk-literature of that area.<sup>48</sup> The case for British contacts rests almost entirely on a hagiographical tradition which is extremely wary of crediting him with activity outside Ireland. Nevertheless, Kevin's monastery at Glendalough stood firm through the whole period of Irish monastic development and its name commanded respect even as late as 1169, the year of the Anglo-Norman invasion, in the person of Lawrence O'Toole, then Archbishop of London, who had been educated there.<sup>49</sup>

St. Columbanus (d. 615), the next of the Irish holy heroes to come under consideration here, deserves small space on the strength of his contacts with Britain. Columbanus (not to be confused with Columba of Hii), a native of Leinster and a pupil of Comgall's school at Bangor, left Ireland in 580 with a band of monks and after pausing briefly in England, carried Irish monasticism to Brittany and then to the Vosges district. He founded the monastery of Luxeuil which he governed for twenty-five years and later established the famous monastery at Bobbio, where he died.

There are no church-dedications to Columbanus in Scotland or Britain and no invocations to Columbanus appear in the incantations, charms, supplications, and prayers of the Scots.

<sup>42</sup> *Early Sources*, I, 52-53.

<sup>43</sup> Mackinlay, I, 64.

<sup>44</sup> Mackinlay, I, 65.

<sup>45</sup> Slover, "Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland," p. 39.

<sup>46</sup> *Bethada Náem nErenn*, ed. and trans.

C. Plummer (Oxford, 1922), II, 126.

<sup>47</sup> *A Dictionary of Saints*, ed. D. Attwater (London, 1938), pp. 35-36.

<sup>48</sup> Mackinlay, II, 88.

<sup>49</sup> D. Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (London, 1903), p. 211.

It is the figure of Columba of Hii (d. 597) that looms largest of the hero churchmen whose literary traditions in Britain and Scotland are the subject of this study. Columba, according to his Irish life, was of royal blood: "Noble in sooth was Colombcille's kindred as regards the world; for of the kindred of Conall, so of Niall was he. By genealogy he had the natural right to the kingship of Ireland, and it would have been offered to him, had he not put it from him for the sake of God."<sup>50</sup> Even his biographer did not know why royal Columba became holy Columba.

Adamnan's *Vita Columbae* does supply an account of the establishment of a monastery at Hii, an island, eighty miles from Ireland, lying off the west coast of Argyllshire, which would become the most important religious site outside Ireland up to and after the Council of Whitby.

Having landed at Hii, in 563, Columba faced the task of converting the Picts, and his success in this mission can be gauged partially by the number of church dedications to him which survive. Among these is a chapel to Columba which stood at Skielhill near Musthill in the Angus parish of Tannadice; a Columban church at Alvah in Banffshire; and a chapel at Arid in Fordyce. To the east there are Columban dedications in Invernesshire, at Dunkeld in Perthshire, Arngask in Perthshire and at Columsee in Melrose parish.<sup>51</sup> Altogether, Reeves counted thirty-seven Irish churches named after Columba and twenty-one Scottish churches bearing his name.<sup>52</sup>

There is report of the survival among the maritime Scots as late as 1860 of an annual rite offering sacrifice to the sea on Columba's day, June 9, that a heavy crop of sea-weed may be harvested. Columba is mentioned also in a milking song in company with Brendan and Bridgit.<sup>53</sup> A herd blessing includes these words: "The keeping of Colomba and Carmac be on you."<sup>54</sup> Columba is mentioned in a charm for a disease of the eye along with Saints Patrick and Ciaran.<sup>55</sup> He is invoked also in a spell against indigestion.<sup>56</sup> His name is uttered in a charm for the churning of butter,<sup>57</sup> and in a prayer against slander.<sup>58</sup> The efficacy of his name is tested again in a charm for the evil eye,<sup>59</sup> and a charm for the toothache.<sup>60</sup> These and other folk-literature survivals help corroborate Bede's statement (H. E. III, 3) regarding the importance of "the island called Hii, whose monastery for a long time was the chief of almost all those of the northern Irish, and all those of the Picts and had the direction of their people."<sup>61</sup>

In addition to the figures of Finnian, Brendan and Columba, there is a small group of miscellaneous Irish monks and abots who deserve mention here along with their famous contemporaries because hagiographical tradition ascribes some British contacts to them.

The first name in this minor group is that of Senan (d. 560) who, after having established a monastery at Iniscathaig (Scattery Island in the Shannon Estuary), visited Rome, going from there to sojourn with St. David in Wales. On his return to Ireland Senan founded several more churches and monasteries, finally settling at Iniscathaig, where he died and was buried.<sup>62</sup>

Another member of the second order of Irish churchmen having British contacts is Cainnech of Aghaboe (d. 600). Known as Kenneth in Scotland after his arrival there from Ireland, he is mentioned several times in Adamnan's *Vita Colombae* and is reputed to have studied with Finnian of Clonard at

<sup>50</sup> *Lives of Saints*, p. 171.

<sup>51</sup> Mackinlay, II, 43-55.

<sup>52</sup> *The Life of St. Columba*, ed. and trans. W. Reeves (Edinburgh, 1874), xlix-lxxi.

<sup>53</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, I, 163.

<sup>54</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, I, 259.

<sup>55</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, I, 277.

<sup>56</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, II, 55.

<sup>57</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, II, 139.

<sup>58</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, IV, 85.

<sup>59</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, IV, 141.

<sup>60</sup> *Carmina Gadelica*, IV, 197.

<sup>61</sup> *Bede Opera Historica*, I, 339.

<sup>62</sup> *The Book of Saints Compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate* (New York, 1947), p. 531.

Llancarvan in Wales. After spending much of his early life in the Western Islands, he voyaged back to Ireland, to found a monastery at Aghaboe.<sup>63</sup>

Finnian of Moville (d. *circa* 575) is reputed to have become a monk in Scotland, and to have been ordained in Rome. He is said to have brought back Biblical manuscripts, possibly introducing St. Jerome's *Vulgate* to Ireland. Finnian later became the founder and first abbot of the monastery at Moville.<sup>64</sup> Moville's reputation as a center of learning is indicated by the record of accomplishment of its most famous alumnus, Marianus Scotus (d. 1088), who was known as a skillful transcriber of manuscripts in addition to his labors as the founder of the monastery of St. Peter's at Ratisbon.<sup>65</sup>

The names of Finnian, Brendan and Columba of Hii had been perpetuated and kept alive in numerous dedications in Scotland and the Hebrides by their own converts, by later Irish missionaries working out of Hii, and by Irish settlers. The saintly names given to churches, chapels and wells, while not necessarily proving the presence in those localities of Irish churchmen, do corroborate the *vitae* and reflect hard-earned respect held for the early Irish alumni of St. David's, Llancarvan and Candida Casa. The invocations to "Brendan of the Ship" and "Brendan from the Ocean" came from men who could best appreciate the seamanship and courage of the sea hero of Irish monasticism. Like Brendan, Columba of Hii had earned the highest accolade of the folk in the form of dedications and prayers long before the superfluous miracles invented by later hagiographers had been added to his life. Both Brendan and Columba had performed positive and daring acts in the face of determined and formidable forces and phenomena of nature—quickly roiled seas, savagely relentless rains, forbidding and lowering mountains, back breaking tillage. To the Western Islandmen, to the people of *Scotia Minor*, who after 635 would include Anglian cowherds and kings, it was miracle enough that the holy heroes of the sixth century and their seventh-century successors had found their way across the Irish Sea in the pitching curraghs. They had come through the passes and gaps overlooked by ancient grim hills forts, down the ridgeways and Roman roads. Their arrival in Northumbria in 635 signalled a new phase in a tradition of cultural continuity between Ireland and Britain stretching back to the Bronze Age.

<sup>63</sup> Kenney, p. 394.

<sup>64</sup> *The Book of Saints*, p. 234.

<sup>65</sup> Kenney, p. 617.

# The Commentary of Remigius of Auxerre On Martianus Capella

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(Ed. Note: To facilitate the printing of this article, the author was asked to latinize the Greek words occurring in the text and the notes. The editor regrets that this was necessary in the interests of economy.)

ONE of the persistent problems that has retarded the study of Remigius of Auxerre's contribution to learning in the ninth century is that of identifying his works. The circumstances that have created this problem are first, the inaccuracies of the manuscripts in their designation of the author, and secondly, the common mediaeval practice of making a number of recensions and revisions of a given work. This situation with respect to Remigius' commentary on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius has produced prolonged debate on the tradition of philosophy in the early Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Remigius' ideas on theology can only now be evaluated since his commentary on the Psalms has recently been identified.<sup>2</sup> In the extensive commentary on the *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* a similar problem exists and is responsible for a great deal of misunderstanding concerning the author.<sup>3</sup> It is this question that I propose to discuss and for which I wish to suggest an answer.

Since the discussion must be concerned with the facts of Remigius' life and also with his writings, it seems appropriate to review briefly what is known about both. Remigius of Auxerre<sup>4</sup> was born about 841. He became a monk in the Benedictine abbey of St. Germain of Auxerre where he studied with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. F. Stewart, "A Commentary by Remigius Autissiodorensis on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius", *The Journal of Theological Studies* XVII (1916) 22-42. E. T. Silk, *Saeculi noni auctoris in Boetii Consolatione Philosophiae Commentarius*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome IX (Rome, 1935), 305-343. P. Courcelle, "La culture antique de Remi d'Auxerre", *Latomus* VII (1948) 247-254. H. Silvestre, "La commentaire inédit de Jean Scot Erigène au mètre IX du livre III du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* XLVII (1952) 44-122. H. Naumann, "Die lateinischen Kommentare zum *Consolatio* des Boethius", *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker* CXXI (1913) 1-13. P. Courcelle, "Etude critique sur les commentaires de la *Consolatio* de Boèce", *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* XIV (1939), 12-43. E. T. Silk, "Pseudo-Johannes Scottus, Adabold of Utrecht, and the early commentaries of Boethius", *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* III (1954) 1-40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. A. Vaccari, "Il genuino commento ai Salmi di Remigio di Auxerre", *Biblica* XXVI (1945), 52-99. In a careful analysis (52-58) the author shows that the commentary printed in Migne, (P. L. 131 col. 150-844) is not the work of Remigius.

<sup>3</sup> The greater part of the text of Remigius' book on Music was edited by M. Gerbert (*Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra Potissimum*, San Blasianis, 1784) and reprinted in Migne (P. L. 131 col. 931-963). It

was made from two Paris manuscripts (8786 and 8674) which unfortunately carry two quite distinct versions of the commentary. This situation made it almost an impossibility to edit the text. Cf. Migne, *op. cit.* Monitum (931): "Je voudrais être également en état de vous satisfaire touchant les deux manuscrits du commentaire de Remi d'Auxerre sur Martiane Capella. Mais j'ai l'honneur de vous répéter ce que je vous ai déjà mandé, qu'il n'y a pas ici d'antiquaire capable de les déchiffrer. S'ils étaient entièrement semblables, ils serviraient réciproquement pour s'expliquer l'un par l'autre. Mais ils varient tellement entre eux, qu'on les prendrait pour deux ouvrages différents." No effort has been made to distinguish between the genuine Remigius and the revisions of his pupils. Hence excerpts from the latter have been published as Remigius' work. This is true of the small part (about one fourth) of the book on Arithmetic which E. Narducci has published from Vatican, Reg. 1970 ("Intorno ad un commento inedito di Remigio d'Auxerre al 'Satyricon' di Marziano Capella", *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze matematiche e fisiche* XV (1882) 572-580). This fragment represents a revision by some follower of Regimius as I shall try to demonstrate in the following.

<sup>4</sup> The facts of Regimius' life are well authenticated and appear in a number of biographical sketches. Two of the most recent are those of W. Neuss in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1936) VIII, 815 and H. Peltier in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1937).

Heiric, under whose guidance he became acquainted with the scholarly tradition of Lupus of Ferrières and John the Scot. Succeeding Heiric as head of the school, he gained a wide reputation as teacher. With Hucbald of St. Amand, he was sent by Archbishop Fulco to Reims to rebuild and direct the church school which had been destroyed in a Norman invasion. After Fulco's death in 900, Remigius went to Paris where he opened a school and distinguished himself as a teacher of the liberal arts. One of his pupils was Odo who later became abbot of Cluny. His death occurred probably in 908. Remigius' writings<sup>7</sup> were all apparently closely associated with his teaching, for they are commentaries on secular authors and on the Bible. Those which have been identified as his include commentaries on Donatus' *Ars Minor*, *Ars Maior*, and *Barbarismus*; the *Disticha Catonis*; Priscian's *Institutio de nomine pronomine et verbo* and *Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principium*; Bede's *De arte metrica*; Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*; Boethius' *De consolatione Philosophiae* and *Opuscula sacra*; Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*; Persius; Phocas; Eutyches; *Genesis* and the *Psalms*.<sup>8</sup>

The manuscripts of Remigius' commentary on Martianus Capella are numerous<sup>9</sup> and vary greatly in the matter of the name of the author. In the majority of them the work is anonymous;<sup>10</sup> a number of them bear the name of Remigius in *incipit* and *explicit*,<sup>11</sup> while a few repeat the name at the beginning and end of each book;<sup>12</sup> two of the manuscripts give the name of John the Scot as author.<sup>13</sup> Yet in spite of this confusion, there is no doubt about the authorship of the first five of the nine books into which the commentary is divided. That they are the work of Remigius can be proved by both internal and external evidence.<sup>14</sup> With regard to the last four books, however, a very unusual situation makes the matter of identifying the author difficult. Although the text of the first five books is substantially the same in all of the manuscripts,<sup>15</sup> there are two quite distinct versions of the text of the last four books. In about half of the manuscripts there is a long, full text which I shall call Version A,<sup>16</sup> and in the others a shorter, simplified commentary which I shall call Version B.<sup>17</sup> The problem is further complicated by the fact that the last

<sup>7</sup> A recent complete bibliography of the secular commentaries has been compiled by M. de Marco, "Remigii inedita", *Aevum* XXVI (1952) 495-6. For the Biblical commentaries, cf. F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medi aevi* V (Madrid, 1955) 64-81 and P. A. Vaccari, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Insufficient work has been done on the commentaries of the other books of the Old and the New Testaments that are ascribed to Remigius to make their identification conclusive.

<sup>9</sup> I have examined sixty-five manuscripts and believe that there may be others as yet unidentified.

<sup>10</sup> Two of the oldest, B.M. XVA33 and Bern 56B have no indication of the author.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Paris 8675 *Commentum Remigii in libros Martiani* and *Explicit Commentum Remigii in libros Martiani*.

<sup>12</sup> Ste. Geneviève 1041-42 repeats *Incipit Commentum Remigii* and *Explicit Commentum Remigii*. Cesena Pluteus XVI cod. I has *Incipit liber Martiani Felicis Capellae Remigius exponit* before Book I and *Commentum Remigii* at the beginning and end of the others.

<sup>13</sup> Leyden 167 has the text of Remigius all through, but it is entitled: *Expositio Martiani a Iohanne Scotto excerpta*. Berlin Philipps 1817 which furnished only a very small part of Book I has the text of

Remigius, but it too has the heading: *Incipit expositio Martiani a Iohanne Scotto cepta* and the *explicit: Finit expositio Martiani Felicis Capellae a Iohanne edita Scotto*.

<sup>14</sup> Since I shall be concerned with this subject in some detail in the course of my argument, I shall not go into the proofs here.

<sup>15</sup> The very serious exception is Paris 8674 which has numerous interpolations, some quite extensive. Some of these have material from John the Scot and some from an unidentified earlier commentary. In one case the compiler was careless enough to insert some forty consecutive glosses from another commentary and then to carry on with Remigius' glosses on the same material. Since the text thus departs from the general tradition, it is unreliable. Among the other manuscripts, minor interpolations occur frequently. There are no significant omissions from the text in any of the manuscripts. The text of Book III seems incomplete in the vulgate tradition.

<sup>16</sup> The best and oldest examples containing all nine books are B. M. XVA 33 and Paris 8786.

<sup>17</sup> The best and oldest examples containing all nine books are Paris, Nouv. Acq. 340 and Bern 56B.

four books as they appear in the *Annotationes in Marcianum*<sup>18</sup> of John the Scot are apparently a condensation of Version A.<sup>17</sup> Therefore the question is, who was the author of Version A, John the Scot or Remigius.

It would be natural immediately to conjecture that the full, interesting text of Version A was the work of the brilliant John the Scot, that what we have in the *Annotationes* is a condensed form of the same, and that the abbreviated, dry text of Version B is the product of the pedantic Remigius. To make any progress toward solving the question, however, I believe that one must first put aside the old prejudice against Remigius,<sup>18</sup> as well as to be ready to modify the old unreasonable idea of the natural superiority of John the Scot in every field. After all, in spite of differences in intellectual capacity, both scholars were the products of their age and inheritors of the same traditions. In making commentaries their methods were similar. Both built upon earlier commentaries or at least upon earlier glosses, and they used this material without acknowledging its source.<sup>19</sup> For the Martianus Capella commentary, for example, they certainly both used the earlier "Dunchad" commentary<sup>20</sup> which may well have been the work of Martin of Laon.<sup>21</sup> Both John the Scot and Remigius give many Greek etymologies for words; both give two or three synonyms as glosses to a single word. Both are guilty at times of inaccuracies and of false information.<sup>22</sup> There are numerous quotations from classical authors in both. The matter of text interests both, so that frequently they give textual variants and suggest

<sup>18</sup> Ed. C. E. Lutz (Cambridge, 1939).

<sup>17</sup> I shall furnish evidence for this later. Since the publication of the text of the *Annotationes* from what was considered to be the sole manuscript, another manuscript Oxford Bodleian Auct. T. II. 19, containing the whole commentary has been found. Cf. L. Labowsky, "A New Version of Scotus Eriugena's Commentary on Martianus Capella", *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* I (1941-43) 187-193. Two manuscripts of the Remigius commentary contain the text of the last four books of the *Annotationes*. They are Bern 331 and Paris 8675.

<sup>18</sup> Typical of this attitude is the comment of E. T. Silk, (*Op. cit.*, 310): "Remigius is the pedant imperfectly schooled; he plods along, putters and blunders."

<sup>19</sup> Remigius casually reveals the fact that he uses several earlier commentaries when he says (72.16): TAMEN—MITIFICAT Locus iste corruptus vitio scriptorum est, et ideo a nonnullis prave expositus. Iohannes Scottus ita sentit—. Both John and Remigius give quotations that one suspects have come through an intermediate source. For example, at 12.11 John the Scot reads: Electri autem duo genera sunt, quorum unum ex auro argenteoque conficitur, alterum ex electrinis arboribus in modum sudat resine. This comes ultimately from Servius, *Aen.* VIII. 402, but John fails to mention it. A quotation from Ovid's *Fasti* (5.15) VI. 291-292 is probably taken at second hand from Isidore (*Etym.* VIII. 11.68). In the same way Remigius quotes Lucan (31.12): Lucanus: Pacem summa tenent (II. 273). This may very well have come to Remigius through Servius, *Aen.* I. 58 or VIII. 454. At 26. 7 Remigius says: Nam et Varro dicit quia cum unus idemque sit homo, a corpore dicitur homo, ab anima sapiens, ita etiam deus, cum unus idemque sit, multis tamen pro dispensationis suae diversitate censetur vocabulis. This may have come by way of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* VII. 6: Dicit ergo idem Varro adhuc de

naturali theologia prae loquens deum se arbitrari esse animam mundi, quem Graeci vocant kosmon, et hunc ipsum mundum esse deum; sed sicut hominem sapientem, cum sit ex corpore et animo, tamen ab animo dici sapientem;—mundum deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo et corpore.

<sup>20</sup> Ed. C. E. Lutz (*Monographs of the American Philological Association*, 1944). Instances of borrowing may be seen in the following:

78.19 "Dunchad": Zeno magister Stoicorum qui de nuptiis scripsit.

John the Scot: Zeno scripsit de nuptiis.

Remigius: Zeno Stoicorum princeps de nuptiis disputavit.

71.19 "Dunchad": Ybis idest ciconia.

John the Scot: Ibis ipsa est ciconia; interpretatur autem ornin ophiophagion, id est manducans collubras.

Remigius: Ybis id est ciconia Aegyptiaca inimica serpentibus unde et Grece ornin ophiophagion dicitur, id est serpentes comedens. Fertur autem rostro alvum purgare.

78.19 "Dunchad": Archisilas qui de avibus disputavit.

John the Scot: Archesilas scripsit de natura avium.

Remigius: ARCHESILAS COLLUM COLUMBINUM INTUENS quia iste de natura avium disputavit.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. J. G. Préaux, "Le commentaire de Martin de Laon sur l'oeuvre de Martianus Capella", *Latomus* XII (1953) 437-459.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. John the Scot: 10.8 TRIPOS quasi tripes, species lauri est tres radices habens, et est proprie Apollini consecrata. Inest quippe ei divinationis vis ita ut si quis ramum eius, priusquam dormiat, capiti subposuerit vera videre somnia perhibeatur. Remigius: 151.10 ET ELLEBORON subaudis gerat PAREM VIM ILLI subaudis Crysippo. Hi duo philosophi logica specialiter usi sunt.



textual emendations.<sup>23</sup> Even the stylistic mannerisms show a remarkable similarity.<sup>24</sup> The abundant use of *quasi*, *videlicet*, *id est*, *hoc est*, *vel etiam*, *sicut*, *et est sensus*, and *verbi gratia* is common to both. As a general rule both are completely impersonal and give no clue as to their identity or personality. Of course the subject matter is similar since they are both bound by the text they are glossing.

If it is not possible by criteria of style, method, or content to make an absolute judgment concerning the identification of the author of Version A as John the Scot or Remigius, one can, I believe, come to some valid conclusions by comparing a known work of John the Scot with a similar known work of Remigius. Proof of the authorship by John the Scot of Book I of the *Annotationes* was demonstrated by Professor Rand both on grounds of style and by references in Remigius' work to John's commentary.<sup>25</sup> Rand felt that Book II was originally the work of John the Scot but that in its present form it has undergone some condensation.<sup>26</sup> Since the book is in all its essentials the work of John, I should like to consider it along with Books I and II of Remigius. These last can be shown definitely to be the work of Remigius by a quantity of references and quotations in later writers, such as one in Mythographus III: *Est etiam triplos, ut ait Remigius, species lauri, tres radices habens, in Claro insula juxta Apollinis templum abundans maxime; Apollini grata, quod non parva ei vis insit divinandi. Significat autem triplicem speciem divinationis, praesentium scilicet et praeteritorum et futurorum. Triplos tamen vocatur et mensa Apollinis, Pythii serpentis corio tecta.*<sup>27</sup> This is an almost word for word quotation from the first book of Remigius.<sup>28</sup> Close parallels in other works of Remigius also confirm the identification.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> E.g. John the Scot: 39.15 HONOR SACER honor sanctus vel o nous sacer, o articulus, nous mens, sacra mens. Remigius: 26.13 Locus iste sicut male legitur, ita male exponitur. Legendum namque est —. 34.8 IGNOTORUM LAPIDUM id est pretiosorum. Omne enim ignotum et rarum praetiosum est. Quidam codices habent IGNITORUM propter igneam signorum XII qualitatem.

<sup>24</sup> Some study of the stylistic characteristics of John the Scot has been made by E. K. Rand, "How Much of the *Annotationes* in Marcianum is the Work of John the Scot?", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* LXXI (1940) 504-517. E. A. Quain, S. J. has graciously allowed me to consult his dissertation (Harvard, 1941) *A Stylistic Study of the Works of John the Scot*. This study is highly significant because it is concerned with the long works that are definitely known to be by John. So far as I know, a serious analysis of Remigius' style has not been made.

<sup>25</sup> E. K. Rand, "Iohannes Scottus", *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* I. 2 (1906) 81-82.

<sup>26</sup> E. K. Rand, "How Much of the *Annotationes*—, loc. cit. 508-510.

<sup>27</sup> G. Bode, *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum* (Celle, 1834) 202.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Remigius 10.8: *Triplos autem est species lauri habens tres radices, Apollini consecrata, abundans iuxta templum Apollinis quod est in Claro insula, cui fertur inesse vis divinandi. Significat autem triplicem speciem divinationis quae est in praesenti et praeterito et futuro. Triplos etiam vocatur mensa Apollinis corio pythii serpentis tecta. I note thirty-two instances where Remigius is cited by name in Mythographus III. There*

are many other cases where the author has used material from Remigius without mentioning his source. For example, at 26. 7 Remigius has:

*Iuxta illum versum Valerii Sorani, Iupiter omnipotens rerum, regumque repertor, Progenitor genetrixque deorum, deus unus et idem.*

In the Prohoemium of Mythographus III, one finds:

*Iuxta illos versus Valerii Serrani (Sorani), Iuppiter omnipotens, rerum regumque repertor, Progenitor genetrixque deum, deus unus et idem.*

It is interesting to observe that this quotation which apparently comes from St. Augustine's repetition of a comment by Varro on the verses has the reading *idem* following Remigius, instead of *omnes* as the last word of the Soranus quotation as it occurs in Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* VII. 9).

Ridewall in his *Fulgentius Metaforalis* frequently introduces a quotation by "Nota autem secundum Remigium in commentario suo super Marciano de nuptiis Mercurii" Cf. 73; 74; 78; 84; 89; 90; 92; 95; 97; 99; 100; 101. (ed. H. Leibeschtütz, Leipzig, 1926).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. 35.10 *Dictum clipeum apo tu kleptin somata, id est a furando corpora; sive ut quidam dicunt clipeum dicitur quasi clupeum a verbo cluo, id est defendo. This has a parallel in the commentary on Sedulius (J. Huemer, Excerpta ex Remigii expositione in Paschale carmen, C.S.E.L. X. 318): Clipeus dicitur maius scutum: clepte graece furari, inde clipeus apo tou kleptin ta somata, id est furando corpora. Also it occurs in the commentary on Donatus' Ars*

In comparing the first two books of the Remigius commentary with the first two books of the John the Scot commentary, one observes immediately that the sheer bulk of the Remigius work is far greater.<sup>30</sup> The commentary is a fuller one: much more of the text of Martianus Capella is glossed,<sup>31</sup> and the individual glosses tend to be longer than is the case in John's commentary.<sup>32</sup> Yet it is far from a simple matter of Remigius' inflating the earlier commentary. Aside from the fact that many glosses are on sections of Martianus that John did not consider,<sup>33</sup> very frequently when Remigius is covering the same material treated by John, his comments are entirely different.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, he has not by any means used all of the information that John supplied.<sup>35</sup>

In those instances where John and Remigius both gloss the same passage and John's influence upon Remigius is obvious, Remigius' method of utilizing his borrowed material is noteworthy. Usually he incorporates the borrowed information into his own longer gloss, giving no indication that he is using another's work.<sup>36</sup> He cites John the Scot's name on seven occasions,<sup>37</sup> when, apparently, there was some question or difficulty for which he needed the

*Maior* (H. Hagen *Anecdota Helvetica*, "Commentum Einsidlense in Donati Artem Maiorem," G.L. VIII. 238): Clipeus dicitur maius scutum et masculino genere semper pronuntiatur. Clepere dicunt Graeci furari, inde clipeus dicitur a furando, eo quod sub illo vitam miles furatur. This has its source in Isidore, *Etym.* XVIII. 12.1. The gloss does not occur in John the Scot.

<sup>30</sup> It is somewhat more than twice as long as John's commentary.

<sup>31</sup> For example, for page 22 of Martianus Capella, John has glosses on lines 1, 2, 5, and 17, while Remigius has them on lines 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. At the end of Book I, John glosses 40.17 then 41.2; Remigius has glosses on 40.17, 18, 20, 22, and 41.1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. 28.22 John: CONSUS consiliorum deus. Remigius: COSSUS consiliorum deus, hinc et Cossualia dicuntur festivitates Cossi. Huius festivitae raptae sunt trecentae Sabinae a Romulo, hinc Virgilius: "Consensu caveae magnis circensibus actus." Quidam codices habent CONSE et est deus consensionum. At 43.18 John: SAMIUS Pythagoras a Samo insula. Remigius: SAMIUS id est Pythagoras qui de Samo insula fuit. Pythagoras namque Y litteram ad similitudinem humanae vitae invenit etc. There follows the familiar figure which was taken from Isidore's *Etymologiae* I. 3.7. It is used again by Remigius in his commentary on the *De Arte metrica* of Bede (M. Manitius, "Remigiuscholien", *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance Werke* II (1913-14), 100.

Still another example, at 71.23 John reads: NEPA coluber. Remigius has: Nepa genus scorpii qui fertur filios suos devorare, uno in setis dorsi eius inhaerente et sic mortem evadente; hinc et nepos dicitur luxuriosus qui substantiam suam prodige devorat. This information also occurs in a gloss in Remigius' commentary on the *Ars Maior* of Donatus. (J. P. Elder, "The Missing Portions of the *Commentum Einsidlense* on Donatus' *Ars Grammatica*", *Harvard Studies* 56/57 (1947) 140, 152).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Note 33.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. 28.20 John has: IUNONIS HOSPITE Sicut multi Ioves, ita et multe Iunones. Iuno itaque Hospita dicitur dum terram

significat quae sepe Iovi caeterisque diis in eam descendentibus prebuit hospitium. Remigius has: IUNONIS HOSPITAE quae dat iura hospitalitatis nam et Iovem legimus hospitalem. Vergilius: Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur." (*Aen.* I. 731). At 27.13 John has QUIRINUS ipse est Romulus qui sic vocatur quod semper hasta utebatur, quae Sabinorum lingua quiris dicitur. Remigius: QUIRINUS Mars, id est pacificus. Duo enim erant Martes, unus qui bellis praeerat et extra urbem templum habebat, alius qui paci et Quirinus vocabatur atque intra urbem templum possidebat.

<sup>35</sup> For example Remigius has not used John's gloss at 30.22 NITENTI SIMILIS hoc est se inclinati. Hoc autem ait quia mundus veluti quidam homo recubans depingitur, ita ut aquilonem versus sublimior, adclinis vero ad austrum sicut ait poeta: Mundus ut ad Scythiam Ripheasque arduus arces

Consurgit, premitur Libie devexus in austros. Remigius has not used John's long gloss on *Tritonia* at 7.16 and has omitted those on 8.8; 21.10; 21.18.

<sup>36</sup> This is Remigius' ordinary method. The gloss on *Lichnis* at 34.10, for instance, he has taken from John with little change.

<sup>37</sup> These occur at 36.2; 36.17; 58.21; 72.16; 74.12; 74.16. These glosses from Books I and II have been cited by Rand (*Quellen und Untersuchungen*, 81-82).

The seventh occurs in Book III 81.3 Iohannes Scottus sic exposuit: FRIGENTE VERO id est calente a verbo Greco quod est frigo, id est caleo, ut sit sensus etc. In the *Annotationes* we find: FRIGENTE VERO dum non sit verum; vel a verbo frigo, id est caleo vel ardeo; FRINGENTE VERO id est ardente veritate.

At 40.3 most of the Remigius manuscripts have the gloss: Inter vindicare et vindicare hoc distat quod vindicare est ulcisci, vindicare vero acquirere vel habere. In one of the interpolated manuscripts (*Paris, Nouv. Acq.* 340) at 40.17 one finds the gloss: Vindico secundum Iohannem Scotum ad vindictam, vindico vero pertinet ad acquisitionem. I do not find this gloss in John the Scot.

support of an authority. Otherwise he uses John's actual words without acknowledgment. His common practice is to take a lemma and gloss from John and to add two or three more synonyms.<sup>38</sup> In the case of longer expositions he generally works John's information into his own expanded unit in such a way that it is no longer an actual quotation.<sup>39</sup> Sometimes instead of paraphrasing, he simply makes a statement embodying the conclusions of John's gloss.<sup>40</sup> As one analyzes Remigius' craftsmanship in this matter, one notices a curious fact: Remigius tends to change some of John's favorite expressions into his own more familiar idiom. For instance, *interest inter* becomes *distat inter* in several explanations. At 60.3 John says: *Inter artem et disciplinam hoc interest*. In Remigius it reads: *Inter artem et disciplinam hoc distat*. At 37.6 John reads: *Inter Vulcanum et Iovem et Vestam hoc interest*. Remigius has: *Inter Iovem, Vulcanum et Vestam hoc distat*. John's characteristic *absque* becomes *sine*.<sup>41</sup> At 3.5, for example, *absque medietate* becomes *sine medio*. In paraphrasing Cicero's *De Inventione* I.1 at 6.20, John says: *Sapientia vero absque eloquentia*. As Remigius gives it in his introduction, he says: *Sapientia vero sine eloquentia*. The result of Remigius' reworking of material that he took from John is that he removed the clues as to his sources and made it seem an integral part of his own.

I have dwelt at some length on the way Remigius has adapted material from the John the Scot commentary in his first two books in order to anticipate the question, May not Version A be Remigius' commentary on Books VI to IX simply built upon the core of John's work as it appears in the *Annotationes*? To answer the question, I should like to try to show that Version A is not an inflation of the *Annotationes* text, but rather that the *Annotationes* text is an abridgment of the original Version A.

If one places the texts of Version A and the *Annotationes* side by side, it becomes graphically clear that the shorter one must have come after the longer, that it is, indeed, simply a condensed version of the longer.<sup>42</sup> In the first

<sup>38</sup> E.g. John: (5.2) *PRAECLUES id est valde gloriosi*. Remigius: *PRAECLUES id est nobiles, generosi et valde gloriosi*.

<sup>39</sup> At 36.4 John reads: *ILLE PUELLAM Puellam nominat Echaeten, hoc est seminariam, Echate autem fertilis terra est copiosissima mater frugum, in tantum ut sepe centuplum colentibus se reddat fructum. Ideoque sacerdotibus eius centesima pars frugum per singulos immolabatur annos; quo sacrificio veluti contenta Echate uxor Plutonis fertilem semper faciebat tellurem. Proserpina dicitur quasi proserpens; vis enim herbarum serpit, id est surgit in omnia que de semine nascuntur, et dicitur puella quod omni anno surgit. Remigius: *ILLE id est Pluto subaudis DICIT SECUM PUELLAM hoc est Proserpinam GRATULANTEM id est gaudentem ACCESSIBUS id est incrementis. Vis herbarum et omnium quae semine de terra surgunt Proserpina accipitur, unde et Proserpina vocata a proserpendo, id est porro et multum crescendo. Quae bene puella vocatur quia terrarum semina singulis annis innovantur, quod autem dicit QUAE ITA FRUGEM EXPOSSENTIBUS TRIBUTUIT UT MAGNI NUMINIS VOTA SINT EIDEM REDDIBERE CENTESIMAM subaudis frugem. Hoc significat quod terra duplicata vel centuplicata reddat semina quae acceperit, unde et Grece ipsa Proserpina Echate vocatur: ekaton namque Grece centum dicitur per quod innuitur quod dictum est quia vis terrae centuplica-**

tum restituit quod acceperit. Hinc et ipsa silvarum vel venatorum dea fertur quia silvas ius naturae de terra producit et venatio silvis et pascuis nutritur.

<sup>40</sup> At 65.2 John has: *Inter VATICINIA et propheta hoc interest, quod in vaticiniis et somniis ambigua sunt, in prodigiis autem non; prodigia dicuntur quasi porro dicentia, id est aperte. In Remigius we find: VATICINIA id est prophetiae quae vates praedicunt ET SOMNIA id est visiones AC PRODIGA quasi porro iudicia, id est porro dicentia, est sciendum quia in vaticiniis et somniis ambiguitas est, in prodigiis vero certa fides.*

<sup>41</sup> Remigius does use *absque* occasionally. The following are not influenced by John. 3.12 *Nam incorporalia absque sexu sunt*; 10.7 *Est nomen absque singulari nominativo*; 17.8 *FERINO id est bestiali more absque Philologia.*

<sup>42</sup> Following is a passage from Book VI of Version A with the text of *Annotationes* underlined. 287.14 *PER EAM subaudis Philosophiam. DUDUM id est quando Iovis concessit hominibus nosse consilium deorum et scripturas, per philosophiam divulgavit.* 287.15 *TABULAM id est scripturam. VULGARET praedicaret, manifestaret.* 287.16 *PROCUM pro procerum, id est petentium Philologiam. Mercurius et Apollo proci Philologiae sunt.* 287.17 *AFFATUM id est consilium. In quibusdam libris a fatu, id est a consilio. CONSORTIA nuptias. CONUBIALITER id est nuptialiter. ALLEGARET*

place, there is almost no material in the *Annotationes* that is not also in Version A. Actually the few glosses that do not also appear in the longer form may easily be credited to the excerptor who made the abridgment. One must imagine, I believe, that the excerptor was a student who was well acquainted with the general type of commentaries and was capable of a few stock-in-trade comments on his own.<sup>43</sup> Here one must emphasize that such extra comments are very rare indeed.<sup>44</sup> As a general thing, one can see exactly how the excerptor reduced a long text into a short one. In making his epitome, he worked very much as a modern student does when he is taking notes from a book or a lecture. Sometimes in the case of a lemma followed by two or three glosses, he chose one synonym only, not necessarily the first one given. So, at 288.11 FASTUOSA pomposa vel superba becomes FASTUOSA pomposa, but at 291.10 CUNABULIS primordiis vel exordiis becomes CUNABULIS exordiis. Longer sections he reduced by paraphrasing and telescoping. This is true of the long passage on the number seven at 285.14 and on the *clepsydra* at 295.5, and on the *Antipodes* at 299.6 where all of the information is repeated but in shortened form. Quite frequently the excerptor applied the easier method of giving simply the first sentence or two of a longer explanation and omitting the rest. At 291.1, for instance, the shorter text reads: TRINACRIA dicitur Sicilia quae tria acria, hoc est promontoria, habet, while the longer version carries on: nam acron Greci ducunt summum et altum quae videlicet tria promuntoria ita vocantur: Pelorum, Lilibeum et Pachinum. Pachinus autem a crassitudine aeris dictus qui ibi multum abundat scilicet quod iuxta mare est. Pachis enim Grece dicitur densus et crassus. Clauditur enim Sicilia his tribus promuntoriis quae sunt in modum deltae litterae, ita Δ; in qua Trinacria, id est Sicilia, fuit Archimedes qui mundum similem lunae intellexit. In other instances the sentence structure is modified and simplified. At 299.6, for instance, Version A has: Ideo dicit: licet de aestate grandiores dies habeant, non tamen sicut nos grandiores enim habemus. The short version has: Ideo dicit de estate grandiores dies illi habent, non tamen sicut nos grandiores habemus.

In using these methods, the abridger sometimes made slips that betray him and indicate that the shorter form was certainly taken from the longer. For example, occasionally a key word has been omitted in the condensation. At 286.6 the abridged version reads: Glaucam glaucum apud Grecos, caecum apud Latinos per antiphrasin ergo dicitur. This has come from: Glaucum enim Greci caecum vel luscum dicunt. Cata antiphrasin ergo glauca, id est caeca, dicitur haec avis cum multum nocte videat. In another place the excerptor's high-handed condensation must certainly have created a puzzle for the reader. At 351.8 he glosses TEDIA simply as laetitias. He gives no hint as to how such an apparent contradiction could have been arrived at. One finds the explanation in Version A: TEDIA scilicet nostra, id est fastidia. Tedia ex contrario hic voluptatem appellat quia voluptas illarum iam in tedium vertebatur per illius

id est provocaret vel congregaret scilicet Iovis. NE pro neque. 287.18 MEDIMNUM ARCHADICUM id est artem poeticam quia Medimnus fuit summus poeta in Archadia. 287.19 ET EX ILLO scilicet tempore. DESUDATIO id est labor. CURA id est diligentia. 287.20 FORENSIS a foro, id est rhetoricae. RABULATIONIS id est elocutionis rhetoricae ac si aperte diceret: Ex quo studio poematis atque rhetoricae rabulationi intendisti, perdidisti melioris industriae artem, hoc est philosophiam, nec nunc etiam intelligis. Inter rationem et ratiocinationem et rabulationem hoc distat: ratio est in anima, ratiocinatio in mente, rabulatio in corpore, id est ratiocinatio cum ira.

<sup>43</sup> One of the very few places where the excerptor goes off on his own occurs at 285.16. Version A has: TERGEMINAE CRISTAE id est tres cristae. Tergeminae una pars est sicut supra diximus. Pallas armata depingitur quia septientia omnem stultitiam impugnat. Quantum ad bellum ideo tres cristas dicitur habere quia exercitus apud antiquos in modum cunei fiebat habens quasi tres partes vel angulos. In *Annotationes* we find: TERGEMINAE CRISTAE Duces enim belli tres cristae in galea habebant, caeteri autem milites unam.

<sup>44</sup> For instance in Book IX in the first twenty pages of text there are only three short comments that are not in Version A.

narrationem prolixam. In another place, 300.18, the abridger has taken the gloss with no indication of the lemma to which it should be attached: *Romani per passus, Greci per stadia, computant*. In Version A we find this as an explanation of the lemma and gloss *SUPPUTATIONE STADIORUM id est usu Grecorum, Romani etc*. Again at 293.6 in the *Annotationes* we find: *QUAMVIS ac si dixisset: Anaxagoras reprehenditur QUAMVIS NON NULLAS*, which is inconclusive until one finds the completion of the sentence in Version A: *credatur astruere rationes*. Still another example, at 472.14 the short text reads: *ENERVI infirma*. This seems like a strange combination of cases and genders. The original reads *ENERVI MOLLITUDINE id est dissoluta, laxata, et infirma mollicie*. These examples show clearly that whoever was responsible for the short text was working directly and solely from the text of Version A, and that the shorter is a condensation of the longer.

If this demonstration were not convincing, one might take the very same examples to show that, given the shorter version, one would not be able to produce the longer version without supplementary information from a similar commentary. One would then see that Version A is not an inflation of the shorter text. This can perhaps be made more vivid by further illustrations. For instance, if an hypothetical inflator had before him such a meager statement as at 288.2: *Croesus rex ditissimus Asie fuit, similiter Darius*, he would never have expanded it into what we find in Version A: *Croesus et Darius reges ditissimi fuerunt: Croesus Lydorum, Darius Persarum rex fuit quem occidit Alexander de cuius substantia ditatus est. Ex quibus duobus dicitur unusquisque dives*. Also at 425.18 the short text has: *TAREN ac si dixisset: Sic fuit Silenus portatus sicut fuerat Tares quem [En]tellus in Sicilia superaverat*. The reference is clarified by the full version in A: *DAREN REPORTAT. Bene mentionem facit Daretis quia sicut Dares victus reportatus est, sic et iste. Daren autem quasi Daren, id est virum fortem ad potandum, ac si dixisset: Sic fuit Silenus portatus sicut fuerat Dares portatus quem Daren Eentellus in Sicilia superaverat*.

In addition to these clues in the contents of the shortened text, the titles of the last books in the manuscripts of the *Annotationes* suggest that they represent an epitome. They stand as follows: *Incipiunt Haec Pauca in Martiani Geometriam; Incipiunt Haec Pauca in Astrologia Martiani; In Musica Martiani Haec Pauca*. Version A is the *omne* from which these *pauca* were selected.

If one accepts the conclusion that the short form was taken from the long Version A, by that very fact one eliminates the possibility that Remigius may have been responsible for the short form. It has been shown that Remigius' method of working from an earlier commentary was one of enlarging rather than of condensing. Who, then, was the author of Version A?

In the first two books of Remigius' commentary there are quotations from John the Scot. None appear in the last four books. Similarly the many quotations from Remigius in later works, notably Mythographus III and Ridewall<sup>45</sup> all refer to the first two books. One can find no assistance here.

The manuscripts do furnish some evidence bearing upon the problem. In the Remigius manuscripts in which Version A occurs, there is no indication of a break between the first five books and the last four. The physical appearance of the manuscripts would not suggest that the second part was not of a piece with the first. Moreover, several of these manuscripts have the name Remigius in the *incipits* and *explicitis* in the last four books.<sup>46</sup> Not one has the name John the Scot. On the other hand at least three of the oldest manuscripts that preserve the B Version in the last four books reveal a decided break

<sup>45</sup> See note 28.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Cesena Pluteus XVI cod. I and Paris,*

*Ste. Geneviève 1041-42.*

after Book V.<sup>47</sup> Possibly the prototype was actually divided into two volumes.<sup>48</sup> With a separation of the first from the second half in the archetype of the B Version manuscripts, there might easily have been an occasion for the substitution of the B Version of the commentary in the last part. Certainly we are led to believe that Remigius made a commentary of the whole work, since he refers to other books in his first and second books.<sup>49</sup> Significant also, to my way of thinking, is the fact that these B Version manuscripts do not have the name Remigius in the last books. Particularly revealing is the curious situation in the manuscript *Paris* 8675. This has the standard Remigius text in the first five books, but the last four books are the condensed version of the *Annotationes*. They are followed by the *explicit*: *Expliciunt Hec Pauca Edita a Remigio in Musycam Martiani*. This would indicate a process of excerpting from the full Remigius text. To make it even more strange, the complete text of Version A for the first part of Book IX then follows and ends: *Explicit Commentum Remigii in Libros Martiani*. Again this would certainly indicate that the full text was Remigius.

Another bit of external evidence for Remigius' authorship of Version A is the name of a scribe that occurs on one of the manuscripts. The oldest manuscript which has the full text of Version A is British Museum Reg. XVA 33, a product of the scriptorium of the monastery of St. Remigius of Reims.<sup>50</sup> Written in the Caroline minuscule of the very end of the ninth century, it bears the inscription: *LIBER SANCTI REMIGII STUDIO GIFARDI*.<sup>51</sup> Although it is not possible to identify the scribe with any definiteness, it may be the Gifardus who, according to a *necrologium* of the monastery,<sup>52</sup> died at Reims in 945. Another manuscript, *Reims* 132, containing Remigius' commentary on the Psalms,<sup>53</sup> also has the signature of Gifardus.<sup>54</sup> If this is actually the scribe who died in 945, he must have copied the commentary not long after it had been composed, and so the text must be reasonably reliable. Another circumstance which associates Remigius with the British Museum manuscript is the fact that at the end of the text there appears as a *probatio pennae* the following: *Si deus est animus nobis, ut carmina dicunt, Hic tibi prec—*.<sup>55</sup> This is the first aphorism from the *Disticha Catonis*,<sup>56</sup> one of the works for which Remigius made a commentary.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Bern 56B has the following (fol. 114r): *Pagina rethoricam docte nunc terminat instans, Esto memor cuius relegis dum talia laetus. Paris, Nouv. acq. 340 (fol. 73v) has: Rethorica expliciunt glossae nunc arte decenter, Quas cernis lector habere, sis memor illius, relegis dum talia laetus. St. Mihiel 30 (fol. 170) has the vestiges of the same: Rethorica expliciunt glossae nunc arte decenter. This is followed by four pages of grammatical terms and two of devotional poetry.*

<sup>48</sup> Actually one of the manuscripts, though one which has the A version, is divided now into two columns. It is *Paris Ste. Geneviève* 1041 and 1042.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. 66.17 *Nam Sipnum oppidum in Hispania concidit in quo et ipse (Tages) regnavit, quod oppidum Marcius in libro de Geometria Sypponem vocat. 74.12 Allegoriam huius fabulae require in glossas primi libri. 80.9 In initio enim et in fine librorum sequentium. 45.15 In primo autem libro demonstratum est septem fluminibus planetorum fieri. There is an instance in Book IV (155.17): *Haec quattuor normae propriae ad dialecticam pertinent: duae vero quae sequuntur non solum ad dialecticam sed ad alias pertinent artes: altera DE**

*IUDICANDO id est discernendo et haec proprie pertinet ad musicam ultimi libri in qua discretio sonorum et rithmorum fit.*

<sup>50</sup> The manuscript is described by G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal And King's Collections* (London, 1921) II. 152.

<sup>51</sup> Folio 4r.

<sup>52</sup> *Reims* 548 *Necrologium archimonasterii Sancti Remigii Remensis. fol. 2 Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCCXLV Regula Benedicti quae dudum defecerat, restituta est in monasterio S. Remigii etc. Hic defunctorum scribantur nomina fratrum qui vitam monasticam sunt professi, Sigloardi, Remigii, Rothmari, Gifardi Rodoardi, etc.*

<sup>53</sup> Cf. P. A. Vaccari, *op. cit.* 59.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Catalogue général XXXVIII, H. Loriguet, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Reims* 125. *Liber sancti Remigii Remensis, Studio Gifardi.*

<sup>55</sup> This occurs at the very end of the manuscript, fol. 239 v.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. M. Boas, *Disticha Catonis* (Amsterdam, 1952) 34 Liber I. 1

*Si deus est animus nobis, ut carmina dicunt, hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus.*

<sup>57</sup> Cf. A. Mancini, "Un commento ignoto

By way of internal evidence for the authorship of Version A, one may point out the fact that in the last books of Version A one finds material from the first two books of the Remigius commentary. To illustrate this, I shall place parallel passages together.

# REMIGIUS IN BOOKS I AND II

3.5 Est et alia quae dividit inferiora ventris et superiora pectoris quam Greci fren dicunt, unde et frenesis passio vocata est et freneticus homo quia, si quis hanc laesam habuerit, in amentiam vertitur.

8.4 LEMNIUS est Vulcanus a Lemno insula dictus quae est una de VIII Eoliis in qua natus, proiectus, et claudus factus fuisse dicitur. Sive Lemnius vocatur quasi limnius a Greco quod est limnos, id est lacus.— Et bene Lemnius lutosus vocatur.

14.11 Mulcifer dicitur quasi mulcens ferrum. Mulciber —quasi mulcens imbrem.

28.9 MULCIBER id est Vulcanus—quasi mulcens imbrem.

30.14 Iovis enim universitatem totius mundi significat, unde et Iovis quasi Iavis dictus est, id est universalis vis.

24.17 Audi de ipsa Sapientia: "Vapor est enim virtutis Dei et emanatio quaedam maiestatis eius sincera."

Here both misquote Sapientia VIII.25 in that they omit the words *Claritatis omnipotentis Dei* before *sincera*.

35.10 Dictum clipeum apo tu kleptin somata, id est a furando corpora; sive ut quidam dicunt clipeum dicitur quasi clupeum a verbo cluo, id est defendo, quia eo contra adversa tela nos defendimus.

This definition occurs in other Remigius commentaries, for example the one on the *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius<sup>58</sup> and the one on the *Ars Maior* of Donatus.<sup>59</sup>

19.11 Omnis enim sermo his viiii rebus formatur, primo appulsu quattuor dentium, percussio duorum laborum, plectro linguae, cavo gutturi, adiutorio pulmonis.

This same information occurs also in the commentary on the *Ars Maior*<sup>60</sup> and the one on the *Ars Minor*.<sup>61</sup>

If Version A were the work of John the Scot, one would expect to find parallels in the first two books of the *Annotationes* in the appropriate places,

# VERSION A, BOOKS VI-IX

492.11 Fren dicitur membranula dividens inferiora ventris et superiora pectoris, unde et frenesis vocata est ista passio et freneticus homo quia, si hanc laesam habuerit, in amentiam vertitur.

471.7 LEMNIUS is est Vulcanus a Lemno insula ubi habitare solebat, vel Limnius, id est lutosus a limno.— MULCIFER id est Vulcanus quasi mulcens ferrum. Quidam codices habent MULCIBER, id est mulcens imbrem.

287.12 Vulcanus — quasi mulcens ferrum. Mulciber etiam dictus est Vulcanus eo quod mulceat imbrem.

285.13 Iovis enim mundi est universitas, unde et Iovis dicitur quasi Iavis, id est universalis vis.

286.7 Salomon de Filio, id est Sapientia Dei, dicit: "Vapor est enim virtutis Dei et emanatio quaedam maiestatis eius sincera."

285.19 Clipeus dicitur apo tu cleptin somata, id est a furando corpora: vel a Greco verbo clupo, id est defendo.

286.17 Re vera autem vocis nostrae modulamina x modis fiunt, id est collisione iiiii dentium et duobus labris-et plectro linguae ac palati concavitate —cavo gutturi et adiutorio pulmonis.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. J. Huemer, *op. cit.* 318.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. H. Hagen, *op. cit.* 238.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. H. Hagen, *op. cit.* 234.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. W. Fox, *Remigii Autissiodorensis In Artem Donati Minorem Commentum* (Leipzig, 1892) 17.

di Remy d'Auxerre ai *Disticha Catonis*", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, XI (1902) 175-198. I should not stress this point for the two verses were commonly used as *probationes pennae*.

as they occur in Remigius. The first example does have a parallel in the John the Scot commentary, but it lacks the rather unusual last clause which both the illustrations from Remigius and Version A show. The second example also has a parallel for the explanation of *Lemnius* and *Mulcifer* in John, but there is no mention of the epithet *Mulciber* and its strange derivation.<sup>62</sup> The other examples have no counterpart of any kind in John. On the other hand their use in several places in Remigius would seem a good indication that Remigius was responsible for Version A.

Of less weight, though of some significance, is the fact that certain peculiar stylistic mannerisms that characterize the first books of Remigius in the Martianus commentary appear in the last books of Version A. They include *subaudis*, *re vera autem*, *notandum*, *distat inter*, *scilicet*, *tangit hoc*, *ut quidam volunt*, *secundum fabulam*, *bene dicit*, *cata antiphrasin*, *verbi gratia*, *quasi*, and *licet* with the subjunctive. Even though all of these are employed liberally, yet I should hesitate to put emphasis upon their importance for identifying a given treatise. The first four, however, seem veritable trademarks of Remigius' style and hence would seem to merit consideration. In John's commentary *subaudis* occurs extremely rarely, while in Remigius it is used to the point of monotony.<sup>63</sup> *Re vera autem* is used constantly by Remigius to give a kind of rationalizing explanation to the more traditional comments that have preceded it.<sup>64</sup> I do not find it in John the Scot. With the teacher Remigius the pedagogical phrase *notandum est* is a great favorite.<sup>65</sup> John finds no use for it. John always prefers *interest inter* to Remigius' *distat inter*.<sup>66</sup> These same phrases are a conspicuous

<sup>62</sup> Apparently *Mulcifer* was created from a textual error for *Mulciber* in the Martianus text. Remigius (471.7) remarks that some manuscripts have the latter form. In Festus (ed. Mueller, p. 144) *Mulciber* is identified: Volcanus a molliendo scilicet ferrum dictus: mulcere enim mollire, sive lenire est.

<sup>63</sup> In John it occurs three times in Book II. In a few cases Remigius uses *subauditur*.

<sup>64</sup> E.g. 42.1 Poetae enim dicunt sero solem in oceanum mergi et ibi reficere fatigata lumina indeque mane lotum emergere. Re vera autem ignis solis aqua nutritur quod ostendit figmentum poeticum quo dicitur Iovis cum ceteris diis ab Aethiopibus ad epulas invitatus. In Version A at 428.20 LIBISSAM id est quasi Athlantis filiam vel Africanam quia in Africa fuit nata. Ibi enim inventores astrologiae fuerunt vel ideo LIBISSAM quia in Libia est mons Atlas. Re vera autem Athlas quidam astrologus fuit et ab eo vocatus est mons ipse in quo astrologiae studuit qui ob hoc humeris suis sustinere dicitur caelum quod astrologiam invenit et Herculem docuit. In Version A, one may note, for example, 286.17: Dicit Beatus Augustinus quod reperti sunt aliquando in una civitate tres fabri quibus impositus est ut singuli ternas componerent Musas, quod factum novenarium reddidit numerum et tanta proprietate sunt factae ac si unus fecisse eas videretur, et ideo ille numerus redactus sit ad unum, id est novenarium. Re vera autem vocis nostrae modulamina decem modis fiunt etc.

At 366.7 he relates the conventional account of the hydra of Lerna, then adds: Re vera autem lerna palus Argivorum fuit inhabitabilis propter noxium humorem cuius obturato uno meatu in multis locis humor erumpebat, quod intelligens Hercules loca

exussit et habitabilia fecit. At 400.4 one even finds *verissima enim ratione*.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. 9.10 Notandum quod virtutem semper dicit inhaerere Cyllenio, sermo enim facundiae quamvis ex se ornatus et clarus sit nisi virtute sapientiae moderetur vagus et pene nullius utilitatis apprehenditur. Again, at 21, 20: PROLES Notandum quod sub feminino genere tam de masculo quam de femina dicitur et tam de uno quam de multis singulariter. In Version A, one notes at 389.1 Notandum quod Martianus quamvis in multis cum aliis auctoribus concordiam haberit, in multis tamen aliorum auctoritatem confundere suoque proprio usus fuisse. Also at 432.15: Notandum quia iste decem circulos dicit. Macrobius vero addidit undecimum, id est anabibazontem, hoc est sursum.

<sup>66</sup> I note some of these in Books I and II of Remigius.

7.10 Inter diadema et coronam hoc distat—  
7.16 Inter perpetuum et aeternum hoc distat—  
8.8 Distat autem inter alatum et alitum—  
29.16 Inter fores et valvas haec distantia est—  
37:6 Inter Iovem, Vulcanum et Vestam hoc distat—  
37.7 Inter motum et gestum hoc distat—  
39.15 Hoc autem distat inter sater et sator—  
40.4 Inter vindicare et vendicare hoc distat—  
42.11 Distat autem inter trepidationem et turbationem—  
46.11 Inter corporeum et corporatum et incorporeum hoc distat—  
60.2 Inter artem et disciplinam hoc distat—  
64.16 Inter igneum et ignitum hoc distat—  
68.8 Inter Lemures et Larvas hoc distat—



feature of the other Remigius commentaries.<sup>67</sup> Their presence in the last books in Version A seem to suggest Remigius as author.

Apparently Remigius was fond of proverbial sayings. In the first two books of his commentary one notes five aphorisms<sup>68</sup> and several quotations from the literature of proverbs.<sup>69</sup> Mancini points out that this is a notable feature of Remigius' commentary on the *Disticha Catonis*.<sup>70</sup> There are in this commentary, in addition to Cato's sayings, a number of other proverbs, including two that are found also in the Martianus Capella commentary.<sup>71</sup> So it is of some interest that one finds two aphorisms in Book VII of Version A,<sup>72</sup> and three quotations of proverbs in Book VI of Version A.<sup>73</sup> As far as evidence for Remigius' authorship of Version A is concerned perhaps this may be considered a straw in the wind.<sup>74</sup>

It has been pointed out that in the first books Remigius seems to consider the whole work of Martianus Capella when he refers to passages in later books. One sees the same process in reverse in some of the later books in Version A. For instance at 427.18 the author harks back to Book III<sup>75</sup> when he says: *Ostendit hoc quod in Grammatica dixit Satyra ad Martianum*, 'An tu

78.11 *Inter linum herbam et proprium nomen hoc distat*—

In all of the other books of Remigius' commentary examples are common. In the controversial books VI to IX in Version A, I note the following:

287.20 *Inter rationem et ratiocinationem et rabulationem hoc distat*—

289.11 *Inter astrologiam et astronomiam hoc distat*—

495.4 *Inter tonum et sonum hoc distat*—

On the other hand, I find no instances of *distat inter* in John the Scot. This is rather interesting in view of the famous story about John and Charles the Bald which is recounted by William of Malmesbury (*De Gestis Pontif. Ang. V*, P.L. 179 col. 1652). According to the story, when John was guilty of some petty breach of court etiquette, Charles jokingly asked, "Quid distat inter sottom et Scottum?" but John quickly replied, "Tabula tantum." *Interest inter* which is preferred by John, occurs at least twice in Remigius (230.19 and 278.10). This is the form of the phrasing of the set of 256 verbal distinctions in the *De Proprietate Sermonum vel rerum* attributed to Isidore of Seville which was widely used in the Middle Ages. Remigius, however, uses none of the examples given, though he does show acquaintance with the substance of one, number 129, when he says (21.18): *Dicitur autem haec temperies et haec temperatio et haec temperantia; sed temperies aurarum, temperatio cuiuscumque rei temperamentum, temperantia vero virtus*.

<sup>67</sup> For *subaudis* cf. P. A. Vaccari, *op. cit.* 71; 72: 80 (three times); H. Hagen, *op. cit.* 220; M. de Marco, "Remigii inedita", *Aevum* XXVI (1952) 507; 508; 514; W. Fox, *op. cit.* 61; J. P. Elder, *op. cit.* 153.

For *re vera autem* cf. J. P. Elder, *op. cit.* 143; W. Fox, *op. cit.* 5.

For *notandum* cf. W. Fox, *op. cit.* 42; 47 (twice); 62; 71; H. Hagen, *op. cit.* 222; M. deMarco, *op. cit.* 506.

For *distat inter* cf. A. Mancini, *op. cit.* 186; W. Fox, *op. cit.* 57; 61; 76; J. P. Elder, *op. cit.* 139; 155; H. Hagen, *op. cit.* 235; 255; P. A. Vaccari, *op. cit.* 69; J. Heumer, *op. cit.* 330; M. de Marco, *op. cit.* 506; 516; G. Funaioli, "Notizie ed estratti da codici

medievali ed umanistici", *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati IV (Studi e Testi CXXIV)* (1946) 159; 161 (twice).

<sup>68</sup> They are: 62.7 *Labor enim improbus omnia vincit*. (This quotation from Virgil, *Georgics I*. 145-6 was widely used in the Middle Ages. It is introduced by John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicon* (4.30) in an interesting way: *Siquidem, ut ait alius, non inferior Marciano*— Cf. *Metalogicon* ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford, 1929) p. 197 especially the note.) 6.24 *Sapientia enim mater est nutritrix virtutum* est. 18.21 *Felix est respublica cum a sapientibus et philosophis regitur*. 28.5 *Hinc et vulgus proverbium est: Discordiam a domo, seditionem pellendam esse a populo*. 6.1 *Ubi amor, ibi oculus; ubi dolor, ibi manus*.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. 24.17 *Audi de ipsa Sapientia: "Vapor est enim virtutis Dei et emanatio quaedam maiestatis eius sincera."* (*Sapientia VIII*.25). 28.5 *Studium enim rationis omnem execratur discordiam in tantum ut vir sapiens de ea dicat: "Sex sunt quae odit dominus et septimum detestatur anima eius."* (*Proverbs VI*.16).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. A. Mancini, "Ancora sul Commento di Remigio d'Auxerre ai *Disticha Catonis*", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie V, XI (1902) 369.

<sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.* 370 (on II.13) *Ubi est amor ibi oculus, ubi dolor ibi manus*. 372 (on IV.21) *Exerce studium—vulgare proverbium 'Usus vel labor cottidianus reddit magistrum et labor improbus omnia vincit'*.

<sup>72</sup> 367.12 *In quantum enim tumor crescit, in tantum minuitur virtus*. 368.15 *Iustitia est soli Deo servire et sua unicuique tribuere*.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. 286.6 *Salomon: "Manus fortium divitias parat; manus autem remissa tributis serviet."* (*Proverbs X*.4); 286.7: *Salomon de filio, id est sapientia Dei, dicit: "Vapor est enim virtutis Dei, et emanatio quaedam maiestatis eius sincera."* (*Sapientia VIII* (25); 286.2: *Apostolus Paulus: "Vivus est sermo Dei et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti."* (*Ep. ad Hebraeos IV*. 12).

<sup>74</sup> I do not find this same tendency in John the Scot.

<sup>75</sup> 81.19.

gregem sororum, id est artium, nudum dabis iugandis?', and at 427.19: In Grammatica quando volebat Martianus absque figmento poetico artes scribere dicens, "Fruges vera omne fictum dimovent" et Satyra eum fecit poetriam colere et artibus inserere.<sup>79</sup> In the first books of John the Scot, I find only one reference comparable to this, when in the second book he refers to a passage in Book I.<sup>80</sup> Here again, is an indication that Remigius was responsible for Version A.

In Paris 8675, a twelfth century manuscript which has the text of the Remigius commentary in the first five books and that of the *Annotationes* in the last four, there is a note in a later hand at the bottom of the folio referring to the gloss of 353.4 (Book VI) Cyclicos qui ciclares unde artes dictae sunt ciclicae a Martiano in libro IX cam (sic!) hoc dat Remigius super in armonia. In the *Annotationes* one finds simply, at 534.1 (Book IX) CICLICAS tortuosas. In Version A the comment reads: DISCIPLINAS CICLIDAS tortuosas vel circulares, nam circulus neque initium neque finem habet, sic et artes propter difficultatem ciclidae vocantur quia perfecte et consummate vix umquam capiuntur. This would seem to denote that an early scholar recognized the text of Version A as Remigius.

A final bit of evidence that Remigius was the author of Version A is the fact that when, at the beginning of the eleventh century, Notker made his Old High German translation of the commentary and named Remigius as author, he used manuscripts that belong to the A family.<sup>81</sup>

If there is any validity to these arguments and Version A rightfully belongs with the rest of the Remigius treatise as it appears with it in some of the best manuscripts, what explanation can be found for Version B?

In the first place, there are distinctive differences between the manuscripts that carry Version A and those that have Version B. Although the text of the first five books is substantially alike in all of the manuscripts, yet in the ones that have Version B in the last four books, one notes a number of interpolations in the first books. Some of this extra material can be identified as having come from the "Dunchad" commentary.<sup>82</sup> In a few instances glosses that were marginal comments on the manuscripts of Version A have crept into the text of the manuscripts of Version B, thus showing that B is later than A.<sup>83</sup> The introductory statement on the seven *periochae* as applied to the author,<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Cf. also 294.1: Ergo in aequinoctiali die unumquodque signum aut oritur aut occidit aut movetur de loco in locum duabus horis, in aliis autem diebus aut plus aut minus ut ipse dicit Martianus in Astrologia. At 364.14 per Philologiam ut notum est, amor rationis significatur, per Mercurium vero verborum facundiae. This looks back to Book I introduction. Philologia interpretatur amor vel studium rationis — Mercurius ponitur in similitudine facundiae et sermonis. Again at 287.5 (Book VI) of A, we find: Superius in secundo libro dixit quod illas vidisset deportantes abacum.

<sup>80</sup> 45.16: In primo enim libro dixit—

<sup>81</sup> The end of Book I in the manuscripts which carry the A version reads: Omnis ille numerus deorum sedes proprias et cursus repetivit. PROPRIAS SEDES dicit, id est stationes propter fixa sidera; CURSUM vero propter mobiles stellas quae sunt planetae, id est errantes. The end of Book I in Notker's translation reads: Alliu dero gôto mănegi erruânt, ze iro hêrebêrgôn. târ sie stationarie stelle fore uuären. âlde ze iro ferten-ân dien sie fôre uuären. There is an interpolation at the end of the first book in the B version manuscripts: quae

melius planonte, id est errorem facientes dicuntur, nam ipse non errant sed errare faciunt se intuentes.

<sup>82</sup> This is particularly noticeable in Bern 331 which has a number of "Dunchad" interpolations, particularly in Book IV at 151.17; 152.4; 153.9; 158.9; 160.11; 161.10; 165.6. Other manuscripts of the B tradition lack these additions. Paris 8674 has other interpolations.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. at 77.5 B.M.XVA 33 has: Ipse est supra et infra et ut quidam ait, "Supra quem nihil— etc. An interlinear gloss reads i. beatus gregorius. Paris Nouv. acq. 340 has in the text: ut ait Beatus Gregorius. Sometimes through haplography a portion of the text is omitted in B Manuscripts. For instance at 31.23 the A text reads: ANNEXUERAT id est apposuerat. TELLUS EIUS id est Iovis. VESTIGIIS CALCEOS HERBOSOS FLUCTU SMARAGDINEAE VIRIDITATIS Tellurem hic quasi numen terrae introducit. FLUCTU id est liquore vel etiam colore smaragdinae viriditatis. Smaragdus gemma est viridissima etc. Version B manuscripts omit Tellurem—viriditatis.

<sup>84</sup> Primo est transeundum per septem

a feature that is regular with the Remigius commentaries,<sup>82</sup> is absent from the manuscripts having Version B. Liberally sprinkled through the text of the first five books of the Version B manuscripts, though by no means with consistency, the letters M and G occur, apparently indicating *Martianus* for a lemma and *Glossa* for a gloss.<sup>83</sup> This phenomenon is not found on the Version A family manuscripts. The name Remigius does not occur on the Version B manuscripts.

The last four books in Version B are quite different from the corresponding ones in Version A, and yet they are somehow taken from Version A. This can be demonstrated most convincingly by considering parallel passages from the two. The following represents a continuous passage of text in the two versions:

VERSION A.

293.3 POSTERIOR id est concavitas. ASSERTIO id est confirmatio.

293.4 OPINATIONIS id est aestimationis. CASSAE id est inutilis. TENUATUR id est pro nihilo ducatur.

DESPICABILIS despectione habilis ac per hoc vilis.

293.5 ACCESSIT suffragatus est.

293.9 OBTUTUS id est visus DIRIGUNTUR scilicet ortus et occasus.

VERSION B.

ASSERTIO id est confirmatio.

CASSAE id est inutilis.

TENATUR id est pro nihilo ducitur.

DESPICABILIS id est despecti oris.

ACCESSIT id est suffragavit.

PRAESTAT id est melius est et

periochas, id est circumstantias quae constant in initio cuiusque libri authentici quae ut Greco utamur eloquio sunt: tis, ti, dia ti, pos, pou, pote, paten ut haec ipsa ore Latino absoluamus: quis quid cur quomodo ubi quando unde. Ergo ad illud quod interrogatur tis, id est quis, respondetur prosopa, id est persona auctoris, ut quis scripsit? *Martianus*. Secunda periocha est ti, id est quid. Ad quam interrogationem redditur ergia, id est res quae titulo ipsius operis declaratur. Scriptis enim de nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. Tertius periocha est dia ti, id est cur. Respondetur ei pragma, id est causa quare de nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii scripserit, videlicet quia volebat disputare de septem liberalibus artibus. Quarta periocha est pos, id est quomodo, ad quod redditur tropos, id est modus. Modi autem locutionum aut prosaice aut metricae fiunt, quod utrumque iste in hoc executus est opere. Quinta periocha est pou, id est ubi. Respondetur ei topos, id est locus, ut ubi scripsit? Carthagini. Sexta periocha est pote, id est quando. Ad quam interrogationem respondetur kronos, id est tempus, quod posteris indagandum reliquit et hactenus manet incertum. Septima periocha est paten, id est unde, ad quod respondetur ule, id est materies, ut unde scripsit? De nuptiis videlicet Philologiae et Mercurii et de VII liberalibus artibus.

<sup>82</sup> This phenomenon is, of course, not exclusive with Remigius as he himself indicates in his commentary in *Bede's De arte metrica* (M. Manitius, *Münchener Museum* II. 99): Iuxta ordinem consuetudinarium tria debemus considerare in pretitulatione huius libelli, personam videlicet locum et tempus. Nevertheless it is definitely a feature of his works. I note several cases in other commentaries of his. Cf. Commentary on Donatus (M. Esposito, "A Ninth Century Commentary on Donatus", *Classical Quarterly* XI (1917) 96: Septem sunt species peristaseos, id est circumstantiae, sine quibus nulle questiones pro-

ponuntur id est persona, res vel factum, causa, locus, tempus, modus, materia vel materies sive facultas. Commentary on Sedulius (M. Manitius, "Zur Karolingischen Literatur", *Neues Archiv* XXXVI (1911) 74 VII sunt periochae, id est circumstantiae quae constant in initio uniuscuiusque libri, id est quis quid cur quomodo quando ubi quibus facultatibus etc.; Commentary on Eutyches (M. Manitius *Münchener Museum* II. 101: In principio uniuscuiusque libri tres periochae, id est circumstantiae requiruntur: pericircum, oche questio, perioche circumquestio vel circumstantia, quae circa rem queritur etc.; Commentum on *Disticha Catonis* (A. Mancini, loc. cit. 179): Quatuor sunt requirenda in initio uniuscuiusque libri: persona videlicet, locus, tempus et causa scribendi etc.; The commentary on Persius, excerpts of which have been given by C. Marchesi ["Gli Scolasti di Persio", *Rivista di Filologia* XI, (1912) 7] seems like a later reworking of Remigius. It has as an introduction: In principio huius libri octo sunt videnda, I de vita auctoris. II de causa suscepti operis. III quae materia operis. IV quae intentio auctoris. V quae utilitas. VI cui parti philosophiae subponatur. VII quis libri titulus. VIII quis modus loquendi etc.

The biographical material thus furnished may have formed the impetus for the later mediaeval *Accessus ad Auctores*. Cf. R. B. C. Huygens, "Accessus ad Auctores" (*Latomus* XV, 1954) 5 note 1: "Je crois bien que les origines sont à rechercher dans les sources plus anciennes, dans lesquelles ont déjà puisé les commentateurs romains: Remi d'Auxerre, le maître du moyen âge, en a été l'intermédiaire et en adaptant les données de Servius dans ses commentaires, il a montré l'exemple aux temps postérieurs.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. J. A. Willis, "The Letters M and G in the Manuscripts of Remigius of Auxerre", *Athenaeum* XXX (1952) 196-7, and C. E. Lutz, "The Use of the Letters M and G in Certain Manuscripts of Remigius", *Athenaeum* XXXIII (1955), 343-44.

PRAESTAT id est melius et utilius. EXIGERE id est compellere.

293.6 QUAMVIS ac si dixisset: Anaxagoras repraehenditur QUAMVIS NONNULLAS creditur astruere rationes.

NONNULLAS id est plurimas. ASTRUERE id est affirmare.

QUIPPE DICIT scilicet Anaxagoras. PERSPICUE lucide.

293.7 QUI scilicet ortus. EMERSERIT apparuerit, surrexerit.

utilius. EXIGERE id est compellere evacuare.

NONNULLAS id est multas.

ASTRUERE id est affirmare.

QUIPPE DICIT subaudis Anaxagoras.

QUI subaudis ortus. EMERSERIT id est apparuerit mox ut ortus fuerit.

I quote single passages in both Versions A and B to demonstrate the manner in which the second has been derived from the former. This is a passage which comes ultimately from Aulus Gellius.<sup>64</sup>

#### VERSION A.

286.15 CONSILIUM subaudis virorum quia pueri et feminae a curia arcebantur. Per solos quippe sapientes viros consilium administrabatur, licet quondam antiqua consuetudo fuerit apud Romanos pueros ire cum sensibus in curiam, mulieres autem nequaquam. Ea quippe tempestate cum quaedam mulier filium suum a curia sero revertentem blande interrogasset ut sibi intimaret quale consilium senatores prolixius eo die tractassent, et ille nequaquam eorum secretum promulgare auderet timens edictum senatui propositum ut si quis senator secretum detegeret securi lignea in curia prae oculis appensa desecto gutture necaretur, tandem obstinatione matris in perquirendo laccessitus, tale deliberationis argumentum ei prudenter intulisse fertur quod decreto senatus esset sanctitum ut unusquisque virorum plures duceret uxores. Cum hoc mater audisset, adiuncta sibi mulierum caterva, palam cunctis edicit quae a filio coacte extorserat. Qua de re magnis vociferantes clamoribus adversus viros suos queritari coeperunt cur singuli eorum plures vellent accipere uxores, vellent accipere uxores cum una potius mulier multis sufficeret viris. Quam ob causam perventum est iterum ad senatum factaque maxima inquisitione unde et per quem huius modi oborta processisset vociferationis relatio, ille continuo humi prostratus professus est

#### VERSION B.

Antiquitus enim consuetudo fuit apud Romanos ire pueros cum senibus in curiam, mulieres autem non. Sed quadam die quaedam mater interrogavit suum filium quale consilium fecissent senatores in curia. Ille vero non audens promere eorum consilium rem aliam dicendo retulit matri quod hoc decretum esset in curia ut multas mulieres unusquisque duceret. Mater vero cum haec audisset retulit aliis. De hac re causaverunt viros suos cur volebant tantas mulieres accipere cum una mulier multis viris sufficeret. Propter hanc rem perventum est iterum ad senatum et magnam quaestionem fecerunt de quo processisset talis sermo. Ille puer confessus est ideo dixisse ut consilium senatorum matri interroganti non indicaret. Postea non permissum est pueris in curiam nisi illi soli.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *Noct. Att.* I, 23 and Macrobius, *Sat.*

I, 6, 19-26

ideo se hoc finxisse ut et matrem suam ab obstinata removeret inquisitione et senatus consultum non divulgaretur in plebe. Cuius prudentiae sagacitatem magnis favoribus unanimiter attolentes decreverunt eum dignum curiae adscisci nullique deinceps puerorum permissum est in senatum ventum iri.

Occasionally there occurs a blunder which would seem to indicate that a less experienced hand was at work in the B Version. For example, in Book I Remigius has a gloss on the Graces (4.2): *Nam Gratiae Iovis filiae sunt—Gratiae tres sunt, quae et Caritae dicuntur, unius nominis et unius pulchritudinis.* In Book II at 50.17 he has a long gloss on *Gorgones*. It includes the following statement: *Re vera autem tres fuerunt sorores unius pulchritudinis unde fictum est quod uno oculo uterentur.* Now Version A at 369.1 has: *Tres Gratiae sub uno nomine Iunonis et Iovis filiae quae et Caritae dicuntur.* Version B at the same place has: *Gratiae III sunt quae et Caritate dicuntur sub uno nomine Iovis et Iunonis filiae.—Quae etiam uno oculo dicuntur uti quia unius sunt pulchritudinis.*

From these examples one would have the impression that Version B is nothing but an epitome of Version A. That is not the case, for there are a great many glosses that are not found in Version A. This is especially significant in the last part of Book VI where a number of glosses on geographical locations not even mentioned by Version A are given. As examples, I note the following: 307.20 *COGNOMENTUM id est Hibernia.*

307.22 *PROPRII FLUMINIS a quo Hibernia. INTERRIVATA id est alluta. CUIUS subaudis fluminis vel Hispania. PORTIO id est pars.*

307.23 *CITERIOR id est ulterior.*

308.2 *SCIPIONES id est Afri. POENI id est Afri. KARTAGINEM subaudis Hispaniae. Duae Kartagines sunt: una sitisensis in Africa, altera Boetica in Hispania. Illam nunc dicit.*

308.4 *PRAEDICTUM LATUS id est Tarraconensis. IUGIS id est montibus.*

308.6 *LUSITANIA est pars Hispaniae.*

Actually it is somewhat inaccurate to apply the term Version B to the text of the last books in the manuscripts that do not carry Version A. In contrast to the uniformity of the text in Version A, here one finds great diversity. There are two quite distinct traditions and a number of other variations. If one takes the text in Paris *Nouv. Acq. 340* as the norm, one finds a few manuscripts in which the text is more abbreviated, while two have a good many additions.

If Remigius is the author of Version A, then obviously he is not the author of Version B. The solution to the riddle of the author of Version B may lie in the title on two of the oldest of the B family manuscripts, *Paris 8674*, a work of the tenth century, and *Laurenziana Plut. LXXXI sup XIX* which carry in their title the words *Magistri Remigii*.<sup>85</sup> This suggests that it was some student or follower of Remigius, rather than the master himself, who was responsible for B.<sup>86</sup> It is curious to note that while Remigius used the editorial first person

<sup>85</sup> *Paris 8674* has the incipit: *Incipiunt Glossae Martiani Magistri Remigii Martiani—.* *Laurenziana LXXXX* has: *Incipiunt Glose Magistri Remigii in Martiani—.* These manuscripts are closely related. A very late, sixteenth century manuscript, *Vienna Endlicher 330*, contains a badly contaminated text. Book IX begins like the *Annotationes* but incorporates a good deal of the B version text. It ends: *Marciani Minei Felicis*

*Capelle Glossole in Musicam Composite a Domino Remigio Explicunt.*

<sup>86</sup> E. Lesne (*op. cit.* V, 627) speaking of a similar notation on some glosses of Heiric—Heiricus *Magister Remigii fecit glossas—*(*B. N. 12949 fol. 25 v*), says: *L'épithète qui est donné à Héric de maître de Remi montre que le manuscrit est une copie faite plus tard des gloses qu'avait composées le moine de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre. Un autre*

plural<sup>87</sup> (which also appears in Version A),<sup>88</sup> he rarely used the first person singular,<sup>89</sup> but the author of Version B did so on several occasions. For instance, at 345.1 we read: *ESSENI memorabili disciplina recesserunt a ritu gentium universarum maiestatis, ut reor, providentia ad hunc morem destinati*; at 353.9: *Solida vero figura non solum videtur sicut superficies, sed etiam tangitur; possum enim discernere corpus rotundum vel quadratum etiam si oculis non video*; and 484.6: *Amo enim clarum cibum ab ipsa herba quae dicitur ambrosia*. In Version A when the comments are sufficiently long, there is a definite attempt to write with some style. The following clausulae are typical: 285.14: *sapientia nullam recipit, ut dictum est, corruptionem*; 285.19: *eo quod reget orbem sapientia*; 286.6: *sapientia in tenebris lucet ut nullam recipit obscuritatem*; 303.6 *quia in summitatem illius montis cadunt saepe fulmina*.<sup>90</sup> On the contrary in Version B, in the comments which have not come from A, there appears to be little attempt to create interesting word order.<sup>91</sup> This would seem to suggest that it is the work of a pupil rather than of a more experienced scholar.

Before one concludes that Version A was the work of Remigius and that Version B the work of one of his pupils, one must answer two difficult objections. The first is a date that occurs on both Version A and in the *Annotationes*. There are two references which enable one to establish a definite date. The first reads: (373.9)

*Verbi gratia, ut talis feria et talis dies mensis et talis annus bissextilis sit, ut hodie est, simul revertatur XXVIII annorum spatium expectandum est, et iterum, si bissextus hoc anno fuerit in die dominica, non erit iterum in die dominica usque dum XXVIII anni sint peracti.*

Within the period that concerns us, on three different years, in 852, 860, and 888, the intercalary day fell on Sunday, February 25, thus satisfying the conditions specified.

The second date restricts the time to one of these years. It reads: (457.15) *Verbi gratia, si hodie luna<sup>92</sup> XX est, XII Kalendas Septembres non veniet usque dum XVIII anni sint finiti; iterum si XII Kalendas Septembres in secunda feria sunt, iterum post XXVIII annos in eadem feria erunt, ut autem reversio sit et aetatis lunae et dies mensis et feriae post DXXXII annos fit quos appellat Magnum Annum.*

In interpreting the date, one must know whether the author normally calculated backward from the succeeding Kalends or forward from the first

glossateur a ajouté des compléments à la copie des glosses qu' héric avait jadis écrites lui-même ou fait écrire.—De même que se sont conservées des glosses d'Héric maître de Remi, nous en possédons qui sont l'oeuvre de Remi lui-même. Ces gloses sont-elles aussi des copies et non pas celles que Remi a écrites ou fait écrire en marge du texte qu'il utilisait.—C'est l'enseignement du maître Remi qu'il tient à reproduire. He is speaking specifically of the text in *Paris 8674*.

<sup>87</sup> This is a regular feature of Remigius' first books; e.g. 3.8; 3.14; 7.10; 8.14; 8.17; 17.24; 18.15; 23.13; 24.3; 24.4; 26.1; 56.3; 60.7; 64.13; 67.2; 67.7; 69.1.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. 285.16; 285.8; 287.5; 285.14.

<sup>89</sup> I find only a few instances of the first person singular in Version A, e.g. at 430.14, 380.7, 394.9, and 387.9. On the other hand, I note several cases in John the Scot, e.g. 8.1; 11.23; 30.19; 34.3.

<sup>90</sup> In the first books of Remigius one

finds these typical clausulae:

- 7.10 enumerare spiritales animae virtutes
- 8.1 caelestem suam velit requirere originem
- 9.14 argentum ad eloqui refertur claritatem
- 10.7 omnem exsiccat humorem
- 11.23 in quorum videntur circulis
- 19.8 sermo ad secundam transferetur personam

<sup>91</sup> One does find a very few examples which show a consciousness of style, e.g. 346.5.

Minor pars Taurobanae insulae calore ambusta est et in vastas deficit soliditudo

345.1 nec ibi nascitur nec tunc deficit hominum multitudo

353.5 prout obliquitas sic diversis appellatur nominibus

<sup>92</sup> The important word *luna* is omitted in the *Annotationes* version.

of the month. It becomes clear that he reckons back from the succeeding Kalends, from several other references to dates. For example, at 294.6 one reads: CIRCA ORTUM ARCTURI id est circa ortum Bootis qui XV Kalendarum Septembrium cum sol est in Virgine oritur. The sun is in Virgo in August. Also at 296.2 there is a reference to the vernal equinox: In aequinoctio vernali quando est sol in Ariete XII Kalendas Apriles. Of course he is referring to March 21. Hence in the reference to XII Kalendas Septembres, he is referring to August 21.<sup>93</sup> The two conditions to be fulfilled in the specifications given are that August 21 fall on Monday and that the moon be twenty days old. These conditions were satisfied in the year 859. This with the other date indicates that the reference is to the year 859-860.<sup>94</sup>

It is natural to assume that the date refers to the very day of the year that the author was writing. Now the dates in Remigius' life are fairly well established.<sup>95</sup> He was born about 841. Two of the manuscripts of the Commentary mention his *floruit* as 880.<sup>96</sup> His death probably occurred about the year 908. Unless he was unusually precocious, the date 859-860 would be too early to represent the time of the composition of the glosses. On the other hand, the date would fit well into the *curriculum vitae* of John the Scot who wrote the *De Praedestinatione* about 851 and the *De Divisione Naturae* between 862 and 866.<sup>97</sup>

If the commentators were meticulous about the absolute accuracy of all their statements, we should not find the identical information concerning the date in question in both Version A and the *Annotationes*,<sup>98</sup> for obviously the latter was taken from the former and hence was later. The fact is that they were careless in passing on examples such as this when the actual date was of no consequence, but they were used to illustrate a fact.<sup>99</sup>

There are two other points to be considered. It has been pointed out<sup>100</sup> that in the first date, the first *hodie* designates only the leap year and not the actual intercalary day, February 25. Hence all one actually knows is that the year is a leap year; the mention of the intercalary day might have been an example chosen at random. If one takes the second date as an actual date, August 21, 859, one sees that it is the year before the date favored for the first reference,

<sup>93</sup> A reference in Version B to the summer and the winter solstice confirms the conclusion that the ninth century scholars counted the days back from the Kalends in reckoning a date. It reads: (285.18): Solstitium aestivale XII Kalendarum Iuliarum fit; solstitium hyemale XII Kalendas Ianuarias. It continues: Equinoctium vernale XII Kalendas Apriles; equinoctium autumnale XII Kalendas Octobres.

<sup>94</sup> C. C. Coulter pointed out the correct interpretation of these dates in a review of the *Annotationes* in *The American Historical Review* XLVI (1940) 109-111. A. Van de Vyver ("Hucbald de Saint-Armand, écolâtre, et l'invention du Nombre d'or," *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain, 1947) 64, note 16) prefers the date 852, but he interprets XII Kalendas Septembres as September 12. This is invalidated by other references, specifically those to the equinoxes, which indicate that the date must be August 21.

<sup>95</sup> See note 4.

<sup>96</sup> *Leyden Peri Q.2* has as the top of the first folio, in a later hand, Clar. Remigius an. 880. In *Vatican Reg.* 1970 one finds, also in a later hand: Remigii monachi Antissiodorensis qui claruit anno 880. P. Courcelle would put the date of the composition of the *Glossae* much later. From a reference in the Life of Odo of Cluni by

Joannis monachus, he would date the composition of the glosses on Martianus Capella about 901-902. Cf. "Étude critique sur les commentaires de la *Consolatio* de Boèce", *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* XIV (1939) 28.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Erigène, Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain, 1933), 189.

<sup>98</sup> The first gloss as it occurs in the *Annotationes* is part of a gloss which represents a telescoping of two glosses in A. The author of Version B was more intelligent in adapting the date, for he generalizes. He says: LUMINA id est aetatem, id est dies solis quia peractis XX et VIII annis, iterum unus concurrens et una feria et una aetas lunae quae sunt hodie in illo die revertentur. The second gloss does not occur in B.

<sup>99</sup> Prof. C. W. Jones, in a letter in answer to my question on this matter, bears out this idea that since such computational references are likely to be ones that have been passed from one gloss to another that it would be unwise to try to date any given work by them.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. M. C., *Bulletin de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* V (1947) 266-267, item 769, review of C. C. Coulter, *Speculum* XVI, 487-488.

860, yet the first date appears in Book VII and the second in Book VIII. This fact weakens the theory that they were the actual dates of composition, for one would imagine that the books would have been glossed in consecutive order. My conclusion would be that the two dates are not trustworthy for dating the composition of the glosses as we have them in Version A or in the *Annotationes*. It would seem as if the second date at least was actually written on August 21, 859; in that case it may have been in the form of a gloss in an original John the Scot commentary which has not survived.

The second obstacle in the way of accepting Version A as the work of Remigius and regarding the *Annotationes* which have been ascribed to John the Scot as an epitome of the same is the existence of Books IV and V of the *Annotationes*. Like Books VI, VII, VIII, and IX, Book V is headed *Incipiunt Haec Pauca In Rhetorica Martiani*. Book IV exists in two versions, a short one headed *De Dialectica* and a longer one entitled *Incipiunt Haec Pauca in Dialectica Martiani*. In the first place, one can say with confidence, I believe, that Books IV and V in the Remigius manuscripts are the work of Remigius. Except for minor differences, all of the manuscripts present essentially the same text.<sup>101</sup> In the second place, the text in the *Annotationes* is not a condensation of Remigius as Books VI to IX appear to be. There is a considerable amount of material of significance in the *Annotationes* text which does not occur in the Remigius text.<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, the Remigius text is not a conflation of the very much shorter text in the *Annotationes*<sup>103</sup> though there is some relationship between the two.

Some time ago E. K. Rand pointed out his theory that except for Book I and possibly II, we do not have the original text of John the Scot preserved.<sup>104</sup> In Books IV and V of the *Annotationes* I believe we have epitomes made by some student of John's. Further, I think that Remigius used very generously the original from which the epitome was taken. There are a great many glosses which agree word for word with corresponding glosses in the *Annotationes*.<sup>105</sup> There are a number of glosses which paraphrase glosses in the *Annotationes*. In one case where a gloss in *Annotationes* reads: *De Platone et de Cicerone dicit*,<sup>106</sup> the gloss in Remigius reads: *Quidam Ciceronem et Platonem vel Aristotelem accipiunt. Melius tamen Demostenem debemus accipere qui summus apud Grecos rhetor fuit*. In many cases quite dissimilar information is given in corresponding glosses in the two texts. Some interesting glosses in *Annotationes* have no counterpart in Remigius. It is very obvious that the text of *Annotationes* represents an epitome or a collection of excerpts, some kind of abbreviated text. For example, at 226.22 we read *DECUMUS pro decimas frumenti. Nam legatus vendidit decimas frumenti quia in illa regione ad quam Verres profectus est, carum erat frumentum, et apud Romanos vile. Propterea vendidit decimas et magnum praecium inde attulit*. Remigius has: *Populus Romanus a subiectis decimas omnium fructuum accipiebat. Has vendidit Verres unde cum accusaretur, respondit, 'Magno vendidi quia videbam magnum inde pretium posse adquiri rei publicae.' Cara enim erat illic annona cum apud Romanos vilis erat*. It would seem as if this longer section must resemble more closely what appeared in the original and that the writer of *Annotationes* was not very accurate in condensing.

<sup>101</sup> There is nothing at all comparable to the situation that exists in the last four books.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. 151.5; 151.15; 153.4; 163.15; 186.10; 211.9; 210.13; 213.2; 217.1.

<sup>103</sup> There are some glosses in Remigius that contain material identical with that in corresponding glosses in the *Annotationes*. On the other hand there is only about one-

fourth as much material in the *Annotationes* in Books IV and V as there is in the Remigius commentary.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. E. K. Rand, "How much of the *Annotationes*—, *op. cit.* 503.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. 210.12; 213.18; 215.8; 215.14; 218.10; 218.13; 224.26.

<sup>106</sup> 212.23.



In conclusion, then, I should say that in spite of the date which would influence one to consider Version A too early for Remigius and hence more probably the work of John the Scot, the burden of evidence indicates that Version A is the work of Remigius.<sup>107</sup> Books IV and V in the *Annotationes* probably represent epitomes of an original commentary of John the Scot. If John the Scot ever produced glosses for Books VI to IX, they have not been preserved either in full or in an epitome.

<sup>107</sup> One could not say definitely that Remigius was directly responsible for any of the text of the commentary as we have it. The explicit in *Paris Ste. Geneviève* 1042 would give the impression that some

follower was responsible for the work. It reads: Explicit—et pariter cum eo commentum Remigii viri excellentis ingenii feliciter.

# The Christianization of "Cato": The *Disticha Catonis* In the Light of Late Mediaeval Commentaries

RICHARD HAZELTON

WITHIN the past century scholars have accumulated a considerable mass of data relative to the history of the *Disticha Catonis*, but they have not, I think, brought us very close to an understanding of the reasons for the book's longevity, for its extensive influence, and for the peculiar esteem in which it was held by mediaeval men.<sup>1</sup> Consequently an attempt to assess the value that mediaeval men attached to "Cato" and to determine the reasons for this evaluation may be profitable. Furthermore, since the *Disticha* were so widely and so intensively read (few books have been so attentively read by so many readers), we should expect to find that they left a mark on their readers. The nature and the quality of this mark are worthy of examination. The history of the survival of the pagan writers, as is well known, is bound up with the history of mediaeval education, and it is to the pedagogues first of all that we must go in order to understand how and why certain pagan books not merely survived but achieved an eminence which seems wholly unjustified by their intrinsic worth. Now the pedagogues are accessible in the glosses and commentaries that accompany the classical texts in many manuscripts. Representing the lecture notes of the *grammatici*, the glosses and commentaries contain much of the evidence needed to explain the relationship of mediaeval men to their books. In the case of the *Disticha Catonis* the *glossulae* have been almost entirely neglected.<sup>2</sup> While the entire history of this most ubiquitous of mediaeval books deserves interpretive analysis in the light of what the manuscripts reveal, the present study, for practical purposes, is confined to the results of an investigation of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Cato manuscripts. It is in the manuscripts of this period that the commentaries are most fully developed and, in articulating the tradition of earlier centuries, provide the best evidence for an understanding of the mediaeval Cato.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The bibliography of editorial commentaries, monographs, articles, and notes relating to the *Disticha Catonis* is far too lengthy for inclusion here. The following works, however, are of primary importance. The definitive text is *Disticha Catonis recensuit et apparatu critico instruxit Marcus Boas. Opus post Marci Boas mortem edendum curavit Henricus Johannes Botschuyver* (Amsterdam, 1952), superseding Emil Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, III (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 205-246, and J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1934), pp. 585-639. The comments and notes in the Boas-Botschuyver edition are chiefly philological. The historical references in this text need to be supplemented by consulting chiefly the following: F. Skutsch, "Dicta Catonis," Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädia*, V (1905), pp. 358-366; Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, III, third edition, ed. Carl Hosius, Gustav Krüger (Munich, 1922), pp. 34-41; Eric Stechert, *De Catonis quae dicuntur distichis* (diss. Greifswald, 1912); Marcus Boas, "Die Eoistola Catonis," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afdeling Letterkunde,

Nieuwe Reeks, XXXIII, No. 1 (1934), pp. 1-51.

<sup>2</sup> Excerpts from a Cato commentary in MS. 1433 of the Public Library of Lucca (saec. xi) were published by A. Mancini, "Un Commento Ignoto di Remy d'Auxerre ai *Disticha Catonis*," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, Serie 5, XI (1902), pp. 175-198, 369-382. Some years later Max Manitius published sample glosses from a *Disticha Catonis* contained in Rouen (*Rotomagensis*) MS. 1470 (saec. x-xi): "Remigiusscholien," *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, II (1913), pp. 79-113. Mancini's primary concern was the learning of Remigius, and he has little to offer regarding the pedagogical uses of the text. Manitius's purpose was simply to reproduce, without comment, representative glosses from the Rouen MS. The present writer, engaged in tracing the development of the Cato expositions, is preparing for publication an edition of the commentary found in the Bodley Canonici Latin Classical MS. 72, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>-82<sup>r</sup> (saec. xiii), portions of which appear in this essay.

<sup>3</sup> In preparing this study I have relied chiefly on the following Cato MSS., most

It is a truism that we must study mediaeval documents with mediaeval eyes if we are to recognize in them the ideas and the values that mediaeval men thought worthy of preservation. Yet this we must do if we are to understand how a book like the *Disticha Catonis*—an elementary school book,<sup>4</sup> and as tedious perhaps to the modern mind as any that might be encountered—how

of them of British provenance. Microfilm and/or photostat copies of these MSS. are in my possession. For the loan of many other microfilms of Cato MSS., I am indebted to Professor Robert A. Pratt.

Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS. 207 (2. 1. 0), Vol. I, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>r</sup> (saec. xiii-xiv).

Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS. 215 (2. 1. 8), fol. 59<sup>v</sup>-63<sup>v</sup> (saec. xiii).

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS. 132 (C. 5. 8), fol. 20<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>r</sup> (saec. xiii-xiv).

London, British Museum, MS. Additional 21980 (saec. xiv).

London, British Museum, MS. Royal 15. A. vii, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>v</sup> (saec. xiii).

London, British Museum, MS. Royal 15. A. xxxi, fol. 13<sup>r</sup>-20<sup>v</sup> (saec. xiii).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canonici Latin Classical 72, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>-82<sup>r</sup> (saec. xiii).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson G. 58, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup> (saec. xiii).

Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 1663, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>r</sup> and 36<sup>r</sup>, out of place (saec. xiii).

The best of these, in that they provide the most detailed readings, are Can. Lat. Class. 72, Lincoln 132, and Additional 21980. The latter, however, is badly marred at the beginning and the ink is faded throughout.

<sup>4</sup>If conjecture be allowed where the evidence is sparse, it may be said that the book held its place as a first reader in the grammar course for over 1400 years. Composed perhaps during the third century A.D., the collection "was intended as a schoolbook from the first" (M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900* [London, 1931], p. 22). H. I. Marrou states categorically that the *Disticha* were read in the Roman primary schools throughout the latter part of antiquity" (*A History of Education in Antiquity* [New York, 1956], p. 270). Manuscript evidence, cited by Bernard Bischoff ("Elementarunterricht und Probationes Pennae in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters," *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand* [New York, 1938], p. 11 n.) indicates that they were read in the schools in Merovingian times. (See below, note 10.) Alcuin's familiarity with the collection (see M. Boas, *Alcuin and Cato* [Leiden, 1937]) suggests that they may have been in use in the early Carolingian schools. The *Disticha* were certainly employed as a school text during the ninth century, when Remigius of Auxerre wrote his commentary on Cato (See Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I [Munich, 1911], pp. 511-512; Mancini, op. cit., pp. 175-179). A fly-leaf entry in a copy of Isidore's *De natura rerum* indicates that the glossed Cato was known in England in the tenth century (A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* [New York, 1915], p. 95). Testimony to the use of "*Catunculus*" in the schools of the eleventh century is contained in the *De arte lectionis* of Aimericus of

Angoulême, written in 1086 (See Manitius, *Geschichte*, III, 180-182; see also the excerpt published by M. Thurot, *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* [Paris, 1870], pp. 249-250). The secure—and primary—position of Cato among the *auctores* read in the schools during the twelfth century is revealed by Conrad of Hirsau in his *Dialogus super auctores* (ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Collection Latomus, XVII [Brussels, 1955]; see also Huygens' edition of the *Accessus ad auctores*, Collection Latomus, XV [Brussels, 1954], pp. 15-16). In a list of text-books from the close of the twelfth century, which Haskins attributed to Alexander Neckam, Cato, with Donatus, is recommended for study after the alphabet and other rudiments have been absorbed (See C. H. Haskins, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX [1909], pp. 90-91. A revised version of this article appears in the author's *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Chap. XVIII, pp. 356-376). During the thirteenth century the *Disticha* continued to be recommended for school use. In the *Laborintus* of Eberhard the German, written before 1280, Cato is placed first in a list of recommended authors (See Edmond Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* [Paris, 1924], pp. 358-361). And in his *Registrum multorum auctorum*, composed in 1280, Hugo of Trimberg ranked Cato first "*in ordine minorum auctorum*" (ed. Karl Langosch [Berlin, 1942], superseding the edition of J. Huemer, Vienna *Sitzungsberichte . . . der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, CXVI [1888], pp. 145-190). Evidence for the continued use of Cato during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is plentiful. (See Gustav Carré, *l'Enseignement Secondaire à Troyes* [Paris, 1888], pp. 19-20. In regard to the Italian schools, see the evidence supplied by R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* [Cambridge, 1954], p. 429. For the use of Cato in England, see Lynn Thorndyke, "Pierre Dubois' Scheme of Education, 1309," *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages* [New York, 1944], pp. 141-143; see also Langland's comments, *Piers Plowman* (ed. W. W. Skeat [London, 1924]), B. IV. 15 ff. and C. VIII. 34. Concerning the fifteenth-century translation of Benedict Burgh, Max Förster wrote, "*Abgesehen von den Hauptwerken Langlands, Richard Rolles, Chaucers und Gowers hat kein anderes mittelenländisches Werk eine solche Verbreitung gefunden . . .*" ("Die Burghsche Cato—Paraphrase," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CXV [1905], p. 298). A list of early printed editions of the *auctores*, including Cato, obviously published for school use, appears in Boas, *Disticha Catonis*, pp. xlix-lij. A discussion of English Renaissance editions of the school Cato is found in T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, I (Urbana, 1944), pp. 595-606.

a book of this kind could be so cherished that mature men, not of a single period but of many centuries, remembered it well, echoed its language and ideas, alluded to it and quoted it approvingly, even reverently, in their writings. The abounding evidence of echo, allusion and quotation in mediaeval literature indicates that Cato left an indelible imprint on the minds of the young.<sup>5</sup> Yet, curiously enough, the notion one derives from the remarks of modern editors and historians is that the book is nothing more than a collection of dreary saws and—the wonder is that it endured so long!<sup>6</sup> Judged by modern standards, as he invariably has been, Cato falls far short of the great ones of the classical age, and his survival seems phenomenal. In fact, measured by any standard other than that of *utilitas*, as that term was understood by mediaeval men,<sup>7</sup> the *Disticha Catonis* must be seen as negligible.

But the book was valued because of its *utilitas*; its writer was venerated because "*de bonis moribus hic tractat*." Except for Othlo of St. Emmeran, who questioned the use of Cato as a first reader "*quia tam paruulis quam senioribus Christi fidelibus sacra potius quam gentilia rudimenta primitus sunt exhibenda*,"<sup>8</sup> no one seems to have questioned the utility and propriety of Cato until the sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Walter Map, no sentimentalist, referred to Cato as "the wisest of men since Salomon."<sup>10</sup> An unknown versifier of Map's era was no less extravagant:

Multa Salo, sed plura Cato me verba docetis . . .<sup>11</sup>

And Erasmus, in providing the book with a new lease of life, defended the

<sup>5</sup> Max Manitius (*Philologus*, LI [1892], pp. 164-171) listed several hundred Cato references that he had culled from philosophic works, sermons, religious and secular poetry, from chronicles, encyclopaedias, and commentaries. His list, which does not go beyond the thirteenth century, is far from complete. (See also the reference to *Catonis Disticha* in the indexes to the three volumes of his *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter*.) The distichs were quoted not only by writers of popular songs, such as those included in the *Carmina Burana* and in T. Wright's collection of *Political Songs*, but also by such influential writers as Abelard, John of Salisbury, Peter Cantor, Peter of Riga, and Vincent of Beauvais. In one work, the *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* (ed. Arpad Steiner [Cambridge, Mass., 1938]), Vincent quoted Cato twenty times. But it would be pointless to cite the references to Cato that appear after the twelfth century; they are to be found literally everywhere.

<sup>6</sup> The following comments are typical: "Kein buch hat eine so unbedingte Herrschaft über den gesamten Occident geübt, wenige sind so blind verehrt worden." (F. Zarncke, quoted by Skutch, op. cit., p. 368. "Erst etwa seit dem Ende des 18. Jhdts. nimmt die Beliebtheit des Cato sichtlich ab; der Zeit der geistigen Aufklärung konnten seine Trivialitäten nicht mehr genügen." (Skutch, op. cit., p. 370.) "Es gibt Bücher, deren grosser Erfolg uns wunderbar erscheint. Zu diesen gehören die catonischen Disticha. Sie traten trotz des geringer inneren Gehaltes einen Siegeslauf in der abendländischen Welt an." (Schanz, op. cit., p. 37.)

"Here was a work with much of the unimpeachable but hackneyed morality of the copybook headline, and a useful repository of material for adorning the letters of

a young student desirous of creating a good impression when he wrote home." (Duff, op. cit., p. 585).

<sup>7</sup> *Intentio est cuiusque scriptoris <vel> cuiusque loquentis vel aliquid operandis affectus animi circa ipsam materiam aut oratio que maxime mentem intendit libro legendo. porro utilitatem que est <veritatis> cognitio et recte fidei confirmatio in lectore manifestum est* (Conrad of Hirsau, op. cit., p. 33). Conrad's remark is the clearest articulation of the practice of the *grammatici* that I have found. An elaborate discussion of *utile* in connection with morality is contained in the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* of William of Conches (ed. John Holmberg [Uppsala, 1929], pp. 54-70; see especially William's prefatory remarks, p. 29). Cf. St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 2, 40, 60 (PL 34, 63).

<sup>8</sup> *Othloni Libellus Proverbiorum*, ed. William C. Korfmaier (Chicago, 1936), p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Mathurin Cordier, who published an edition of the *Disticha* in 1533, "disapproved of 'Cato' as too pagan, regretted that custom forced him to use the *Distichs* and wrote his commentary to contradict rather than to illustrate them. So he appended a French translation to those aphorisms with which he agreed; but where he disagreed, he left the translation out, and he did his best to discredit 'Cato' as unchristian." (Bolgar, op. cit., p. 354.) See below, note 13.

<sup>10</sup> *De Nugis Curialium*, trans. Frederick Tupper and M. B. Ogle (London, 1924), p. 287.

<sup>11</sup> Cited by J. Huemer, *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, XXXII (1881), p. 421. With "solon" given for "Salo" and with an attribution to "Martial," the line is quoted in the lower margin of fol. 111 in the Cato MS. in Br. Mus., Cotton Vespasian MS. B xiii.

utility of Cato "quod ad bonas pertineat literas, nedum hosce versus tanta Romani sermonis mundicie tamque ad bonos mores conducibiles."<sup>12</sup>

And yet, considering the obviously pagan morality of the *Disticha*, one might well ask why the book came to be extensively employed in a civilization so self-consciously Christian, or why, when greater works were jettisoned, it survived at all?<sup>13</sup> The surface attractions of the text are obvious. The *Disticha* answered to the demand for the gnomie, the demand that led mediaeval men to gather *flores* from the pagan poets; it offered capsule information at a time when knowledge of the world was largely confined to the simple facts and definitions of the encyclopaedias; and it was eminently practical for the teaching of Latin. Relatively simple in structure, the terse pointed "sentences" lent themselves easily to construction and to memorization. Still, its morality is pagan and secular, and potentially dangerous, one would think, to offer to schoolboys.<sup>14</sup> It is not enough to say that the book was retained because it was innocuous or "safe."<sup>15</sup> It is highly unlikely that the Christian *grammatici* would have kept a book in the curriculum for negative reasons. If its contents were at all offensive the book might easily have been replaced by a more suitable one—one of the Sapiential Books, for instance, or a *florilegium* drawn from the Scriptures: the *Liber Scintillarum* lay at hand, relic of the Merovingian monastic schools.<sup>16</sup> But once the schools and the curriculum were reestablished under the supervision of the Church, nothing of the sort seems to have occurred. By the ninth century, at the latest, Cato had become the standard first reader in the Christian schools of Western Europe.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> From the preface to *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore* (Louvain, Sept. 1514), Thomas Martens, included in *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen (Oxford, 1910), II, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> It is important to note that the question of the "survival" of Cato becomes significant only with the Carolingian revival of learning. If the *Disticha* were used in the Roman primary schools, as has been conjectured, they were studied by Christian and non-Christian alike, for Christians attended the Roman schools until the collapse of the school system. (See Marrou, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-318 and Chapters IX and X *passim*.) Marrou holds that in Merovingian Gaul, and in Italy after the Lombard invasions, the only schools that remained were those maintained by the Church. His position is essentially that of M. Roger (*L'Enseignement des lettres classique d'Ausone à Alcuin* [Paris, 1905]), which Henri Pirenne challenged a number of years ago ("L'Instruction des marchands au moyen âge," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, I [1929], pp. 13-28; "De l'état de l'instruction de laïques à l'époque mérovingienne," *Revue Bénédictine*, XLVI [1934], pp. 165-177). Pirenne contends that, however much attenuated, lay education within the structure of the Roman educational system continued in Gaul, as in Italy and in Spain, up to the time of the Islamic expansion, which destroyed the economic and political organizations and with them the *raison d'être* of the lay schools. Not until the arrival of the Carolingians did education become a monopoly of the Church. In either case—for the history of education during this middle period is still largely conjectural—it was the Carolingian *grammatici*, founding an ecclesiastical educational system, who chose to preserve Cato and who therefore are responsible for his

survival.

<sup>14</sup> The concept of "natural law," moral in essence, though usually applied in a legal or political context, could perhaps have been used to justify the morality of Cato as well as other pagan writers but the ethical implications of the theory of natural law were not fully elaborated until the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (See D. Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, II, i, pp. 71-100, and R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, I, pp. 102-110 and *passim*), and by this time the glossators had transformed Cato into something other than pagan, which it is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate.

<sup>15</sup> Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 585.

<sup>16</sup> The *Liber scintillarum* (PL, 88, col. 597-718), written in the vicinity of Poitiers during the latter part of the seventh century, is a collection of sentences gleaned from the Scriptures and from patristic writings. It is in fact a moral treatise and as such was well known during later centuries. For bibliography see works cited in Dom Henri Rochais, "Pour une nouvelle édition du *Liber scintillarum*," *Études mérovingiennes* (Paris, 1953), pp. 257-268.

<sup>17</sup> Ernst Voigt suggested that during the eleventh century a general effort was made to dislodge Cato from the elementary curriculum. The protest of Othlo of St. Emmeran in his *Libellus proverbiorum* and the appearance at that time of a number of other home-grown proverb collections represent, according to Voigt, one tactical movement in a battle against "*die lehrdichtung der alten*." (Ueber die ältesten Sprichwörter-sammlungen des deutschen Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthums*, XXX [1886], pp. 260-261.) However, if such a movement existed, it is apparent that it preserved little of its

Does the widespread use of Cato in the schools indicate an uncritical acceptance of a pagan ethics? Was the effect of the extensive reading of Cato, as R. R. Bolgar suggests, an indoctrination of the mediaeval world with the principles of ancient morality?<sup>18</sup> These questions lie at the heart of the Cato problem and require something more than brief answers. First, one should note well the character of the "wisdom" of Cato. Like most proverbial literature the *Disticha Catonis* is concerned with the worldly and the practical. Based on a cynical, calculating view of human motives, the precepts recommend attitudes and actions that are both egocentric and opportunistic. There is no significant religious dimension; the gods are acknowledged, but they are evidently disinterested. Only Fortune is active in the affairs of men. The obvious purpose of the collection is the cultivation of the *vir urbanus*.<sup>19</sup> But its tone suggests that these are the measures that the "wise" man must take in order to bear up, or even survive, in a world inhabited largely by the ambitious, the self-seeking, and the predatory. The morality promulgated in the *Disticha Catonis* is a morality relating to life in the *civitas huius mundi*, and there is not the least hint that this life may in any way be a preparation for a *civitas Dei*.

A book of this kind was bound to present difficulties to its Christian users. While a few of the distichs would appear to be assimilable into the body of doctrine defined by the law of Charity, these are few indeed. During the Carolingian period one of the offensive pagan verses was modified to conform to fundamental dogma and at least one was dropped from the canon.<sup>20</sup> But editing could do no more than remove glaring inconsistencies. It could not alter the pagan secular emphasis of the collection as a whole.<sup>21</sup> The wisdom of Cato remained "*secularis, non perfectorum*," to quote one commentator's remark concerning the *sententia* of I, 26;<sup>22</sup> and in recognizing this fact we find that a consideration of the problem of the pagan Cato in Christian schools leads directly into the larger problem of the "disharmony" of Christian and pagan thought, a problem that troubled the consciences of individual Christians from St. Jerome and St. Augustine to Boccaccio and Petrarch. In regard to moral values, what divided the Christian from the pagan world was their antithetical claims concerning the human condition and particularly the claims relating to man's *telos*.

"Presupposing the existence of an ordered universe, the creation of a personal God, the Christian outlook subordinated the self-regarding impulse to a morality based on the Creator's will. Men were expected to find the final purpose of their lives not only outside of themselves, but outside of that

original impetus. Cato remained firmly established in the elementary curriculum. Two hundred years later, the rigorist Jacques de Vitry, in sounding the old warning against pagan poets and historians, excludes from his general censure Cato and Avianus, who are useful for moral instruction (G. Thompson, "Theodulus, a Medieval Text-book," *Modern Philology*, VII [1909-1910], p. 176).

<sup>18</sup> Bolgar, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>19</sup> It is this dimension of the *Disticha* that was chiefly influential in producing the long line of works in the *Facetus* tradition. The earliest of these works, entitled *Facetus*, written near the end of the twelfth century, purports to supplement the "*dogma Catonis*." See Carl Schroeder, *Der Deutsche Facetus*, in *Palaestra*, LXXXVI (1911); this volume contains an edition of the Latin text. In many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century MSS. the *Facetus* is included among the *auctores de Liber Catonianus* (Marcus Boas, "De Librorum Catonianorum historia

atque compositione," *Mnemosyne*, XLII [1914], p. 43).

<sup>20</sup> "An di sint caelumque regant, ne quaere doceri" (II, 2a) became "*Mitte archana dei caelumque inquirere quid sit*" (Skutch, op. cit., p. 361). Regarding the Carolingian re-editing of the *Disticha*, see Skutch, loc. cit., and Duff, op. cit., pp. 586-587.

<sup>21</sup> If the *monosticha* (text in Baehrens, op. cit., pp. 236-240; Duff, op. cit., pp. 622-628) represent a portion of the original corpus, they were obviously not eliminated simply because they conflicted with Christian ethical thought (See Erich Bischoff, *Prolegomena zu Dionysius Cato* [diss. Erlangen, 1890], p. 18, for possible reasons for the Carolingian redactions). On the other hand, Alcuin's *Praecepta vivendi*, most of which derive from the Catonian corpus, have obviously been tempered in the Christian fire. A text of the *Praecepta* is included in Boas, *Alcuin und Cato*, pp. 51-57.)

<sup>22</sup> See below, p. 167.

immediate environment with which their selfish interests could be most easily identified. The pattern of Christian culture tended to deny the egoist his natural satisfactions and offered socially approved opportunities for development to those whose temperaments inclined them to selfless service. The pagan outlook was less altruistic . . . . Self-abnegation had been replaced by committed ambition. Thus, the pattern of culture which the classical literatures reflect differed from the Christian in allowing man's egoistic impulses an ample measure of overt satisfaction. The institutions, customs and values characteristic of the Graeco-Roman Empire were by and large centered on the maintenance of private interest, modifying its free pursuit only in so far as the safety of the state or the avoidance of disruptive personal conflicts made some sacrifices necessary."<sup>23</sup>

Professor Bolgar's remarks penetrate to the center of the problem. This fundamental conflict of values—the terrestrial versus the celestial, the human versus the divine, imaged most vividly by St. Augustine in his metaphor of the Two Cities, stimulated, and conditioned, almost all intellectual activity during the entire Middle Ages.

It is in relation to this larger problem that we should recognize the particular significance of the *Disticha Catonis* as a first reader in the schools. A product of late antiquity, Cato reflects the values of its era. It is, in fact, a distillation (from the modern point of view, an adulteration) of many of the ideas and sentiments found in Augustan and Silver Latin literature.<sup>24</sup> When it was reintroduced into the schools during the Carolingian period, it was, like other classical works, utilized primarily as a propaedeutic to the study of the Scriptures.<sup>25</sup> The reading of the *sacra pagina*, for which all who went to school were being prepared, demanded training in the language of the Vulgate, and the Roman elementary books, already arranged in a series that permitted reasonably rapid progress from the simple to the complex, were at hand. As the schools expanded and as the demand for literate officials as well as clerics became more pressing, it must have become clear to the *grammatici* that the raw text of Cato was not exactly suitable for impressionable Christian schoolboys. The secular *dogma Catonis*, if it were to serve the ends of Christian *utilitas* beyond mere language training, needed interpretation in the light of received Christian truth. The interpretation that developed—a reconciliation of opposites, accomplished elsewhere by the use of the allegorical method—depended ultimately upon an act of faith. A *captiva gentilis*,<sup>26</sup> the text was properly lustrated,

<sup>23</sup> Bolgar, op. cit., p. 203.

<sup>24</sup> See Boas-Botschuyver edition *passim* for *exempla* and *fontes*. Regarding reminiscences of Ovid in the *Disticha*, see M. Boas, "Ein Catoflorilegium," *Historische Vierteljahresschrift*, XXVII (1932), p. 604. Perhaps the simplest way to observe the relationship of the *Disticha* to the moral sentences of other Roman writers, especially Horace, is to examine the *Florilegium Morale Oxoniense, Secunda pars: Flores Auctorum* (ed. C. H. Talbot, Analecta Mediaevalia Namurensia, VI [1956]), where almost all of the Catonian precepts are quoted.

<sup>25</sup> Roger (op. cit., p. 444) writes, "C'est encore à un but d'utilité étroite qu'elles sont limitées; on ne les conserve, ou ne les tolère, que comme un appareil très secondaire, non pas même d'étude, mais de préparation à l'étude. C'est une simple propédeutique. Les lettres ne servent plus à obtenir des places dans la hiérarchie impériale, elles servent à mettre le clerc en état d'aborder la seule science vraie, la théologie."

<sup>26</sup> One of the classic statements encouraging the exploitation of pagan literature for the purpose of Christian *utilitas* is found in Rhabanus Maurus, *De Clericorum institutione*, III, 18 (PL, 107, col. 396): "Poemata autem et libros gentiliū si velimus propter florem eloquentiae legere, typus mulieris captivae tenendus est, quam Deuteronomium describit; et Dominum ita praecepisse commemorat, ut si Israelites eam habere vellet uxorem, calvitium ei faciat, ungues praeseget, pilos auferat, et cum munda fuerit effecta, tunc transeat in uxoris amplexus. Haec si secundum litteram intelligimus, nonne ridicula sunt? Itaque et nos facere solemus, hocque facere debemus, quando poetas gentiles legimus, quando in manus nostras libri veniunt sapientiae saecularis, si quid in eis utile reperimus, ad nostrum dogma convertimus; si quid vero superfluum de idolis, de amore, de cura saecularium rerum, haec radamus, his calvitium inducamus, haec in unguum more ferro acutissimo descemus. Hoc tamen prae omnibus cavere debemus, ne haec licentia

barbered, and clipped, and finally arrayed in the garments of an orthodox exposition.

Already a moralist, as the *Epistola* introducing the text made clear:

Cum animadverterem quam plurimos graviter in via morum errare, succurrendum opinioni eorum et consulendum famae existimavi, maxime ut gloriose viverent et honorem contingerent. nunc te, fili karissime, docebo quo pacto morem animi tui componas . . . ,

Cato was converted into a Christian moralist.<sup>27</sup> This "conversion" apparently was gradual rather than sudden, and an examination of the glosses in Cato manuscripts suggests how it may have come about. What made this possible initially, I believe, was the concord between Cato and the sapiential books of *Sacra Scriptura*. The wisdom literature of the Old Testament, attributed generally to Salomon, was much admired and widely quoted throughout the Middle Ages. And anyone familiar with the *sententiae* of "Salomon" could not fail to recognize in the *Disticha* of Cato analogous and even identical ideas and sentiments. The mediaeval reader, sensitive to the distinction between sacred and profane writings, yet lacking the critical consciousness of a later age, found in Salomon and in Cato worldly practical precepts that were obviously equivalent. The book of *Proverbs* has been described as a "handbook of moral education for the perfect Civil Service clerk."<sup>28</sup> A modern textual critic and commentator characterizes its morality thus:

"The appeal is always to self-interest; it is rarely, if ever, that a higher motive is put forth; to refrain from evil because it is evil, or to do good for good's sake, is never held up as an ideal. Nor is it hinted that an evil course should be avoided because of the harm it might do others, either by example or by more direct effect; and, in the same way, right action is not inculcated because others might benefit from it."<sup>29</sup>

The characterization fits the *Disticha Catonis* equally well. But what the mediaeval reader of both books would have noted, and in fact did note, was the parallel relationship of individual precepts.<sup>30</sup> But *Proverbs* was not the only

nostra offendiculum fiat infirmis; ne pereat qui infirmus est in scientia nostra frater, propter quem Christus mortuus est, si viderit in idolio nos recumbentes." (Cited by Edwin A. Quain, "The Medieval Accessus ad Auctores," *Traditio*, III [1945], p. 224. Father Quain omits to notice that Rhabanus lifted this *figura* for the most part verbatim from St. Jerome, *Epist.* 21, 13 [CSEL 54, I, pp. 122-123]. In defence of his own use of the pagan writers, St. Jerome employs the figure again in *Epist.* 70, 2 [CSEL 54, I, p. 702].)

<sup>27</sup> The *Expositio Remigii super Catonem* in MS. 1433 (saec. xi) of the Public Library of Lucca contains the following curious remark in reference to the author of the *Disticha*: "*quidem eum christianum esse profitentur, alii vero paganum testantur*" (Mancini, op. cit., p. 179). It was generally known of course that "Cato" was a pagan, but the scholiast's comment here is an indication that a few, at least, believed that he was literally a Christian. The real problem faced by the *grammatici* was the identification of the *auctor*. The following comment in the Bodley Can. Lat. Class. MS. 72 is characteristic:

[fol. 60r] Actor huius libri secundum quosdam fuit Catho. Sed duo fuerunt Catones, scilicet, Uticensis et Censorius. Uticensis ab Utica, civitate Affrige, ubi

fuit mortuus fugiendo Iulium Cesarem. Alter Censorius dictus sic quia censebat de moribus. Quorum neuter hoc opus composuit, quod potest probari per hoc quod dicit actor in opere: *Si Romana cupis*, et cetera, *Lucanum queras*, et cetera. Lucanus descripsit facta Iulii Caesaris post tempus quo Catho Censorius fuit, vel tempore Iulii, ut supra dictum est. Alter Catho interfecit se fugiendo Iulium Cesarem, malens vitam suam finire quam amittere libertatem suam sub imperio Iulii Caesaris. Sed tertius Catho non legitur fuisse, nisi quod Virgilius derrisorie dicit: "Tercius a celo cecidit Catho." [Juvenal II, 40] Unde solet dici quod Tullius hoc opus composuit, et nomine persone Cathonis hoc opus intitulavit.

The scholiast of Vat. Lat. MS. 1663 states that *quidam* attribute the work to Seneca and *alii* to John Chrysostom (fol. 6r).

<sup>28</sup> Marrou, op. cit., p. xiv.

<sup>29</sup> W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, Westminster Commentaries (London, 1929), pp. lxi-lxii. Oesterley points out that the religious element, which consists largely of threats of divine retribution, "receives vastly less attention than the purely rationalistic view." (loc. cit.)

<sup>30</sup> Since there are few precepts in the *Disticha* that do not have equivalents in



Scriptural book that had affinities with Cato. The poetic beauty and intensity of *Ecclesiastes* are of course lacking in the Roman work, but the tone of resignation, the pessimistic view of man's lot, and the pervasive skepticism of the book of the Preacher are found also in the *Disticha*.<sup>31</sup> *Ecclesiasticus* shares these qualities to some degree and, in addition, contains a significant number of sentences that in thought and tone are strikingly parallel to Cato's.<sup>32</sup> The heavy emphasis on the quotidian in these Scriptural books, the admonishing tone, the use of the vocative formulae "*Fili, . . .*," "*Audi, fili, . . .*," and "*Audite, fili, . . .*," and the gnomic style were all to be found in the *Disticha Catonis*.

With an awareness of the stylistic similarities and the concord in idea and feeling between the classical and the Scriptural pieces, even though this awareness had not yet reached a level of articulation, the mediaeval reader of Cato was obliged, it would seem, to render to the writer of the *Disticha* something of the respect that he felt for Salomon. Mediaeval men, like many of us today, were perfectly capable of resolving contradictions by ignoring one of the contradictory elements. Cato was a pagan, and consequently his dogma constituted *secularis scientia*, "*que vix aut nullatenus caret peccati seu uanitatis obscuritate*."<sup>33</sup> In spite of this, Cato became, like Salomon, a type of the "wise man."<sup>34</sup>

In order to understand fully the conversion of Cato and his almost universal veneration as a wise man and a moralist during the later Middle Ages, one must consult the commentaries.<sup>35</sup> The commentaries reveal, first of all, the thoroughness with which the distichs were expounded in the schools.<sup>36</sup> They reveal also, quite clearly, just how the pagan Cato was made not merely acceptable but venerable to mediaeval Christians. Finally, the commentaries supply the evidence needed to understand why the contents of this *libellus* came

*Proverbs*, it would serve no purpose to present here a list of parallels. It will suffice to cite the quotations from *Proverbs* that appear in the *glossulae* of two important Cato MSS. In Can. Lat. Class. MS. 72 are the following: *Br. sent.* 7: *Proverbs* 13, 20; *Disticha* I, 3: 13, 3 and 10, 19; I, 6: 11, 4; I, 8: 27, 6; I, 14: 27, 2; I, 25: 3, 28; I, 26: 11, 9; II, 1: 21, 1 (twice); II, 2: 25, 27; IV, 8: 3, 28; IV, 12: 16, 32; IV, 17: 2, 14; IV, 30: 5, 3-4; IV, 37: 18, 21. The briefer *expositio* in Lin. Cath. MS. 132 contains the following: *Disticha* I, 6: *Proverbs* 16, 8; I, 9: 17, 6; I, 25: 3, 28; I, 26: 11, 9; II, 2: 25, 27; II, 16: 27, 2; IV, 1: 28, 6; IV, 12: 16, 32. Even more numerous than the quotations from *Proverbs* are those from *Psalms*, the Scriptural book the *grammaticus* was apt to be most familiar with. But, in general, Scriptural quotations in support of Catonian precepts would be limited, one would suppose, only by the retentive capacity of the *grammaticus*.<sup>31</sup> *Ecclesiastes* is quoted only four times in Can. Lat. Class. MS. 72, and only once in Lin. Cath. MS. 132.

<sup>32</sup> The following are closely equivalent: *Disticha* I, 5: *Ecclus.* 8, 6; I, 10: 8, 4; I, 19: 9, 17; I, 25: 4, 34 and 8, 16; I, 32: 9, 14; I, 37: 4, 35; II, 2: 3, 22-25; II, 8 and II, 23: 9, 16; II, 10: 8, 1-2; IV, 18: 8, 7; IV, 34: 8, 17; IV, 39: 4, 32; IV, 46: 8, 8. Compare also Prologus II, 7-10, Prologus III, and Prologus IV with *Ecclus.* 6, 24 and 33. The *glossulae* of Can. Lat. Class. MS. 72 contain the following quotations from *Ecclesiasticus*: *Br. sent.* 1: *Ecclus.* 1, 16; *Disticha* I, 19: 11, 27; I, 22: 7, 40; II, 2: 3, 22; II, 25: 6, 10; II, 26: 11, 27; III, 12: 25, 22-23; III, 20: 25, 23; IV, 4: 30,

5; IV, 8: 12, 1; IV, 25: 31, 30 and 31, 2; IV, 26: 11, 27; IV, 39: 4, 32. In the *glossulae* of Lin. Cath. MS. 132 are quoted the following: *Disticha* II, 1: *Ecclus.* 6, 14; II, 25: 11, 27; II, 31: 34, 7; III, 12: 25, 22; IV, 39: 4, 32; IV, 46: 8, 8.

<sup>33</sup> Conrad of Hirsau, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> Most of the commentaries contain the "etymology": "*Cato enim grece, ingeniosus vel sapiens dicitur latine*." Cf. Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, XII, ii, 38.

<sup>35</sup> Hugo of Trimberg, discussing briefly the authors included in the version of the *Liber Catonianus* known to him, writes:

Cumque sit difficile de singulis monstrare  
Qui fuerint, quid scripserint, quo tem-  
pore vel quare,  
Lector hic contentus sit titulis inventis.  
Et quod hic non invenit querat in  
commentis.

(op. cit., ed. Huemer, p. 180) The commentaries, as might be expected, vary in length and in quality. It must be remembered that they represent lecture notes and consequently, although an underlying tradition can be discerned, deriving perhaps from the *expositio* attributed to Remigius of Auxerre, no two commentaries are exactly alike.

<sup>36</sup> The pedagogical method used in the teaching of Cato was the same as that employed at higher levels of learning. For a comprehensive survey of teaching methods, see G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle Les Ecoles et l'Enseignement* (Paris and Ottawa, 1933), pp. 109-137.

to be so influential as ethical doctrine. For this was no antiquated text, reflecting a worldly, pagan—and therefore reprehensible—morality; rather,

materia Catonis in hoc opere sunt quatuor virtutes principales, scilicet iusticia, prudentia, fortitudo, temperancia.<sup>37</sup>

The pagan virtues had been gathered quite early into the Christian embrace,<sup>38</sup> and because Cato dealt with matters of such prime importance, his teaching could be compared to that of Salomon:

. . . de bonis moribus hic tractat. Mores vero boni sunt virtutes et bona vita. Sed quia virtus bona est et omne bonum a deo procedit, idcirco primum preceptum ponit de cultura dei, tanquam digniori incipiens. Hanc ergo doctrinam ponit ethicam theologis satis concordans scripturis que instruunt mores, sicut Proverbia Salomonis vel Liber Sapientie, qui ad instruendum bonos et malos corrigendum sunt compositi.<sup>39</sup>

Indeed, the "utility" of the *ethica Catonis* was not limited to secular ends:

Utilitas est ut perfectio libro capiamus per intelligentiam quod actor tradit per doctrinam, et animum nostrum ab erronea via vel operibus revertentes ad honestam vitam deducamus, ita quod ad eternam vitam pervenire valeamus.<sup>40</sup>

The manner and the method of the Christianization of Cato can be seen by examining a few representative *glossulae* from Can. Lat. Class. 72. The laconic "*Itaque deo supplica*," which introduces the *Breves Sententiae*, receives, in part, this lengthy explanation:

[fol. 61<sup>r</sup>] *Supplica*, perfecte ama deum, id est animam tuam et mentem cum supplicatione in deo habe, sicut scriptum est in Evangelio, "Dilige dominum deum tuum ex toto corde et ex tota anima tua et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum." [Mat. 22, 37] Et alibi, "Primo querite regnum dei et omnia adicientur vobis." [Mat. 6, 33] Et alibi, "Initium sapientie timor domini." [Ps. 110, 10; Eccles. 1, 16] Hic secundum Platonem loquitur, qui bene deum colebat et colendo predicabat. Postquam ergo Catho filium suum ad precepta sua intelligenda invitavit, incipit dare hic precepta sua, et primum preceptum dat de deo et divina supplicatione, dicens, *Itaque deo supplica*, quod primum et maximum est mandatum, quia "initium sapientie timor domini." Per hoc quod ipse dicit deo patet istum Cathonem fuisse modernum. Si autem dicatur istum ut quidam nolunt fuisse statum post Lucanum, Ovidium, Virgilium et alios poetas, dicatur quod secundum sententiam Socratis hoc dicit, cuius sententia erat unum deum, unum verum colendum esse.

The brief "*Cognatos cole*" (*Br. sent.* 6), with its undertone of self-interest, is interpreted in this fashion:

[fol. 61<sup>v</sup>] *Cognatos cole*, id est propinquos dilige et venerare. Unde scriptum est, "Dilige proximum tuum sicut te ipsum." [Mat. 19, 19 et al.] Optime enim post reverenciam dei et dilectionem, dilectionem proximi sui iubet

<sup>37</sup> Can. Lat. Class. 72, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>. In this and the following excerpts I have tacitly corrected a few obvious scribal errors but I have made no effort to regularize the orthography.

<sup>38</sup> See Claude W. Barlow, ed. *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia* (New Haven, 1950), p. 205, and bibliography, p.

233; Ottmar Dittrich, *Die Systeme der Moral: Geschichte der Ethik*, II, (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 218, 224, 233; and William Harris Stahl, tr. *Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* (New York, 1952), p. 121, for important bibliography.

<sup>39</sup> Lincoln 132, fol. 20<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Can. Lat. Class. 72, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>.

observare. Primum enim mandatum est dilectio dei, secundum patris et matris, tertium proximi.

The following precept, "*Cum bonis ambula*" (*Br. sent.* 7: *Hic subaudiendum est*, "It's profitable to be seen in good company."), has its egocentric sting removed in the gloss that follows:

[fol. 61'] *Cum bonis ambula*, id est conserva te bonis hominibus, sequendo opera eorum, ut eorum vincus consortio exemplo proficias et eis fias similis, quia Salomon dicit, "Qui cum sapiente graditur, sapiens efficitur; qui autem cum stultis similis eis efficitur." [*Prov.* 13, 20] Iuxta illud, "Cum sancto sanctus eris," [*II Reg.* 22, 26; *Ps.* 17, 26] et cetera.

More revealing than any of these, however, is the comment on "*Pugna pro patria*" (*Br. sent.* 29):

[fol. 62'] *Pugna pro patria*, id est celesti, quia ista patria terrena non est habitatio nostra, quia aliena et advena est habitatio terrena. Nichil enim decentius est hominibus quam pro patria pugnare. Unde Horacius, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." [*Hor., Carm.* III, 2, 13] Vel *pugna*, id est pro bonis moribus patrie retinendis. Vel *pugna*, id est pro celesti regione. Hec patria non est nostra sed locus exilii et perigrinationis, quia "ibi non hospites sed advene," [*Eph.* 2, 19] et cetera.

It will be noticed here that even the Horatian *flosculus*, the meaning of which is utterly clear, is swallowed up in the Christian explication that depends on the interpretation of the word "*patria*."

In general, the mediaeval sense of *mensura* prevented the writing of too lengthy interpretations of the *Breves Sententia*, but the method displayed here is employed at greater length throughout the four books of the *Disticha*. A few *glossulae* excerpted from the commentary in *Can. Lat. Class.* 72 will serve to substantiate the point being made here regarding the conversion of Cato.

*Disticha* I, 1 (*Si deus est animus nobis ut carmina dicunt, / Hic tibi precipue sit pura mente colendus.*) lent itself, superficially at least, to Christian interpretation. But there were some difficulties, chiefly in regard to syntax, as the *glossula* reveals. Since the comment serves to introduce the first of the four books as well as to explicate the distich, and since it exhibits the characteristic thoroughness of the commentator, I quote it in its entirety.

[fol. 63'] Finito prologo, qui dicitur a prothos, quod est primus, et logos, quod est sermo, incipit actor distigium suum, et est distigium materia duorum versuum continuata, et dicitur a dyas, quod est duo, et stigos, quod est summa, quasi duorum versuum summa continuata. *Si deus est.* Hic incipit primus liber Cathonis. Catho enim Grece, sapiens Latine. Et bene dicit primus quia sequitur secundus; ubi enim est pluralitas, ibi est numerus. Dividitur autem iste liber in quatuor partes sive in quatuor libros. Primus, *Si deus est.* Secundus, *Telluris.* Tertius, *Hoc quicumque.* Quartus, *Securam.* In hoc autem loco tangit de quatuor virtutibus principalibus actor iste, scilicet de iusticia, prudentia, fortitudine, temperencia. De iusticia tangit ubi dicit, *Itaque deo supplica*; de prudentia ubi dicit, *Foro te para*; de fortitudine ubi dicit, *Pugna pro patria*; de temperencia ubi dicit, *Vino tempera.* Finito prohemio in quo dicit de quo scribit, hic incipit Catho primum librum in quo intendit multa precepta dare de predictis quatuor virtutibus. Incipiens ergo a iusticia, dat primum mandatum in lege de cultura dei. Primum enim mandatum in lege est dilectio dei et proximi, adtestante Evangelista, qui sic dicit, "Accesit quidam legis peritus ad Ihesum, temptans eum, et ait: Quod est mandatum magnum in lege?

et cetera. Ihesus autem ait illi: Dilige dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua, et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum." [Mat. 22, 36-40] Dans ergo actor tale preceptum filio, dicit, *Si deus*. Iste versus diversimode legitur, secundum diversas diversorum sentencias. Quidam legunt ita. *Si deus est animus nobis*. Deus, id est divinus, *ut dicunt nobis carmina*, *hic*, id est animus; nunquam legimus a superiore ethere habemus animam, sed animum pro anima posuit, quia caput superior pars est hominis, ita animus superior pars anime, et est sinecdоче, pars pro toto. Vel aliter. *Si deus est ut dicit nobis animus et ut dicunt nobis carmina*, *hic*, id est deus, *sit nobis colendus pura mente*, id est pura mentis devocione. Vel aliter. Superius dixit, *Supplica deo* et non diis; modo respondet antipophorem que posset ei fieri. Tu dicis: Unum deum esse colendum? Estne unus deus et non multi? Ad hoc respondet, dicens: *Si*, id est siquidem, unus deus est et non multi, ut dicit *animus*; *hic* est colendus *ut dicunt nobis carmina* sacrorum, qui adtestantur unum deum esse colendum. Vel sic. *Si deus est colendus pura mente ut dicunt nobis carmina*, *hic* deus, id est in hoc colendo, *sit precipue tibi animus*. Vel sic. *Si deus est nobis*, id est pro deo reputandus. Antiquitus enim deum unum esse colendum vel animam suam pro deo reputabant et colebant. Unde illud: "Nullum numen abest, si sit sapiencia tecum." [Juvenal X, 365] Vel aliter. (*Si pro quia*) *quia deus est, ut dicunt nobis carmina et ut dicit nobis animus*, *hic*, scilicet deus, *sit colendus tibi*, id est a te, *precipue*, id est pre aliis rebus omnibus, *pura mente*, id est pura mentis devocione et intencione, abstinendo a viciis et inherendo virtutibus. Bene enim dicit colendus et non venerandus, quia veneramur et colimus maiores, diligimus equales [sic]. Unde versus:

Principio cultum domini tu dilige multum,  
Qua bene cultura fruitur mens crimine pura. [Cato Novus I, 1]

Worthy of note here is the commentator's insistence that the *materia* of the book is the four cardinal virtues. The distichs are not, of course, arranged according to any order in the four books. Nevertheless it is evident that in some quarters an effort was made to "contain" them within a system of the virtues.<sup>41</sup> What the commentaries reveal is the extent of the diffusion of the moral philosophy developed by twelfth- and thirteenth-century theologians.<sup>42</sup> Grounded on a more or less systematized version of the classical virtues and implemented by specifically Christian interpretation, this *philosophia moralis* was well enough established by the thirteenth century, and perhaps by the twelfth century, to have found its way into the expositions of the first reader in the grammar course. Indeed, it is clear that the speculations of the theologians were not confined to the realm of theory; in the commentaries of the *ethica Catonis* we find them in the form of applied doctrine.

Noteworthy in this *glossula* also is the commentator's attitude toward *antiquitus* and his effort to extract monotheistic doctrine from a *flosculus* of

<sup>41</sup> All of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century commentaries I have examined contain in the prefatory remarks a statement that the book deals with the *quattuor virtutes cardinales* or *principales*. In the *glossulae*, wherever possible, individual distichs are related to one or more of the "natural" virtues, which are usually defined at some length. Boas reports that the Cato commentary in Vat. Lat. MS. 1479 (saec. xiii) begins: "*Iste liber dividitur in quattuor distinctiones: in prima agit actor de iusticia, in secunda de prudencia, in tercia de fortitudine, in quarta de temperancia.*" ("Der Codex Bosii der Dicta Catonis," *Rheinisches Museum für*

*Philologie*, LXVII [1912], p. 92 n.) See also Boas, "De IV virtutibus cardinalibus, een middeleeuwsche benaming voor de Disticha Catonis," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde*, XXXII (1913), pp. 133-137.

<sup>42</sup> For a detailed study of the classical virtues in connection with mediaeval moral philosophy, see Lottin, op. cit., III, 2, i, pp. 99-252. In regard to the teaching of ethics in the *trivium*, see the important study by Philippe Delhaye, "L'Enseignement de la Philosophie Morale au XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle," *Mediaeval Studies*, XI (1949), pp. 77-99.

Juvenal's. There is little that escapes the interpreter's net. *Carmina*, for instance, become *carmina sacrorum*. Of even greater interest is the interpretation of the phrase "*ut carmina dicunt*" in Lincoln, 132 (fol. 20<sup>a</sup>). After stating that "*versus isti multipliciter possunt legi*," the scholiast glosses "*carmina*" first with "*sanctorum patrum auctoritates*," then with "*scilicet Iuvenalis et Vergilii*" (quoting Juvenal X, 365, and a verse that he attributes to Virgil), and finally with "*Scripture Sancte*." The latter reading, he says, is "*lectura melior et auctoris intentio*." Cato's pagan *carmina*, whatever they were, have become the Christian Scriptures.

The following *glossulae* from Can. Lat. Class. 72, submitted here without further comment, will suffice to make clear the nature of the Christian transformation of Cato.

I, 21 [fol. 67<sup>r</sup>] *Infantem nudum com te natura creavit,  
Paupertatis honus pacienter ferre memento.*

[fol. 66<sup>v</sup>] *Infantem nudum, id est nichil habentem. Unde versus:*

*Essens inops natus quisquam pauperque creatus,  
Pauperiem grandem vincat paciencia tandem. [Cato Novus, I, 21]*

Unde Iob: "Nudus egressus sum de utero matris mee et nudus revertar illuc." [Job 1, 21] Com ergo ita sit quod de ventre matris mee egressus fuerim vel processerim et nichil actulerim, non debeo irasci si nichil in hoc mundo possiderim. Unde com nichil autulimus, paupertatem benigniter paciamur. *Com natura*, id est divina dispositio, id est deus. Et notandum quod duplex est natura: natura naturans et natura natura; natura naturans est deus, natura natura est homo. *Memento dico pati*, quia paciencia pauperum non peribit in finem, quia dicit dominus: "Beati pauperes spiritum quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum." [Mat. 5, 3] Paupertas autem est donum dei odibile, possessio sine calumpnia, mater sanitatis, curarum remocio, sapientie reparatrix, negocium sine causa, perditio sine dampno, et cetera.

I, 22 [fol. 67<sup>r</sup>] *Ne timeas illam que vite est ultima finis;  
Qui mortem metuit, quod vivit, perdit id ipsum.*

[fol. 66<sup>v</sup>] *Ne timeas*, quasi diceret, mortem, *que est ultima finis vite*. Iuxta illud: "Mors ultima lignea rerum." [Hor., *Epist.* I, 16, 79] Quasi diceret, ama deum et time, quia qui amat timet, et non econtra. *Id ipsum quod vivit*, scilicet, deum, et perdit vitam perpetuam. Et nota quod subsequens ponitur pro antecedente, scilicet timere pro amare. Illos enim quos amamus timemus. Unde:

*Non agit illicite qui non timet ultima vite.  
Est nostre sortis transire per hostia mortis;  
Est grave transire, quia transitus absque redire.*

*Ne timeas*, id est si grave peccaveris, ne timeas de misericordia domini, vel ne pecces ita graviter ut oporteat te transire ad mortem subitam vel perpetuam. *Qui mortem metuit*, id est qui facit opera per que debeat timere mortem, *perdit id ipsum que vivit*, scilicet vitam eternam, quia vivere est semper mortem timere; mori est quia qui semper metuit tristatur. Unde Seneca: "Stultum timere quod non potest vitari." [(Pseudo) Seneca, *De Rem. Fort.*, II, 3] Ergo *ne timeas illam mortem temporalem*, que terminat vitam mundanam; *qui metuit mortem perdit id ipsum quod vivit*, id est vitam quam ducit. Timor enim mortis aliud genus est secundum illos qui dicebant se vixisse tot dies quot hylares et leti existerant, et tot dies non

vixisse quot dies tristes fuerant et solliciti. *Ne timeas illam*. Preceptum est secundum epicures, id est potares, qui dicebant neminem [fol. 67<sup>r</sup>] deperire morte et mortem nichil esse. Secundum illorum opinionem anima unius corporis transibat in aliud corpus, secundum quod ille sentiebat nichil deperibat; unde cum mors nichil sit, non debet timeri. *Que est ultima*, id est ad ultimum vite veniens, *est finis vita*, id est terminat vitam cuiuslibet, *ne timeas*, id est ne facias tale quid propter quod debeas timere mortem; illi qui sunt peccato mortali oppressi debent timere mortem, quia morte expectant nichil. Vera purgacione se ipsos purgaverint. Unde versus:

Dico tibi vere, si vis de morte timere,  
Perdere tunc queris vite quod haberi videris. [*Cato Novus*, I, 22]

Unde scriptum est: "Vivimus quasi morituri; discamus quasi semper vivituri." Unde dicit mortem non esse timendam, quoniam tam sancte debemus vivere ut non timeamus mortem vel dissolucionem corporis et anime, ut pote confidentes de beneficiis precedentibus. Consilii enim magis debent vereri mortem quam iustificati. Unde scriptum est: "Fili, memorare novissima vite et non peccabis in eternum," [Ecclus. 7, 40] et cetera.

II, 2 [fol. 70<sup>r</sup>] Mitte archana dei celumque inquirere quid sit;

Com sis mortalis, que sunt mortalia cura.

*Mitte archana*, id est nolite intromittere de secretis celestibus, de quibus deus precepit quod nemo investigaret ea. Et ponitur ibi mitte pro dimitte, et est afferesis. Et hoc preceptum pertinet ad sapientes, scilicet ne secreta dei interrogent; cum simus mortales, et ea penetrare non possimus. Unde scriptum est: "Scrutator maiestatis privabitur angela dei." [Prov. 25, 27] Et hoc est: *Mitte*, inquam, *inquirere*, id est interrogare, *archana*, id est secreta, quia archana dei non poteris penetrare. Qui sint celestes noli perquirere. Unde Salomon: "Altiora te non quesieris." [Ecclus. 3, 22] Sed *cum sis mortalis*, quasi diceret, cum sis mortalis, de mortalibus et terrenis cogita. Unde versus:

Tu secreta poli, fili, perquirere noli.

Vel sic:

Ad secreta poli curas extendere noli,  
Sed de terrena mortali quere camena. [*Cato Novus* II, 2]  
In te non vetita sit tua cura sita, et cetera.

III, 24 [fol. 76<sup>v</sup>] Dilige non egra caros pietate parentes;

Nec matrem offendas, si vis bonus esse parenti.

*Dilige non egra*. Construe: *Dilige*, id est ama, *parentes*, id est patrem et matrem, qui dicuntur proprie parentes. *Dilige dico pietate*, id est affectum amoris et timoris, *non egra*, (*nec* pro et et pro non) et non *offendas matrem*, id est non ledas in aliquo vel scandalizes, *si vis bonus esse parenti*, id est si vis placare parenti. Scriptum est enim: "Honora patrem et matrem ut sis longevus super terram." [Exod. 20, 12] Quasi diceret, non offendas patrem nec matrem, et ita eris bonus patri et matri. Unde versus:

Esto pius vere super hos qui te gennere,  
Nec spernas matrem nisi vis offendere patrem. [*Cato Novus* III, 25]

Secundum quosdam, de patrem spirituali legitur sic: Non offendas

matrem, id est sanctam ecclesiam, dum vis bonus esse patrem, id est deo patri, et cetera.

IV, 1 [fol. 76<sup>r</sup>] *Despice divicias si vis animo esse beatus;*

*Quas qui suscipiunt, mendicant semper avari.*

*Despice divicias.* Ecce primum mandatum quod dat actor filio suo in hac ultima distinctione. Dicit ergo: *Despice*, id est contempne, *divicias* huius mundi, scilicet res seculares, *si vis*, id est si cupis, *esse bonus*, id est securus, *animo*, id est mente tua, id est apud deum. Unde Psalmista: "Divicie si affluent nolite cor apponere." [Ps. 61, 11] Si autem diviciis secularibus curam habueris, "ubi erit thesaurus, ibi erit cor tuus." [Mat. 6, 21] *Si vis* dico *esse beatus animo*, id est tranquillam vitam ducere, *despice* inquam *divicias*. Unde beatus Augustinus: "Qui cupiunt fieri divites in hoc mundo decidunt in temptationem, id est in laquerum diaboli." [Non inveni.] *Despice divicias, quas*, scilicet divicias, *qui suscipiunt*, id est sursum aspiciunt vel accipiunt (suscipere aliquando pro sursum aspicere accipitur) vel venerari (sicut despiciere pro contempnere, quia quos veneramur sursum aspicimus), *mendicant semper avari*, id est semper in egestate consistunt; mendicare proprie est hostiatim panem querere. Vel sic: *Quas*, id est divicias, illi *qui suscipiunt*, id est adquirunt, *mendicant semper avari*, id est mendicando sunt semper avari et cupidi. Unde:

Dives divicias non congregat absque labore,

Non tenet absque metu, nec desinit absque dolore,<sup>43</sup> et cetera.

IV, 37 [fol. 80<sup>r</sup>] *Tempora longa tibi noli promittere vite;*

*Quocomque ingrederis, sequitur mors corporis umbra.*

[fol. 80<sup>r</sup>] *Tempora longa.* Construe: *Noli promittere tibi*, id est existimare, quasi diceret, noli dicere vitam tuam esse longam vel durabilem, sicut quidam qui bonum non volunt facere in iuventute, dicentes, "Cum fuerimus senes, penitencias faciemus, ecclesias edificabimus." Ad hoc dicit scriptura: "Mors et vita in manu dei sunt." [Prov. 18, 21] Et hoc est quod dicit: *Quocomque*, id est in quocomque loco, sive quacumque, id est in quacumque parte, *ingrederis*, id est vadis, *mors sequitur umbra corporis*; quasi diceret, sicut umbra sequitur corpus, sic mors sequitur hominem, nam ubi est homo, ibi est periculum. Unde versus:

Preterit hec vita velut arcu missa sagita,

Vitaque nostra brevis transit ut aura levis, et cetera.

What is remarkable in these *glossulae* is that the pagan and secular emphasis of the distichs has been completely ignored and a Christian dimension, wholly unjustified by the letter of the text, has been added.

Some of the distichs, however, presented real problems for the interpreter. On one occasion, in explaining *Disticha* I, 26 (*Qui simulat verbis, nec corde est fidus amicus, / Tu quoque fac simile, sic ars deluditur arte.*), the commentator of Lincoln 132 was obliged to point out:

[fol. 22<sup>a</sup>] *Hac scientia est secularis, non perfectorum, testante Salomone, qui ait, "Simulato ore non decipias amicum" et ducas eum in spem vanum.* [Prov. 11, 9]

Nevertheless, properly interpreted, the precept is *licitum* or *divinum*:

<sup>43</sup> These lines are a versification of Innocent III's *De miseria humane conditionis*, I, xv, 3: "Labor in acquirendo, timor in possidendo, dolor in amittendo . . ." (ed.

Vel aliter, et est preceptum divinum. *Qui simulat verbis*, id est qui simulatoris utitur verbis, reprehendendo amicum propter eius viciū corrigendum, *nec corde*, id est non est iratus corde, talis inquam est *fidus amicus*. Si ita inquam facit aliquis, *tu quoque fac simile*, id est similiter castiges amicum tuum amaris verbis et non corde, et sic *ars*, id est mala operatio illius vel viciū, *deluditur*, id est repellitur, *arte tua*, id est artificiosa corectione tua.<sup>44</sup>

Where individual distichs were beyond the transforming powers of the scholiast, he confined himself to etymologies, to construction, and to the glossing of single words. Or, faced with a seemingly intractable precept, the commentator resorted to the quotation of contemporary verses more or less related to the theme. One example from Can. Lat. Class. 72 will suffice:

I, 34 [fol. 68<sup>v</sup>] Vincere cum possis, interdum cede sodali;

Obsequio quoniam multi retinentur amici.

*Vincere cum possis*. Versus:

Cedas sepe pari, quamvis possis superari:

Hoc etiam dico quia sic es gratus amico. [Cato Novus I, 34]

*Obsequio*. Unde versus:

Audivi dici, fiunt per munus amici;

Munera dando vice sunt filia, mater amice.

Et alibi: Nobile vincendi genus est patientia. Vincit qui patitur. Si vis vincere, disce pati. Est virtus vidua quam non patientia firmat [Prud., *Psych.*, 177], et cetera.

There are, however, an overwhelming number of *glossulae* containing markedly Christian interpretations and these, with the introductory material, set the tone of the entire book. With the evidence of this before us, we are, I think, in a better position to appreciate the *utilitas* of the *Disticha Catonis* and to understand why Cato was esteemed by mediaeval men.<sup>45</sup> As one of the *auctores* Cato spoke with *auctoritas*, and we need not wonder at finding him, without prejudice, in the company of Salomon, St. Paul, or the Fathers.<sup>46</sup> Nor, in the light of the commentaries, could there be any ambiguity in regard to his *auctoritas*, as there was in the case of other writers of antiquity who, like Ovid,

M. Maccarrone, *Thesaurus Mundi* [1955], p. 21). The commentary in Can. Lat. Class. 72 shows occasional indebtedness to Innocent's treatise.

<sup>44</sup> The reading in Can. Lat. Class. 72 is: "Licet enim est quod fraus de fraude repellatur; et melius, qui reprehendo simulatoris verbis et simulando se fingit irratum esse erga ipsum, vel propter aliquod viciū eius hoc faciat." (fol. 67<sup>v</sup>)

<sup>45</sup> While few of the commentaries I have examined provide readings as detailed as those in Can. Lat. Class. 72, Lincoln 132, and Additional 21980, all of them provide evidence of the Christianization of Cato. It would appear that the expositions actually became lengthier and more comprehensive as the teaching became more standardized, arriving at the saturation point in the fifteenth century with the commentaries of Robert of Euremodio and Philip of Bergamo. It was these commentaries, extremely popular during the fifteenth century, that Erasmus protested against in the preface to his edition of Cato (1514), to which he

added "*scholia perbrevia*." One of them, evidently that of Robert of Euremodio, Erasmus condemned because "*insulsissime rhetoricatur, homo vasa infantior infantia*," the other, doubtless the version of Philip of Bergamo, because "*ineptissime philosophatur*." (*Opus Epistolarum*, II, p. 2) In regard to these identifications, see Boas, "Een Vergissing van Erasmus," *Het Boek*, Nieuwe Reeks, XXV (1938-1939), pp. 282-284. <sup>46</sup> Regarding the canonization of the *auctores*, see Paré, et al., op. cit., pp. 111-112, and bibliography noted on p. 112. For a useful summary of mediaeval documents dealing with curriculum authors, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953), pp. 48-54. In regard to the attitude of the theologians and pedagogues toward the *auctores*, see Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II (Darmstadt, 1956), pp. 59-64, and Quain, op. cit., pp. 216-226.



could be ransomed only by resorting to a somewhat dubious allegory. Cato was not simply "safe" nor was his teaching negligible; he had been converted to Christian *utilitas*. Itaque, St. Jerome had written, *et nos hoc facere solemus, quando philosophos legimus, quando in manus nostras libri ueniunt sapientiae saecularis: si quid in eis utile reperimus, ad nostrum dogma conuertimus . . .*<sup>47</sup> In the case of this homely *captiua gentilis* the mandate was obeyed with a vengeance.

Still, with all of this, the fact remains that the morality of the *Disticha Catonis* is a morality of *huius mundi*. Under the veil of the Christian interpretation lurked always the practical values of "the sensual man in the street." The *filius karissimus* of Cato, if he followed to the letter the precepts given him, would have cultivated patience, prudence, temperance, and fortitude; he would be cautious, circumspect, thrifty, modest, humble, perhaps even pious—all of these in the interest of self-interest. He would be concerned with reputation (*fama*), not honor, with the show of virtue, not virtue; he would speak of service and practice profit-making; he would lift his hands to the gods and keep his eye on the main chance. We can assume from the specific evidence that has come down to us that it was the Christianized Cato that was read in the schools and venerated by worthy men long after their schoolbooks had been left behind. But the histories reveal that the Middle Ages were populated largely by the bustling sons of the pagan Cato.<sup>48</sup> And at this point we can return to the two questions posed earlier: we know that the widespread use of the *Disticha* in the schools by no means indicates an uncritical acceptance of a pagan ethics, for the commentaries reveal the transformation Cato underwent at the hands of the Christian pedagogues. Consequently it seems unlikely that the effect of the study of Cato was to indoctrinate the mediaeval world with the principles of ancient morality. Indeed, we know very well that the "morality" contained in the *Disticha Catonis*, and in the many similar collections from Amenemope to Dale Carnegie, needs little coaching. At best, a book like the *Disticha* can do little more than countenance, or give license to, the unlovely tribal ethics of those who conduct the business of the world. But, in fact, we cannot estimate the extent to which Cato was read according to the letter rather than according to the spirit that Christian *grammatici* had provided him with. The praise of Cato that we hear is in the mouths of Christian moralists, who we know read him according to the spirit. The actions of the many who leave few records except in the form of ledgers would seem to indicate that the *littera* of Cato had also been found congenial.

One hesitates to attribute to a simple schoolbook, however widely read, an influence that is too far reaching; for the contribution of the *Disticha Catonis* to mediaeval ethical doctrine is closely bound up with the contribution of the classical heritage at large. What must be considered, though here again its effect can not be fully calculated, is the impact on the young of the *dogma Catonis*. While it is obvious that early religious training, both formal and informal, inculcated spiritual values, established certain emotional responses, and provided imaginative stimuli for those sensitive enough to respond,<sup>49</sup> the study of Cato amounted to an introduction to the world they lived in. One

<sup>47</sup> *Epist.* 21, 13. See above, note 26.

<sup>48</sup> Hugh of St. Victor has this to say about them: "nam sunt plerique qui negotiis huius saeculi et curis super quam necesse sit impliciti aut vitii et voluptatibus corporis dediti, talentum Dei terra obruunt, et ex eo nec fructum sapientiae, nec usuram boni operis quaerunt, qui profecto valde detestabiles sunt. (*Didascalicon: De Studio Legendi*, ed. Charles H. Buttner (Washington, D.C., 1939), p. 1)

<sup>49</sup> The Psalter, for several centuries a first-year "reader," was in the later period replaced by the Primer, containing the ABC, the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, the Credo, and other liturgical pieces. (Bernard Bischoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11) A facsimile of an early fifteenth-century French and Latin Primer containing these pieces is included in George A. Plimpton, *The Education of Chaucer* (London and New York, 1935), pp. 41-79.

need only examine the contents of the works first encountered by the student, the Primer and Donatus—noting especially the necessarily technical nature of the standard Donatus commentary,<sup>50</sup> to understand the special limitations of these elementary pieces. The *Disticha Catonis* was not only the first full-length literary piece the student read; in the context of its commentary it reveals itself as a compendium of the root ideas that informed the thinking of mediaeval men. Here, for the first time, the attention of the young was focused on such pervasive “mediaeval” notions as these: the operation of Fortune in the affairs of men, the efficacy of patience, the warfare for the heavenly *patria*, inactivity as the source of vices, the dangers involved in the effort to penetrate the *archana dei*, the primacy of the virtue of holding one’s tongue, the fickleness and willfulness of women—in fact, all the props of traditional anti-feminism. In the study of Cato they were introduced to the idea of *contemptus mundi*, to the system of the virtues and vices, to the sense of *mensura*, to an idea of history, and to that habit of mind which encouraged the reading of the spirit as well as the letter of a line. Here in their first reader the *scholarii* encountered for the first time in bulk the amalgamation of classical and Scriptural lore that is characteristic of mediaeval literature. Here, perhaps, they first learned many verses from the pagan poets that memory would retain as tenaciously as it retained popular Scriptural quotations. It was in the study of Cato, too, that they first became aware that Horace, Virgil, and Ovid, among others, spoke with *auctoritas*, just as did the Psalmist, the Evangelists, and the Fathers of the Church. Finally, in studying Cato they were established in a tradition; for preserved in the *Disticha* and in the *glossulae* that interpreted them are the ideas, values, sentiments, and attitudes that flowed out of antiquity into the Christian mediaeval world. The point to be emphasized here is that the study of Cato, thorough as it was, doubtless left traces on the minds of the young, that were not to be obliterated but rather deepened by further study in other books. Whether the individual responded to the letter of the pagan text or to the spirit of the Christian interpretation depended ultimately, one must suppose, on individual temperament. Cato, with the help of the assiduous schoolmasters, had fixed for him the ethical coordinates of his world. Having shown him the image of that world in a *speculum morum*, they expected him to hold it in contempt.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See Remigii Autissiodorensis in artem Donati minorem commentum, ed. W. Fox (Leipzig, 1902).

<sup>51</sup> The Latin *explicit* in British Museum, Harleian MS. 4657, art. 4 (fol. 97<sup>v</sup>), states

succinctly the intention of the *grammatici*:  
Hic finis cato dans castigamina nato,  
Ostendens quare mundum non debes  
amare.

# Bibliographia Gotica

## A Bibliography of Writings on the Gothic Language

### Second Supplement

Corrections and Additions to the Middle of 1957

FERNAND MOSSE † — JAMES W. MARCHAND

#### FOREWORD

IN compiling this supplement to Mossé's *Bibliographia Gotica*, I have been careful to keep within the bounds he set for it. Those who are disappointed not to find their articles on the history of the Goths listed must remember that 'this was meant to be a bibliography of writings on the Gothic language and nothing else.' To have included the history of the Goths would have increased the size of the bibliography by some 600 items. The same may be said of the history of Christianity among the Goths, as well as of the Gothic Bible in the textual criticism of the New Testament. Since, as conceived by Mossé, this bibliography is meant to be the common property of the scholarly public, those wishing to see other sections added should address themselves to the editors.

Much of the work of compilation was done by Mossé. He is responsible for many of the additions and corrections and for the new items up to the middle of 1956. I am responsible for most of the additions and corrections, and for the new items to the middle of 1957. A list of corrections of spelling errors, minor errors of usage, etc. was prepared by Mossé; I have not included these corrections here, since they are of little moment. I am grateful to Mrs. Mossé for having sent me Professor Mossé's notes, and for her many kindnesses during the compiling of the bibliography. Thanks are also due to Professor W. H. Bennett (University of Notre Dame) for some additions. I am sure that Mossé would have thanked by name those who sent him additions or corrections.

I cannot forbear adding here a word of praise for Mossé. To have worked as closely as I have had to with this bibliography is to realize the enormous amount of time and energy put into it. Not only has Mossé compiled an almost complete bibliography of Gothic studies (over 1400 items, not counting reviews), but he has arranged the material with the insight of one who mastered the whole field. It is a fitting monument to his memory. *Non omnis morietur*.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add:

AUT ..... Acta et commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis).  
Humaniora.

Kl Schr ..... Klein(er)e Schriften:

Grimm, Jacob, *Kleinere Schriften*, 8 vols., Berlin, 1864-1890.

Grimm, Wilhelm, *Kleinere Schriften*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1881-1887.

Schulze, Wilhelm, *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen, 1933.

MGA ..... Gelehrte Anzeigen herausgegeben von den Mitgliedern der  
Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

VCA ..... Věstník České akademie věd a umění.

ZfMaf ..... Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung.

## I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1.1. POUGENS, Ch., *Essai sur les antiquités du Nord*. 2nd ed., Paris, 1799, XVI+152 p.

(The first edition, Paris, 1797, is worthless)

17.1. Add: 'First Supplement, Corrections and Additions to the Middle of 1953,' *Mediaeval Studies* XV (1953) 169-183.

## III. ORIGINS OF GOTHIC PHILOLOGY

34. Add: Contains Eduard Bernard's *Etymologicon Britannicum*.

37.1. WOTTON, Wm., *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesauri Grammatico-Critici et Archaeologici, Auctore Georgio Hickesio, Conspectus Brevis*. London, 1707-08, VIII+85, 24 p.

(The English translation, *Short View of George Hickes's . . . Treasure*, London, 1735, 2nd ed., 1737, by M. Shelton, is especially valuable)

[In part a review of No. 37]

40.1. RUDBECK, Olof, *Specimen usus linguae gothicae . . . addita Analogia gothicae cum sinica, nec non finnonicae cum ungarica*. Uppsala, 1717.

42.1. GROTIUS, H., 'Explicatio nominum et verborum Gothicorum, Vandalorum et Langobardorum,' in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1723, vol. I, part I, 370-378.

47. Rev.: GGA (1752) p. 840f. (1st part), (1755) p. 1155 ff. (2nd part).

64.1. VILLANUEVA, J. L., *De la leccion de la Sagrada Escritura en lenguas vulgares*. Valencia, 1781, p. 96-97.

[On Wulfila and the Gothic version; says Wulfila was not Arian when he translated the Bible]

71.4. ADELUNG, J. C., *Über die Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Leipzig, 1781, p. 21-24.

[On the Goths, Wulfila, and the CA]

71.5. GRÄTER, F. D., 'Gothische Litteratur,' *Bragur* VII, 2 (1802) 236-245.

[On a prize offered by the Prussian Academy for an essay on Gothic]

## IV. GENERAL SURVEYS

72.1. MICHAELIS, J. D., *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes*. 3rd ed., Göttingen, 1777, 424-447.

[Michaelis was one of the best-informed Gothicists of his day]

72.2. FAVRE, Guillaume, 'Littérature gothique,' *Bibliothèque universelle de Genève* (1821) 3-32.

[Cf. No. 72.10]

72.3. MASSMANN, Hans Ferd., 'Gothische Litteratur,' *MGA* (1836), part II, 336-342, 345-350, 353-358, 361-368, 457-496, 689-712.

[On the history of Gothic scholarship, reviews various editions]

72.4. GREENOUGH, W. W., 'The Version of Ulphilas and the Moeso-Gothic Language,' *The American Biblical Repository* XII (1838) 295-314.

72.5. BIONDELLI, B., *Dei Goti e della loro lingua*. Milan, 1839.

72.6. (ANON.), 'Ulphila's Gothic Version of the Bible,' *Eclectic Review*, N. S., XXIII (1848) 315-322.

72.7. HORNE, Th., *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*. New edition, New York, 1848.

[I, 277-279 discusses Gothic manuscripts, facsimiles of the CA (Luke xvii, 17) and Ambr. A (beginning of Ephesians); Appendix, p. 28 ff. bibliography]

72.8. LOEWE, Sergius, 'Ulphilas, and his Gothic Version of the Scriptures,' *Journal of Sacred Literature* III (April, 1849) 320-338.

72.9. REGNIER, A., 'Des monuments qui nous restent de la langue gothique et des travaux qui ont été agités au sujet de la langue de ces monuments et de l'auteur de la traduction gothique de la Bible,' *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France*, 1ère série, tome III (1853) 341-423.

[History of Gothic scholarship to ca. 1850; rich and precise]

72.10. FAVRE, Guillaume, 'Essai sur la littérature des Goths,' *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire*. Geneva, 1856, Vol. II, 185-240, 241-306.

['La première partie est inédite; la seconde a paru dans la *Bibliothèque universelle (de Genève)* (1837)']

72.11. (ANON.), 'Ulphilas. The Goths and their Language,' *The Danville Quarterly Review* I (March, 1861) 134-140, II (June, 1861) 248-260.

[Signed 'C. E.']

72.12. (ANON.), 'Ulphilas and the Scriptures,' *The London Quarterly Review* XL (1873) 347-368.

73.1. LEATHES, S., 'The Gothic Fragments of Ulfilas,' *Macmillan's Magazine* XXXVII (1878) 482-491.

[Reprinted: *The Living Age* CXXXVII (1878) 300-307]

74.1. ECKSTEIN, E., 'Ulfilas und die gotische Übersetzung der Bibel,' *Westermanns Monatshefte* LXXIII (1892-1893), 403-407.

[Worthless]

76.1. RISCH, Ad., 'Die gotische Bibel,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 38. Jg. (1910) 595-619.

[Review of recent work; important]

77.1. Add: Cf. also No. 1357.

77.3. RACKUS, A. M., *Guthones (the Goths), Kinsmen of the Lithuanian People*. Chicago, 1929, 432 p.

[Denies that Gothic is Germanic; written in English and Lithuanian]

81. Add to the rev.: *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* XLII (1932) 331 (Reichardt).

82.1. Rev.: *BSL* XLVIII (1952) (Mossé); *ASNS* CXXXIX (1952) 358.

## V. THE GOTHIS

### A. ETHNOGRAPHY

84. Add: Actually a general survey of the language.

### B. HISTORY

#### 3) The Goths in Eastern Europe

104.1. VERNADSKY, G., 'The Riddle of the Gothi Tetraxitae,' *Südostforschungen* XI (1946-52) 281-283.

[Supports the spelling *τετραξίται*; Gk. *τέτρα* 'four', *Tetra-kas* = Greek translation of Čahar-kas 'Cherkess' with the Greek ending *-ιται*]

111. Read: BRAUN, F. Add: (=Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo jazyka i slovenosti Akademii Nauk LXIV, No. 12)

118.1. BAŠMAKOV, Alex., 'L'état médiéval des Goths de Crimée et ses relations avec la population préhistorique de la Tauride,' *Bulletin de l'Association J. Budé* LVII (1937) 13-48.

120.5. ALTHEIM, Fr., *Goten und Finnen*. Berlin, 1944, 48 p. (plates).

120.6. VERNADSKY, George, 'Der sarmatische Hintergrund der germanischen Völkerwanderung,' *Saeculum* II (1951) 340-392.

[pp. 347-353: the Goths; important]

### C. ORIGINAL HOME

124.1. Add: (=Mannus Bücherei, No. 73, Leipzig, 1945)

124.2. SCHWARZ, Ernst, 'Die Urheimat der Goten im Lichte der Sprache,' *FF* XXVII (1953) fasc. 1.

124.3. SCHWARZ, Ernst, 'Die Urheimat der Goten und ihre Wanderungen ins Weichselland und nach Südrussland,' *Saeculum* IV (1953) 13-26.

#### D. THE GOTHs AND CHRISTIANITY

125.1. LEQUIEN, A., *Oriens Christianus*. Vol. I, Paris, 1740.

[Pp. 1240-1246, 'Ecclesiae Gotthiae,' on the Gothic Church with a list of Gothic bishops]

125.2. MONTGOMERY, D. H., 'The Bible of the North,' *Unitarian Review* IX (1878) 660-668.

127. Replace by: BELIKOV, A., *Christianstvo i gotov*. Kazan, 1886-87, 198 p.

131. Read: *ZfwTh* LX (1908).

137. Read: 1-13.

137.2. Add: [Written with a National Socialist slant]

137.6. Add: [Criticism of No. 120.4]

137.7. de BRUYNE, Donatien, 'Lettres fictives de St. Jérôme,' *ZfnW* (1929) 299-234.

[Believes that Sunnia and Fretela are fictional]

#### E. THE NAME OF THE GOTHs

144.1. SKEAT, W. W., 'Meso-Gothic,' *Notes and Queries*, XIth Series, V (1912) 515.

[On the use and spelling of the term Meso-Gothic, in reply to a query by E. H. Bromby, *ibid.*, p. 369]

148.1. JUNKER, H., 'Der Gotenname bei Persepolis,' *PBB* LXXIV (1952) 296-299.

[Points out a mention of the name on a trilingual inscription of the 3rd cent.]

### VI. WULFILA

#### A. BIOGRAPHY

##### 1) Life and Activities

149.1. ESBERG, J., *Ulphilas, Gothorum Episcopus*. Stockholm, 1700, 94 p. (Stockholm dissertation)

151.1. DAVIDSON, Samuel., 'The Life, Labours, and Creed of Ulfila, Bishop of the Goths,' *Theological Review* VI (1869) 170-190.

151.2. KNAUER, Ch., *Ulfila, sa vie et sa doctrine*. Strassburg, 1872, 66 p. (Strassburg dissertation)

154. Read: HODGKIN, Thomas (cf. No. 102, 2nd ed., I, 1, p. 30)

Add: [Actually a review of Nos. 184, 151, 229, and 207]

(reprinted in *Living Age* CXXXVI (1878) 195-213)

157. Read: *Ath* XIX (1886) 806-807.

157.1. SCHNEIDER, H. E., *Ulfila*. 2. sehr vermehrte Auflage, Stuttgart, 1886, VI+70 p.

[Drama on Wulfila]

170.5. SCHMIDT, Ludwig, 'Zur Lebensgeschichte Wulfilas,' *Mannus* XXX (1938) 545-546.

170.6. BARDY, G. 'Ulphila,' *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* XV (1950) Cols. 2048-2057.

[Thorough and up-to-date]

##### 3) Wulfila's seal

178.1. SCHLUMBERGER, J., *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1878) 182-183.

[First notice of his discovery of the seal, with two plates]

4) His name

181.1. BRADLEY, H., 'Gothic Personal Names,' *Academy* (1887) 206-208.

[P. 207 '... may have been originally named *Thiuda-Wulfs* or *Wulfareiks* and afterwards known by the diminutive *Wulfila*']

B. DOGMATIC POSITION

184. *Add* to the rev.: 'Selbstanzeige,' GGA (1841) 465-473.

191.1. STREITBERG, W., 'Über das sogenannte *Opus imperfectum*,' *Verhandlungen der 44. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*. Dresden, 1897, 121-122.

(Cf. the preceding No.)

204.2. COLLITZ, H., 'The Last Days of Ulfila,' *Johns Hopkins University Circular No. 306* (1917-18) 566-569.

[Would read *preuaricatores* or *preuaricationes istas* for Wulfila's opponents, fol. 307 of Auxentius' letter]

VII. COLLECTIVE EDITIONS

205. *Add*: (Cf. also the preliminary notice in *Bragur III* (1794) 468)

209. *Add* to the rev.: GGA (1875) 1377-1391 (L. Meyer).

VIII. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE CODEX ARGENTEUS

A. HISTORY

215. (Widely translated and discussed; cf. especially No. 72.1, 439-442)

217.1. BALBI, Adrian, *Atlas ethnographique du globe ou classification des peuples anciens et modernes d'après leurs langues*. Paris, 1826.

[Table XIII on Goths; thinks the language of CA is Scandinavian]

219.1. MEYER, Ernst, 'Zur Geschichte des Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis,' *Zentralblatt für das Bibliothekswesen XXVIII* (1911)<sup>9</sup> 544-552.

[On the loss and return of the 10 pages]

222.1. GRAPE, A., 'Del Codex Argenteus, l'evangelario purpureo gotico nella biblioteca della R. Università di Uppsala,' *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, Arg. XVI (1929) 85-93

[A paper read at the 1° Congresso mondiale delle biblioteche e di bibliografia (Rome-Venice, 1929), sezione V, 'Il libro italiano']

223.1. COPINGER, W. A., *The Bible and its Transmission*. Oxford, N.D., p. 291-294.

[Discusses early editions; facsimiles of the *editio princeps* (No. 224)]

223.2. KLEBERG, Tönnes, 'The Silver Bible at Uppsala,' *Tome commémoratif du millénaire de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie*. Alexandria, 1953, 126-131.

[Cf. the following item]

223.3. KLEBERG, Tönnes, *Silverbibeln i Uppsala*. Uppsala, 1954, 23 p.+5 plates.

(Also in English: *Codex Argenteus. The Silver Bible at Uppsala*, 16 p.+5 plates)

223.4. JOHANSSON, J. Victor, 'De Rudbeckianska Förfalskingarna i Codex Argenteus,' *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, Arg. XLII (1955) 12-27, with 6 figures and an English summary.

[Suggests that the famous '*nefarius corruptor*' who changed certain passages in CA during the 17th century was Rudbeck's brother-in-law, Prof. Carl Lundius]

223.5. JOHANSSON, J. Victor, 'Om Codex Argenteus. Kring ett hundraårsminne,' *Ord och Bild LXIV* (1955) 173-191.

B. EDITIONS

226. Add: Rev.: GGA (1752) 606-611 (Michaelis).

230. Add: [See also No. 223 for a Swedish translation of the Latin introduction].

C. CRITICAL STUDIES

233. Add: (=Nos. 544, 546, 569).

245.1. NORDENFALK, Carl. 'Die gotischen Kanontafeln,' *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*, Textband, Göteborg, 1938, 263-269.

(=Die Bücherornamentik der Spätantike I)

246.1. MARCHAND, James W. 'Notes on Gothic Manuscripts. 3. The Original Home of our Gothic Mss. 4. The Dating of Gothic Mss.,' *JEGPh* LVI (1957) 217-222.

[Criticizes the usual notion that North Italy is the original home; criticizes methods of dating Gothic manuscripts]

D. SEPARATE EDITIONS

252. Add: 1st ed., Uppsala, 1850.

IX. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE PALIMPSESTS

A. THE CODEX CAROLINUS

1) Editions

B. THE CODICES AMBROSIANI

1) Editions

264a. FAVRE, Guillaume, 'Avis concernant une nouvelle découverte d'Ulphilas dans la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne à Milan,' *Bibliothèque universelle de Genève* (Sept., 1817) 5 p.

272. Replace by: de VRIES, Jan, *Wulfila Codices Ambrosiani rescripti, epistularum evangelicarum textum goticum exhibentes, phototypice editi et prooemio instructi*. 1. Textus. 2. Cod. A et Taurinensis. 3. Cod. B C D. Florence, 1936, 59 p. and 208+166 pl.

Rev.: *Aevum* X (1936) 437-439; *Sankt Wiborada* IV (1937) 38-42; *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* LXX (1937) 63-68.

C. OTHER STUDIES ON THE EPISTLES

282.1. van den HOUT, Michiel, 'Gothic Palimpsests of Bobbio,' *Scriptorium* VI (1952) 91-93.

[Shows that some were probably rescripted before they came to Bobbio]

282.2. HUBER, M. Fides, Sister, 'The Gothic Version of I Corinthians: A Decipherment and Edition with a Commentary, Textual Apparatus, and Glossary,' *Notre Dame Dissertation*, 1955, D. A. XV 267-268.

E. THE GIESSEN MANUSCRIPT

285.1. GLAUE, P., 'Aus einer verlorenen Handschrift der Goten,' *Deutsche Rundschau* CXXXIII (May, 1910) 241-253.

285.2. HOSKIER, H. C., 'The Antinoë Gothic-Latin Fragment,' *JTS* XII (1911) 456-457.

['. . . the Gothic was based on a Greek document which partook of a very early Graeco-Syriac-Latin stem.' Cf. also the rejoinder by Burkitt, pp. 458-459: 'The type of Latin text called by Westcott and Hort "Italian" . . . is . . . a result of various Gothic invasions of North Italy.']

285.3. RUHL, Franz, 'Zur Herkunft des lateinisch-gotischen Bibelfragments,' *ZfNW* XII (1911) 85-87.

[Of Vandalic origin]



285.4. MARCHAND, James W., 'Notes on Gothic Manuscripts. 1. The Loss of the Giessen Fragment,' *JEGPh* LVI (1957) 213-215.

## X. GREEK ORIGINAL

### A. RECONSTRUCTION

286. *Add*: 2nd ed., Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1821. I, 462-489.  
[History of CA and its editions, history of investigations]  
287.1. von SODEN, H. *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. Vol. I, part I, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1911, 1469-1471.  
288.1. STREITBERG, W., 'Über die Vorlage der gotischen Bibel,' *MSB* (1911) II, 51-52.  
[Report on a speech; criticizes Jülicher's views (cf. Nos. 288, 290)]  
288.2. NESTLE, E., 'Die Gotenbibel und Tischendorfs *octava*,' *ZfnW* XI (1910) 84-86.  
[Tischendorf is not complete in his citations of Gothic]  
292.1. LAGRANGE, M. J., *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament*. 2ème partie. *Critique textuelle: II. La critique rationnelle*. Paris, 1935.  
(In the series *Etudes bibliques*)  
[pp. 325-342, Gothic version of the Gospels; 523-525, Epistles]  
292.2. MARCHAND, James W., 'The Gothic Evidence for "Euthalian Matter",' *The Harvard Theological Review* XLIX (1956) 159-167.  
(Abstracted by W. J. Burke in *New Testament Abstracts*, Vol. I, No. 2 (1957) 88-89)

### B. LATIN INFLUENCE ON WULFILA'S TRANSLATION

293. *Read*: 42-46, 85-89, 215-219.  
293.1. *Read*: (1885)  
*Add*: [Review of No. 295]  
293.2. HAUPT, Moriz, 'De scheda aliqua Brixiana ad Gothicam librorum sacrorum interpretationem,' *Index lectionum quae in Universitate Friderica Guilelmae p. sem. aest. 1869 habebentur*.  
(= *Opuscula*, Leipzig, 1876, II, 407-412)  
295. *Add*: [also a 'gekrönte Preisschrift']  
295.1. MAROLD, C., 'Über die Vorlagen der gotischen Bibelübersetzung,' *Verhandlungen der 35. Philologenversammlung*, Leipzig, 1881, 209-210.  
297.1. DOLD, P. A. 'Die Provenienz der altlateinischen Römerbrieftexte in den gotisch-lateinischen Fragmenten des Codex Carolinus zu Wolfenbüttel,' *Festschrift Georg Leyh* (= *Zentralblatt für das Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 75 [1950]) 13-30, with a facsimile of fol. 256', Rom. xiii, 1-5.  
[Text and script are Upper Italian in origin]

## XI. THE SKEIREINS

### A. EDITIONS

298. *Add*: See *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* I, 4. Heft (1827) 106-107 (a note on Mai's discovery of the Vatican leaves). [Vol. I, 1825, has a small facsimile on the frontispiece and an explanation on p. XXXVI]  
299. *Add* to the rev.: *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* XXVIII (1835) 854-863 (Holtzmann); *Berl.-Germ.* I (1836) 95 (von der Hagen).  
305.1. (ANON.), M. Cornelli *Frontonis aliorumque reliquiae quae Codice Vaticano 5750 rescripto continentur. Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi*. Vol. VII, Milan, 1906, pp. 57-62.  
[Photographs of leaves III, IV, VIII]  
307. *Read*: KOCK, E. A.

B. CRITICAL STUDIES

308.1. PAULUS, H. E. G., 'Theologische Bemerkungen zur gothischen Auslegung des Evangel. Johannes,' *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* XXVIII (1835) 863-882.

316.2. BENNETT, William H., 'The Vatican Leaves of the *Skeireins* in High-Contrast Reproduction,' *PMLA* LXIX (1954) 655-676.

316.3. BENNETT, William H., 'The Troublesome Passages of the *Skeireins*,' *Annales Universitatis Saraviensis* IV (1955) 73-88.

XII. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

B. SPECIAL STUDIES

1) The Pietroassa Ring

339.1. HAUCK, Karl, 'Halsring und Ahnenstab als herrscherliche Würdezeichen,' *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historia* XIII, Bd. I (1954) 145-212.

[Especially pp. 192-198]

2) The Dahmsdorf-Müncheberg (and Kovel) Spearheads

346.1. MUST, Gustav, 'The Inscription on the Spearhead of Kovel,' *Lang.* XXXI (1955) 493-498.

[Reads *Tilarios* and considers it to be Illyrian, not Gothic]

3) Assumed Gothic Inscriptions

348.1. WESTROPP, H., *Archäologische Zeitung* XVIII (1860) 54\*.

[Herr Westropp zeigte zwei in Neapel erworbene silberne Spangen vor, deren Inschriften L.(?)RATELDI. FAMOLA und TEODA BIVA P. Garrucci für Gotisch erklärte.]

XIII. OTHER REMNANTS

B. THE NAPLES AND AREZZO DEEDS

363. *Delete*: First edition of the Arezzo deed.

C. THE SALZBURG-VIENNA MANUSCRIPT

367.1. SICKEL, Th., 'Alcuinstudien,' *WSB* LXXIX (1875) 461-550.

[The most thorough description of the manuscript]

367.2. BAESECKE, Georg, 'Die Karlische Renaissance und das deutsche Schrifttum,' *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* XXIII (1949) 178-181.

367.3. KRAUSE, Wolfgang, 'Untersuchungen zu den Runennamen II,' *NGWG* (1948) 93 ff.

[On the 'Gothic' letter-names]

367.4. DEROLEZ, R., *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition*. *Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren*. 118° Aflevering. Brugges, 1954, pp. 52-58.

Rev.: *AfdA* LXVI (1955) 1-7 (W. Lange); *RBPh* XXIV (1956) 486-488 (Boüüaert).

367.5. SCHNEIDER, K., 'Die gotischen Buchstabennamen,' *Die germanischen Runennamen*. Meisenheim, 1956, 20-24 and *passim*.

E. VERONA MS. MARGINAL NOTES

373. *Read*: Verona Codex LI (49).

375.1. MARCHAND, James W., 'Notes on Gothic Manuscripts. 2. The Veronese Marginal Notes,' *JEGPh* LVI (1957) 215-217.

G. APPENDIX: MODERN COMPOSITIONS

377. *Add:* With a 'Beygabe an Friedrich Rückert (beym Gastbesuche, 1836),' in Gothic.

Rev.: *Berl.-Germ.* IV (1841) 233; *GGA* (1837) 1881-1888 (J. Grimm, reprinted *Kl Schr* V, 268-273)

377.1. MASSMANN, Hans Ferd. *Du gaminthja jah gamaudeina—Mosamanna gaskof.* Munich, 1836.

Rev.: *Berl.-Germ.* III (1839) 212 (von der Hagen).

[Greeting to Otto, the first Wittelsbach King of Greece, upon his arrival in Munich, in Gothic alliterative verse]

377.2. LE MARCHANT DOUSE, T. *Introduction* (=No. 551).

[pp. 270-275, a translation of parts of Pilgrim's Progress into Gothic, with notes]

XIV. TEXTUAL EMENDATION AND REMARKS

A. MATTHEW

384. *Add:* (= *Kl Schr*, 481)

C. LUKE

417.1. xv, 13. SCHULZE, W., *ZvS XLIII* (1910) 189 (= *Kl Schr* 571).

D. MARK

432.1. xi, 23. SCHULZE, W., *Kl Schr*, 560-567.

E. THE EPISTLES

451. *Read:* I Thess. v, 7. *Add:* (= *Kl Schr* 589).

XV. CRIMEAN GOTHIC

B. REPORTS AND STUDIES

478.1. PERINGSJÖLD, Joh. Jo. *Cochlaei vita Theodorici regis Ostrogothorum et Italiae.* Stockholm, 1699.

[Numerous notes on Goths, especially Crimean Goths and notably, on p. 347, a Swedish translation of Busbecq's poem (reprinted *KZ* V (1856) 167]

479.1. KUUN, Géza, 'De glossis goticis apud Busbecquium,' *Codex Cumanicus.* Budapest, 1880, 238-244, 392.

[Suggests that the poem is Turkish]

483.3. GERHARDT, D., 'Das Gotische in der Krim,' *Südostforschungen* V.1 (1940) 200-204.

483.4. SCHWARZ, Ernst, 'Die Krimgoten,' *Saeculum* IV (1953) 156-164.

XVI. GRAMMAR: GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE

A. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF IE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GOTHIC

1) General treatment

484.1. JAMIESON, John, *Hermes Scythicus; or, the Radical Affinities of the Greek and Latin Languages to the Gothic.* London and Edinburgh, 1814.

487.1. DRAKE, A. E. *Discoveries in Hebrew, Gaelic, Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Basque and other Caucasian Languages.* Denver, 1907, VII+136 p.

B. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

1) General

517. *Add:* 3rd ed. enlarged and revised by Marco Scovazzi, Turin, 1955, VIII+221 p.

Rev.: *Lang.* XXXII (1956) 531-535 (Penzl).

## 2) Special Studies

519. *Add to the rev.*: Germ.-Berl. I (1836) 97 (von der Hagen).  
 526. *Add.*: (=No. 787).  
 529.2a. SCHWARZ, Ernst, 'Germanische Sprachgeschichte und Sprachgeographie,' *ZfMaf* XXI (1952) 129-148.  
 [Answer to the criticism of H. Kuhn in *AfdA* LXVI (1952) 45-52, of No. 529.2]  
 529.2b. KUHN, Hans, 'Zur Gliederung der germanischen Sprachen,' *ZfdA* LXXXVI (1955) 1-47.  
 [Kuhn's reply to the preceding item]  
 529.5. PHILIPPSON, E. A., 'Neuere Forschungen zum Westgermanenproblem und zur Ausgliederung der germanischen Stämme,' *Symposium* VIII (1954) 18-32.  
 529.6. de VRIES, Jan, 'De Gotische woordenschat vergeleken met die van het Noord- en Westgermaans,' *Leuvense Bijdragen* XLVI (1956/57) 5-40.

## D. PARADIGMS

535. *Rev.*: *ZföG* XIX (1868) 855 f. (cf. No. 786.1).  
 538. *Read.*: KOGK, E. A.

## XVII. GRAMMARS, HANDBOOKS

544. *Add.*: (=Nos. 233, 546, 569).  
 546. *Add.*: (=Nos. 233, 544, 569).  
 549. *Add.*: (=Nos. 233, 544, 546).  
 551. *Read.*: *Rev.*: *Journal of Education*, N. S. IX (1887) 21-22.  
 [Cf. also No. 750.2]  
 560. *Add.*: 2nd ed. with a supplement to the grammar (pp. 307-383) by O. L. Sayce, Oxford, 1954, X+383 p.  
*Rev.*: *EG* X (1955) 315-316 (Mossé); *JEGPh* LV (1956) 132 (Banta); *MLR* LI (1956) 86-87 (Brooks).  
 561.1. van DAMME, Wbr., *Gotiese spraakleer met oefeningen, bloemlezing en woordenlijst*. Amsterdam, 1913, IV+96 p.  
 564. 2nd revised and enlarged edition, Paris, 1956, 330 p.  
 [Uses phonemic approach, up-to-date]  
*Rev.*: *Lang.* XXXIII (1957) 231-240 (Marchand).  
 565. *Add to the rev.*: *IF* LXI (1952) 137-138 (Eis); *ASNS* CLXXXIX (1952-53) 41 (Holthausen).  
 565.1. KRAUSE, Wolfgang, *Handbuch des Gotischen*. Munich, 1953, XX+306 p.  
 [Treats the phonology in part phonemically; contains reading selections; up-to-date]  
*Rev.*: *JEGPh* LIV (1955) 116-118 (Banta); *Lang.* XXX (1954) 409-414 (Penzl); *GGA* (1956) 111-125 (Ahlén); *AfdA* LXIX (1956) 1-10 (Klein).

## APPENDIX

### READERS AND PRIMERS

- 566.1. *Read.*: pp. 166-268 'Il gotico'.  
 577.1. AMMON, H., *Repertorium der deutschen Sprache. Gotisch, Althochdeutsch, Altsächsisch*. Berlin, 1922, VIII+ 79 p.  
 (2nd ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache in Frage und Antwort*. I. Gotisch, Althochdeutsch, Altsächsisch. Bonn, 1931)  
 579. *Add to the rev.*: *WS*, N.F. II (1939) 95 f.  
 580.3. TOVAR, A., *Ulfila, la Biblia de los Godos. Selección traducción y prologo*. Buenos Aires, 1949, 37 p.+1 pl.  
 (=Antología alemana. Serie I, 1)

XVIII. COLLECTIVE ARTICLES ON GRAMMATICAL POINTS

590. *Read*: KOCK, A.  
 591. *Read*: KOCK, A. *Add*: (=No. 674)  
 592. *Read*: KOCK, E. A.  
 597. *Adds* (=Kl Schr 527-571).  
 613.3. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Notes on Gothic Forms,' *Lang.* XXX (1954) 448-452.

XIX. ALPHABET, SCRIPT AND PRONUNCIATION

A. ALPHABET AND SCRIPT

- 617.1. (ANON.), *Recueil de planches sur les sciences, les arts libéraux et les arts mécaniques*. Seconde livraison, lère partie, Paris, 1763.  
 [p. 7, 'alphabets anciens', on the Gothic alphabet; p. IX gives the letters and Matt. xxvii, 3 from the *editio princeps* (=No. 224)]  
 621.1. *Add*: Rev.: *Revue encyclopédique* XI (1821) 570-572.  
 623. (Reprinted in his *To Bidrag til TNO*. Copenhagen, 1826, pp. 8-11, one pl., 8°.)  
 623.1. BREDSORFF, J. H., *Om Runeskriftens Oprindelse*. Copenhagen, 1822, 19 p., 4°.  
 [Derives the runes from the Gothic alphabet]  
 Rev.: GGA (1824) 1030-1032 W. Grimm, =Kl Schr II, 335-337).  
 624. *Add*: Rev.: GGA (1834) 569-578 (W. Grimm, =Kl Schr. II, 440-447).  
 625a. MÜLLENHOFF, K. and R. von LILIENCROON, 'Zur Runenlehre,' *Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1832) 169-193, 310-348.  
 (Separately published under the same title, Halle, 1852, 62 p.)  
 [Liliencron's article is in part a review of Kirchhoff (No. 625)]  
 627. *Read*: *Gentleman's Magazine* XLV (1856) 281.  
 633. *Add* to the rev.: *ZfdPh* XXXI (1899) 419-422 (Hirt).  
 640.1. PILCHER, E. J., 'The Runes, and the Alphabet of Ulfilas,' *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* XXXVIII (1916) 158-168.  
 [Derives the runes from the Gothic alphabet]  
 646. *Add*: (=Kl Schr 262-263).  
 652.5. MARCHAND, James W., 'Der Ursprung des gotischen þorn-Zeichens,' *PBB* (Halle) LXXVII (1955) 490-494.  
 [Argues that we must reconstruct the Wulfilian prototype before discussing the derivation of the Gothic alphabet; derives þ from Greek θ]  
 652.6. MARCHAND, James W., 'Das akrophonische Prinzip und Wulfilas Alphabet,' *ZfdA* LXXXVI (1956) 265-275.  
 [Argues that Wulfila used the acrophonic principle in devising his alphabet]

B. PRONUNCIATION

1) General studies

- 653.1. RAPP, Moriz, 'Gotisch', in his *Versuch einer Physiologie der Sprache*. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1836, I, 371-401.  
 [The first serious study of Gothic pronunciation; contains Gothic excerpts written in Rapp's phonetic transcription]  
 654.1. ELLIS, A. J., *Early English Pronunciation*, II. London, 1869, 560-564.  
 (=Early English Text Society, Extra Series 7)  
 [Contains a table representing the ideas of Grimm, Rapp, von der Gabelentz and Loebe, Weingärtner, and Ellis; ai and au are monophthongs]  
 656.1. von PFISTER-SCHWAIGHUSEN, Hermann, *Über Verfehlung gotischer Aussprache*. Berlin, 1906, 12 p.  
 [Worthless]

656.2. MARCHAND, James W., 'The Sounds and Phonemes of Wulfila's Gothic,' Michigan dissertation, 1955. D. A. XV, 578-579.

2) Special studies

658.1. HIRT, H., 'Grammatische Miscellen,' PBB XVIII (1894) 279-283.

[*au* is a monophthong in endings]

661.1. Add: Pp. 10-16, an excursus on *ddj* and *ggw*.

662.1. TRUBETZKOY, N. S., 'Zur allgemeinen Theorie der phonologischen Vokal-systeme,' TCLP I (1929) p. 57.

[Attempt to explain phonemically the alleged ambiguity of *ai*, *au*]

666.1. Read: PENZL, Herbert.

666.2. MARCHAND, James W., 'Vowel Length in Gothic,' *General Linguistics* I (1955) 79-89.

[Denies the validity of the criteria used to demonstrate that vowel length was significant (phonemic) in Gothic]

666.3. MARCHAND, James W., 'Dialect Characteristics in our Gothic Mss.,' *Orbis* V (1956) 141-151.

[The interchange of *e/ei/i*, *o/au/u* is scribal and has no significance for Wulfila's dialect; pairs such as *taujan* and *stojan*, *pliuhan* and *flodus*, represent dialect mixture in Wulfila's speech]

666.4. HAMP, Eric P., 'Gothic *ai* and *au*,' MLN LXXI (1956) 265-269.

['Considerations of phonemic structure support the interpretation of *ai/au* as /e o/. The above remarks rest on the data of East Gothic.']

666.5. SEHRT, E. H., 'ai und au im Gotischen,' *Fragen und Forschungen im Bereich und Umkreis der Germanischen Philologie. Festgabe für Th. Frings*. Berlin, 1956, 1-11.

(=Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 8)

[*ai*, *au* both monophthongs and diphthongs; stresses comparative evidence]

666.6. JONES, Oscar F., 'Gothic *ai* in Inflectional Syllables,' *Lang.* XXXII (1956) 633-640.

[*ai* a monophthong in inflectional syllables]

3) The testimony of other languages

672.1. SCHWYZER, E. 'Die Nebenüberlieferung des Griechischen, III, 13, Gotisch,' *Griechische Grammatik*. Vol. I, Munich, 1939, 162-163.

(=Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von W. Otto, Zweite Abteilung, 1. Teil, 1. Band, 2nd ed.)

[Excellent summary; uses *v* for *w*]

672.2. STURTEVANT, E. H., *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia, 1940, 192 p.

XX. PHONOLOGY

A. GENERAL

1) Collective and general studies

674. Add: (=No. 591).

2) Syllabification

680. Add: (=Kl Schr 483-496)

681. Add: (=Kl Schr 549-550)

681.1. HERMANN, Eduard, 'Silbenbrechung in den gotischen Hss.,' *Die Silbenbildung im Griechischen und in den anderen indogermanischen Sprachen*. Göttingen, 1923, 287-292.

(=Ergänzungsheft zur *ZvS*, II; see also his note *IFA* XXVI, 50)

681.2. MARCHAND, James W., 'Notes on Gothic Manuscripts. 5. The Interpretation of Practices of Syllabification in Gothic,' *JEGPh* LVI (1957) 222-224.  
[Syllabification is scribal and cannot be used in a discussion of Wulfila's speech]

### 3) Final syllables

689. *Read*: KOCK, A.

692.1. KOCK, A., 'Zur gotischen Lautlehre. I. Zur Frage nach dem Wechsel zwischen stimmlosen und stimmhaften Fricativae. II. Der Wechsel *rs/r* im Nom. Sing.,' *ZvS* XXXVI (1900) 571-583.

696.1. PISANI, V., 'L'ottativo (coniuntivo) baltico et il trattamento di o in sillaba finale in gotico e baltico,' *Studi Baltici*, N. S., I (IX) (1952) 34-43.

696.2. MARCHAND, James W., 'Two Alleged Late Gothic Sound Changes,' *JEGPh* LV (1956) 253-256.

[Change of *-m* to *-n* and simplification of *-nds* to *-ns* result merely from scribal confusion]

696.3. MARCHAND, James W., 'Notes on Some Gothic Inflectional Endings,' *MLN* LXXII (1957) 107-110.

[On the 1st pl. pret. indic.; dat. sg. of *o*-stems; gen. sg.]

### 4) Foreign words

698.1. KOSSINNA, G., 'Zur Geschichte des Volksnamens "Griechen",' *Festschrift zur 50jährigen Doktorjubelfeier Karl Weinholds*. Strassburg, 1896, 27-43.

[On the origin of the name *Kreks* and on Gothic pronunciation]

700. *Add*: (=K1 *Schr* 527-535).

## B. VOCALISM

720.1. JANKO, J., 'Über germanisches *ē* und die sogenannten reduplizierenden Praeterita,' *IF* XX (1906) 229-316.

721. *Read*: 'Gotisch *ī* . . .'

*Add*: [On 'juncture' in Gothic]

## C. CONSONANTISM

### 1) Detailed treatment

750.1. *Add*: [Cf. No. 799.1].

750.2. LE MARCHANT DOUSE, T., 'The Gothic Form of *guba*, etc.,' *Journal of Education*, N. S. IX (1887) 92.

[In part an answer to the review of No. 551]

765. *Add*: (=K1 *Schr* 536).

773. *Add*: (=K1 *Schr* 551-553).

785.3. MARTINET, A., *La gémination consonantique d'origine expressive dans les langues germaniques*. Paris and Copenhagen, 1937, 226 p.

[See especially pp. 68-83]

785.4. STANG, Chr. S., 'A quoi correspond en germanique le *th* sanscrit?' *NTS* XV (1949) 335-342.

785.5 DAL, Ingerid, 'Über die germanische Entsprechung von altindischem *th*,' *NTS* XVI (1952) 328-333.

[Discussion of No. 785.4]

785.6. MOULTON, William G., 'The Stops and Spirants of Early Germanic,' *Lang.* XXX (1954) 1-42

[Especially § 2. The Gothic Evidence]

785.7. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Verbal Reduplicating Prefix,' *Lang.* XXX (1954) 448.

[Remarks on consonant clusters]

785.8. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Loss of -j- in -ij- before a Vowel,' *Lang.* XXX (1954) 451-452.

[Cases such as *fijan* : *fian*]

785.9. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Hatan* : *hatjan* "to hate",' *Lang.* XXX (1954) 452.

[Cf. No. 785.8]

## 2) The Verschärfung

786.1. HOLTZMANN, A., *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* XXVIII (1835) 854-863.

(=review of No. 299)

[Proposes for the first time, p. 862 f., \*ij as origin of *ddj*, \*uw as origin of *ggw*, whence the term 'Holtzmann's Law'; says both *dd* and *gg* in these clusters indicate nasal + stop.]

786.2. SCHERER, W., *ZföG* XIX (1868) 855 f.

(=review of No. 535)

[Proposes for the first time a double value for *ggw*]

787. *Add.* (= No. 526)

790.1. WIGET, W., *AUT* (1921), No. 3, 10-16.

(= No. 661.1)

[Excursus on the Verchärfung, denies its cogency as proof of Goto-Norse unity]

792. *Read: Xenia Pragensia. Festschrift für E. Kraus und J. Janko.* Prague, 1929.

795.3. MARTINET, A., '*La Verschärfung*,' (= No. 785.3, 104-147).

## XXI. MORPHOLOGY

### A. GENERAL STUDIES

796.1. GRAEFE, Fr., 'Das gotische Verbum in seinem Verhältnis zum Indo-Europäischen Sprachstamm,' (lu le 12 mars 1847) *Extrait tiré du Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Tome IV, No. 12.

799.2. TRAUBE, Ludwig, '*Nomina Sacra*,' *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie*, Munich, 1907, 271-277.

[On the Gothic abbreviations for *nomina sacra*; important]

### B. THE NOUN

#### 1) Substantives

##### b. Gender

805. *Add.* Published separately, Utrecht, 1882.

#### c) Vocalic stems

813.2. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Declension of *reiks* "king, ruler",' *Lang.* XXX (1954) 448-449.

#### e) Consonantal Stems

819.1. GRAFF, E. G., 'Über die deutsche schwache Deklination,' *Berl-Germ.* II (1837) 1-58.

[Mostly on the origin of the Gothic *n*-declension and the syntax of the weak adjective]

## 2) The Cases

#### b) Singular - Genitive

830. *Add.* (= K1 *Schr* 536-540).



3) Foreign substantives

852. Add: [cf. *MSB* (1910) *Schlussheft*, p. 8 f.]

4) Adjectives

a) General

853. Add: *Rev.: Berl.-Germ.* II (1937) 81 (von der Hagen)

6) Numerals

878.1. van HELTEN, W., 'Zum germanischen Zahlwort,' *IF* XVIII (1906) 84-127.

C. THE VERBS

1) Strong Verbs

909.1. STANG, Chr. S., 'Zum Aoristtypus got. *berum*,' *NTS* II (1929) 97-99.

913.1. SVERDRUP, J., 'Der Aorist im germanischen Verbalsystem und die Bildung des starken Präteritums,' *Festschrift til Hjalmar Falk*. Oslo, 1927, 296-330.  
Rev.: *Revue Celtique* XLV (1928) 107-110 (Vendryes); *RG* XXI (1930) 41-43 (Mossé).

913.2. MEZGER, Fritz, 'Ae. *eart*, *earð*, *arð* "du bist" und gotisch *sijum* "wir sind",' *ZvS* LXIV (1937) 137-144.

913.3. van COETSEM, F., 'Das System der starken Verba und die Periodisierung im älteren Germanischen,' *Mededelingen der K. Nederlandse Akad. van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 19, No. 1, Amsterdam, 1956, 88 p.

[Uses a structural approach]

Rev.: *JEGPh* LVI (1957) 447-449 (Koekkoek).

2) Reduplicating Verbs

918.1. MEILLET, A., 'Deux formes à redoublement,' *Philologie et Linguistique. Mélanges offerts à L. Havet*. Paris, 1909, 271 ff.

[Use of *ai* in reduplicating syllables indicates weakening of the following consonant]

3) Weak Verbs

919. Read: van DAMME, Wbr.

921.6. WAGNER, H., 'Zu den indogermanischen *ē*-Verben,' *Zeitschrift für besonderer Berücksichtigung der germanischen Sprachen*. Zurich dissertation, Zurich, 1950, 78 p.

921.6. WAGNER, H., 'Zu den indogermanischen *ē*-Verben,' *Zeitschrift für och de nordiska fornspråken*. Stockholm, 1956, XVIII+224p.

921.6. WAGNER, H., 'Zu den indogermanischen *ē*-Verben,' *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* XXV (1956) 161-174.

5) Preterite-Present Verbs

944. Adds (=K1 *Schr* 568-569).

7) *hiri*

954.1. RUŽIČKA, J., 'Gótske *hiri*, *hirjats*, *hirjib*,' *Jazykovedný sborník slovenskej académie vied a umení V* (1952) 259-264 (with a German summary)

[*hiri*, etc. are 'Appelmittel' and are distinct from a phonological and morphological point of view from ordinary forms]

8) Participles

955. Add: (=K1 *Schr* 109-110).

957. Add: (=K1 *Schr* 574).

## XXII. WORD FORMATION

### B. DERIVATION

#### 2) Special Studies

991. *Add.* (=Kl Schr 544-549).

994. *Read.* Nachtrag, 'Zu got. *ibnassus*,' p. 240 (=Kl Schr 572).

997. *Add.* (=Kl Schr 573-574).

999.1. KIECKERS, E., 'Zu den got. Ortsadverbien auf *-drē*,' *AUT* XVII.2 (1930) 5f.

[From IE *\*-trē* with final *-ē* preserved because it was accented in Germanic]

1015.7. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Infinitive *ga-stoþanan*,' *Lang.* XXX (1954) 449.

[From *ga-stoþan*, from an adj. *\*gastops*]

1015.8. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Suffix in *mannisk-odus*\* "humanity", *Lang.* XXX (1954) 450-457.

### D. APPENDIX

#### *Formation of Indefinite Pronouns*

1028.1. DAHLMANN, R., 'Some Remarks on the Gothic Particle *-h*, *-uh*,' *Journal of Philology* VI (1876) 256-262.

[see also *Cambridge Philological Transactions* (1875) 52-53]

## XXIII. SYNTAX

### B. THE ELEMENTS

#### 1) The Substantive

##### e) *Cases after Prepositions*

1066.1. GOULD, Chester N., *The Syntax of at and ana in Gothic, Old Saxon, and Old High German*. Chicago dissertation (privately printed), Chicago, 1916.

1066.2. KIECKERS, E., 'Got. *bisunþane* als Präposition mit dem Akk. "umherum",' *AUT* XI.3 (1927) 16-18.

#### 2) Adjective

##### a) *Use of the Weak Form*

1071.1. GRAFF, E. G., *Berl.-Germ.* II (1837) 1-58 (=No. 819.1).

##### c) *Adverbs*

1078. *Add.* (=Kl Schr 570-571).

#### 3) The Pronouns

1082. *Add.* (=Kl Schr 574-589).

#### 5) The Verb

##### c) *Reflexive Verbs*

1090. *Add.* (=Kl Schr 540-543).

1090.2. *Add.* Rev.: *BSL* XLVIII (1952) 86-87 (Mossé); *Lang.* XXIX (1953) 197-204 (A. M. Sturtevant); *EG* X (1955) 62 (Mossé).

##### d) *Aspect*

1094.1. RECHA, Karl, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der perfectivierenden Funktion der Verbalpräfixe*. Dorpat dissertation, Königsberg, 1892, 123 p.

[Pp. 83-123, 'Gotische Verbalpräfixe'; arrived at 'Streitberg's theory' of aspect almost simultaneously with Streitberg]

1098. *Read.* (1918).

1100. Add to the Rev.: *IF LV* (1937) 161-162 (K. H. Meyer); *Listy Filologické LXIII* (1936) 458-464 (L. Zatočil).

1102.1. SCHERER, Philip, 'Aspect in Gothic,' *Lang. XXX* (1954) 211-223.

[Suggests a 'complete lack of dependence of Gothic aspect on form as such']

e) *Tenses: Present*

1103.1. BOEZINGER, Bruno, *Das historische Präsens in der älteren deutschen Sprache*. Stanford, 1912

(=Stanford University Publications. University Series, No. 8)

1103.2. KIECKERS, E., 'Ein Präsens resultativum im Gotischen,' *AUT XI.3* (1927) 19-20.

f) *Moods: The Optative*

1111. Add to the rev.: *GGA* (1873) No. 1.

k) *Rection*

1133. Add: (=Kl Schr 543-544).

1135. Add: (=Kl Schr 567).

C. THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

4) *Interrogation*

1151. Add: (=Kl Schr 589-591).

D. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

1) *General Studies*

1152. Add to the rev.: *AfdA XX* (1894) 140-144.

2) *Coordination*

1156. Read: KOCK, E. A.

3) *Subordination*

b) *Other Clauses: conjunctions*

1173. Add: (=Kl Schr 560-567).

XXIV. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

1198.1. BRILL, W. G., 'De Gotische bijbelvertaling van Ulfila,' *Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeel Letterkunde. Verslagen en Mededelingen*, 2. Reeks, Deel X (1881) 281-285.

[Report on a speech; suggests that Wulfila avoided words for heathen concepts and words which might serve to injure Arianism]

1200. Add: (=Kl Schr 550-555).

1208. Add to the rev.: *JTS XXVIII* (1926-27) 90-97 (Burkitt).

1208a. WILMART, A., 'Les évangiles gothiques,' *Revue biblique XXXVI* (1927) 44-61.

[In part a review of 1208]

1209. Add: (=Kl Schr 556-560)

1216.1. ANDERSON, G. K., 'Some Notes on Gothic Syntax,' *GR XIII* (1938) 130-138.

1216.2. METLEN, M., 'A Letter of St. Jerome to the Gothic Clergymen Sunnia and Friþila concerning Places in their copy of the Psalter which had been corrupted from the Septuagint,' *JSGPh XXXVI* (1937) 515-554.

1216.3. METLEN, M., 'A Natural Translation of the *Praefatio* attached to the Codex Brixianus,' *JEGPh XXXVII* (1938) 355-366.

[Text, translation into English and German, commentary]

1218. Add: [Largely devoted to the influence of the Old Latin text, both on the readings and the renderings of the Gothic]

Rev.: *JTS XLI* (1940) 303-305.

## XXV. DICTIONARIES

### A. DICTIONARIES AND GLOSSARIES

1223. Add: Rev.: GGA (1774) 25-30.

1225. Read: N. D. (1847).

1227. Add: Rev.: Ath (1868) II, 78.

## XXVI. ETYMOLOGY

### A. ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES WITH GOTHIC REFERENCES

1233. Add: French edition: *Dictionnaire étymologique et comparatif des langues teuto-gothiques . . . avec des racines slaves, romanes et asiatiques qui prouvent l'origine commune de toutes ces langues*. Frankfurt, 1833, LXVI+623 p.

1235.1. (ANON.), *Index to the Gothic forms in Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache 4te Aufl.*, Strassburg, 1889. Prepared by Students of Gothic in the Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore, May, 1889.

### B. ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES OF GOTHIC PROPER

1239. Add to the rev.: *The Nation* LI (1890) 39.

1245. After BSL XXXVII (1936) 109-110 add XL (1939) 120; after ZfdPh and before LXIV, read: LXIII (1938) 419-420.

1245.1. WECHSLER, B., *Stud. phil.*, *Mein Lebewohl, vielleicht auch auf Wiedersehen an die Philologie. Gotisch-deutsche etymologische Beiträge*. Heidelberg, 1890.

1245.2. SCOTT, Charles P. G., 'On p Initial in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Proceedings for July, 1882, XLIV-L.

[On the etymology of the words with initial p]

### C. RECENT ETYMOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION SINCE 1938

1250.1. MEZGER, Fritz, 'Gehort ae. *earwunga* "gratis", got. *arwjo*, ahd. *arw(ing)ün* zu got. *arjan* "pflügen"?' ASNS CLXXXIII (1938) 209-210.

1252.1. KIECKERS, E., 'Zum germanischen Zahlwort "7",' AUT XLII.4 (1938) 4-5.

1258. Add: (cf. Nos. 750.1, 750.2, 799.2)

1262.5. HARDING, Erik, 'Got. *ga-mains* und lat. *com-munis*,' *Språkvetenskapliga problem i ny belysning eller Bidrag till nordisk och germansk språkhistoria*. Lund, 1937, I, No. 10.

1262.6. SZEMERÉNYI, O., 'The Development of the IE Mediae Aspiratae in Latin and Italic,' *Archivum Linguisticum* V (1953) 1-21.

[Pp. 13-18: Excursus on Goth. *gazds*, etc.]

1262.7. HAMP, Eric P., 'Gothic *iup* "ävö", MLN LXIX (1954) 39.41.

1262.8. HØST, Gerd, 'Got. *anakumbjan*, *andbahts*,' NTS XVII (1954) 428-441.

1262.9. ROTH, Erik, 'Got. *strawa* "Gerüst", "Paradebett",' *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Ser. B, Tom. 84 (1954) 37-52.

1262.10. BENVENISTE, Emile, 'Le nom celtique du fer,' *Celtica* III (1955) 279-283.

[Germano-Celtic \**Isarno*- "iron" is borrowed from a language in which the word meant, as in Italic dialects, 'divine, heavenly' because it was meteoric iron men used first]

1262.11. FRINGS, Th., 'Paidā,' PBB (Halle) LXXXVII (1955) 221-234.

1262.12. KROES, H. W. J., '*manwus*, *manwjan*,' GRM XXXVI (1955) 265.

[Connects with Lat. *manus* 'hand', German *Mund* 'Handschutz', dialectal *Mande* 'basket']

1262.13. KROES, H. W. J., 'Gotica,' GRM XXXVI (1955) 347-349.

[*kunawida*, *tains*, *haldis*, *bloþ*]

1262.14. BRUGGER, E., 'Die *nodon-nuadu* Hypothese als Erklärung des Namens "Fischerkönig",' *Romance Philology* IX (1956) 285-297.

[Denies any connection with Goth. *nuta* 'ἀλλεῖς' (cf. Vendryes, *Revue Celtique* (1922) 384) since *nuta* means 'capturer, hunter' and not 'fisher']

1262.15. van der MEULEN, Reinder, 'Twee onverklaarde woorden: Krim-gotisch *borrotsch*, Oudpruisisch *wissambs*,' *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde*. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 19, No. 10 (1956).

## XXVII. VOCABULARY

### A. GENERAL

1263.1. THYRET, H., *Über Umbildung des gotischen und angelsächsischen Wortbegriffs im Neuenglischen und Neuhochdeutschen*. Leipzig, 1889.

1264. Read: 'Fremdwörter im Gotischen'.

1264.2. MEISSNER, R., 'Germanische Altertümer im gotischen Sprachschatz,' *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung* LVII (1937) 771 f.

[Resumé of a paper read at the 5. deutscher Rechtshistorikertag, Tübingen, 12-15 October, 1936 (of no interest)]

### C. SEMANTICS

#### 1. Semantic word groups

1274. Add: (=Kl Schr 554-650)

1275.2. KUHN, Hans, 'Das Zeugnis der Sprache über Alter und Herkunft der Runenschrift,' *Festschrift Neckel*, 54-74.

[Discusses terms connected with writing in Gothic]

1275.3. ELKIN, Celia Z., 'Eine semantische Untersuchung des Gotischen und anderer germanischer Dialekte im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes,' *Bryn Mawr diss.* 1955, D.A. XV, 263.

#### 2. Separate Words

1280. Add: (=Kl Schr 573).

1283. Add: (=Kl Schr 567-568)

1286.1. GRÉGOIRE, H. and P. ORGÉLO, 'Paganus, étude de sémantique et d'histoire,' *Mélanges G. Smets*. Brussels, 1952, 363-400.

[Pp. 376-378, takes up again the connection between Arm. *het'anos* and Goth. *haiþno*]

1293. Read: BENGTSON.

#### 3. Synonyms

1299. Read: (1913).

1300.1. VENDRYES, J., 'Sur le gotique *bidjan* et les verbes qui signifient "prier",' *Philologica* I (1921-22) 233-238.

### D. PROPER NAMES

#### 2. Gothic Proper Names

1314. Add: Rev.: Jb (1886) 28; LZ (1887) 1009; DLZ (1887) 1548; LB (1887) 467 (Ehrismann); AfdA XIV (1889) 32; MLN (1888) 99; *Germania* XXXIII (1888) 122 (Bartsch).

1324.1. Add: [See also the preliminary announcement of this work, PBB XXXII (1907) 129-135]

1327.2. SCHNEIDER, A. M., 'Gotengrabsteine aus Konstantinopel,' *Germ* XXI (1937) 175-177.

[On the name Οὐλιφρίδα]

- 1328.1. TRATHNIGG, Gilbert, 'Micca und Kniva,' *Germanien* XI (1939) 229.  
 1329. *Add: Rev.: IF* LX (1949-52) 104-108 (Fraenkel).  
 1329.2. ALTHEIM, Fr., 'Greutungen,' *BzN* VII (1956) 81-93.  
 [Comparison with Greek and Slavic names of people leads him to interpret *Greutungen* as 'Feldleute', opposed to *Terwingen* 'Waldleute'; a criticism of remarks by H. Rosenfeld, *PBB* (Tübingen) LXXVII (1955) 204 f.]  
 1329.3. ROSENFELD, H., 'Goten und Greutungen,' *BzN* VII (1956) 195-206.  
 [Rosenfeld's answer to No. 1329.2]  
 1329.4. ALTHEIM, Fr., 'Zum letzten Mal: Greutungen,' *BzN* VII (1956) 241-246.  
 [Answer to No. 1329.3]  
 1329.5. ROSENFELD, H., 'Goten und Greutungen (Schlusswort),' *BzN* VIII (1957) 36-43.  
 [Answer to No. 1329.4]

#### E. LOAN-WORDS

##### 1. Foreign Loan-words in Gothic

###### a) Latin

1330. *Read:* [Reproduces the second part of an article in *Journal des Savants* (Oct., 1889), cf. No. 1330a]  
 1330a. BREAL, Michel, 'Premières influences de Rome sur le monde germanique,' *Journal des Savants* (Oct., 1889) 622-653, 688-697.  
 [Latin loans into Gothic; see No. 1330]

###### b) Greek

1339. *Add:* (=KI *Schr* 496-527).  
 1339.1. *Read:* *haiþno*.

###### d) Other Sources

1357. *Add:* [Cf. the criticism by Prokosch, *ibid.*, June 11, 1914, p. 695, and Wiener's reply, *loc. cit.*]  
*Rev.: Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* III, 115 (Streitberg).  
 1362.3. UNTERMANN, J., 'Über die historischen Voraussetzungen für die Entlehnung von got. *alew*,' *PBB* LXXVI (1954) 390-399.

##### 2. Gothic Loan-words in other languages

###### a) German

1367. *Add:* (Reprinted in Fr. Kluge, *Wortforschung und Wortgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1912, 134-183, under the title: 'Unser ältestes Christentum. Ein terminologisches Problem.')
- 1371.3. FRINGS, Th., 'Got. \*(h)rausa "Kruste",' *ZfMaf* XXIII (1955) 37-39, 1 pl.  
 [Establishes a further Gothic-Bavarian parallel]  
 1371.4. EGGERS, H., 'Gotisches in der altbairischen Beichte,' *ZfMaf* XXII (1954) 129-144.  
 ['ein sicheres Zeugnis der gotischen Mission']

###### b) Romance

###### General

- 1373.1. GUNDERMANN, G., 'Germanische Wörter bei Griechen und Römern,' *ZfdW* VIII (1906) 114-116.  
 [I, 3, on the 'Gothic' plant name *uuisdile* in Oribasius; on *fenea*]  
 1376. *Add:* (=Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur. Supplementheft XIII)

1380.1. BULHART, Vinzenz, 'Lexikalisches zum Spätlatein,' *Wiener Studien* LXVII (1954) 149.

[Adds to the *uuisdile* of No. 1373.1, the words *bruntio* and *ganser* in Oribasius]

1380.2. AEBISCHER, Paul, 'L'équation "oliba=olivarius" et la fin de la déclinaison gotique en -a, -anem, et o, -onem en Septimanie,' *Cultura Neolatina* XI (1951) 197-212.

[On the declension of Gothic *n*-stems borrowed into Romance]

#### Italian

1382.2. ROHLFS, G., 'Über eine unbekannte gotisch-langobardische Wort-dublette,' *ASNS CLXXIX* (1941) 34-35.

[Corsican *tolla* 'clod', with unshifted *t*-, as compared to Toscan *zolla*]

#### Spanish

1385.1. PASCUAL, A., 'Discurso,' *Real Academia Española. Memorias* V (1886) 504-621.

[On Gothic and Germanic loans into Spanish, with numerous remarks on Gothic itself; *Contestación* by Fr. de Paula-Canalejas, 622-647]

#### Rumanian

1388. Add: [Criticism of No. 1388.1]

1388.1. DICULESCU, Constantin, 'Altgermanische Bestandteile im Rumänischen,' *Zf+Ph* XLI (1921) 420-428.

#### f) Indian Languages

1406. Add: [Cf. the review by Feist and von Grienberger, *Jb* XXIV. Jg. (1912) 77-78, where von Grienberger suggests connecting *cita* to Ostrogothic *Tzitta* or OE *Tidda*]

1407. Read: 379-385.

#### g) Finno-Ugrian

1410. Add to the rev.: *The Saturday Review* (19th Nov., 1870) 668; *The Academy* (Nov. 15, 1870) 54-56 (J. Budenz).

1415.1. COLLINDER, Björn, *Die urgermanischen Lehnwörter im Finnischen* (= *Skifter utgivna af Kgl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala* 28: 1). Uppsala, 1932, VIII+254 p.

Rev.: *RG* XXIV (1933) 273-274 (Mossé); *Eesti keel* XII (1933) 148-149 (Mägiste).

*Supplement und Wortindex* (= *Skifter* . . . 34:3). Uppsala, 1941, 52 p.

1415.2. OEHMANN, Emil, 'Die ältesten germanischen Lehnwörter im Finnischen,' *NGWG* (1954) No. 2, 13-26.

[An up to date review of different points of view]

Rev.: *BSL* L, 2( (1954) 133 (Mossé); *BSL* LI, 2 (1955) 178-179 (Sauvageot).

1415.3. SENN, Alfred, 'Alter und Herkunft der germanischen Lehrwörter im Finnischen,' *Die Sprache* III (1955) 59-73.

['Wir glauben, die Möglichkeit direkter gotisch-finnischer Berührungen in Ostpreussen endgültig bewiesen zu haben.']

#### h) Other Languages

1416.1. GUTENBRUNNER, S., 'Gotisches in der Atlakviða?' *ASNS CXCH* (1956) 33-39.

### XXVIII. APPENDIX

#### Readers containing Gothic excerpts

1417.1. WILLEMBÜCHER, J. P., *Praktische Anweisung zur Kenntnis der Hauptveränderungen und Mundarten der deutschen Sprache von den ältesten*

*Zeiten bis ins 14te Jahrhundert in einer Folge von Probestücken aus dem Gothischen, Altfränkischen, usw.* Leipzig, 1789, 181 p., 8°.

[Chapter XII: 'Gothische Fragmente aus dem Ulfila mit 3 Blättern etymologischer Anmerkungen']

Rev.: *Hallische gelehrte Zeitung* (May 10, 1790) 37; *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (Jan. 24, 1791) No. 20; cf. also *Bragur* II, 429.

1417.2. HASPEL, J. F. F., *Proben runischer und gotischer Denkmäler*. Ellwangen, 1813.

1418.1. ZIEMANN, A., *Altdeutsches Lesebuch: aus Ulfilas, althochdeutschen Prosa- und Dichtwerken und mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern*. Quedlinburg, 1833.

Rev.: *Berl.-Germ.* I (1836) 97.

### The Teaching of Gothic

1436. SCHMIDT, C., 'Wie lässt sich das Gotische für den deutschen Unterricht an unseren höheren Schulen nutzbar machen?' *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht* IV (1890) 62-71.

[Should begin Gothic in Obersekunda]

### INDEX OF AUTHORS

P. 321 Read BENGTON. For v. D., W. B. H. read van DAMME, Wbr. For BRAUER, Th. read BRAUN, F.

P. 323 S. v. LOEBE, read 309 for 300.

P. 324 S. v. SCHULZE, Wilh., for 708 read 700. S. v. SPECHT, for 928 read 921. Read STIERNHIELM.

### (First Supplement)

P. 183, line 1 of INDEX OF AUTHORS, read p. 322.

### INDEX TO THE SUPPLEMENT (corrections)

..S.v. HØST, for 446.1 read 466.1. S.v. MITTNER, read 566.1.

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# Pope and Council: Some New Decretist Texts

BRIAN TIERNEY

IN recent studies on the idea of sovereignty in the Middle Ages there has been no lack of emphasis on the contribution of the mediaeval canonists. A substantial literature has grown up concerning canonistic theories on the relations between church and state and between the national kingdoms and the empire. Moreover, several recent works have called attention to the influence of canonistic doctrine and ecclesiastical practice on the development of secular institutions of government. It even seems that canonistic studies may contribute to our understanding of some of the classic problems of the constitutional historians—the significance of coronation oaths, the origins of parliament and, *mirabile dictu*, the terminology of the Statute of York.<sup>1</sup>

Even before the recent growth of interest in the canonists and their works it was often pointed out as a standard platitude of the text-books that mediaeval theories of papal authority greatly influenced subsequent doctrines of secular kingship.<sup>2</sup> It is surprising therefore that the greatest gap in modern work on the political theories of the canonists occurs precisely at this point. The subject that has been least studied is the one that was after all the canonists' own proper business, that is to say the juridical structure of the church and the nature and limits of papal sovereignty within the church. In a work on the early background of conciliar thought I discussed a few of the texts of the twelfth century Decretists touching on these questions.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this article is to present a more adequate and representative selection of texts from the various canon law schools of the twelfth century, and to reconsider some problems of papal sovereignty in the light of them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of recent contributions in these fields see 'Some Recent Works on the Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists,' *Traditio* X (1954) 594-625. Since the article was written a number of important books dealing with various aspects of mediaeval sovereignty has appeared: L. Buisson, *König Ludwig IX der Heilige und das Recht* (Freiburg, 1954), R. Castillo Lara, *Coacción eclesiástica y sacro romano imperio* (Turin, 1956), M. David, *La souveraineté et les limites juridiques du pouvoir monarchique du IX<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1954), J. W. Gough, *Fundamental Law in English Constitutional History* (Oxford, 1955), M. Pacaut, 'Alexandre III. Etude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son oeuvre' (Paris, 1956), P. N. Riesenbergh, *Inalienability of Sovereignty in Medieval Political Thought* (New York, 1956). Of these Buisson, David, Pacaut and Riesenbergh make use of canonistic material.

<sup>2</sup>E. H. Kantorowicz has some fresh and penetrating observations on this theme in his article, 'Mysteries of State: an Absolutist Concept and its Late Medieval Origins,' *Harvard Theological Review*, XLVIII (1951), 65-91.

<sup>3</sup>*Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge, 1955).

<sup>4</sup>Besides discussing the new material presented in this article I have also considered texts published by A. M. Landgraf, 'Scattered Remarks on the Development of Dogma and on Papal Infallibility,' *Theological Studies*, VII (1946), 577-82; A. Stickler,

'Sacerdotium et Regnum nei decretisti e primi decretalisti', *Salesianum*, XV (1953), 575-612; and J. Watt, 'The Early Medieval Canonists and the Formation of Conciliar Theory', *Irish Theological Quarterly*, XXIV (1957), 13-31. My own transcriptions are taken from microfilms in the library of the Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law. The following manuscripts have been cited: Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 7; Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 271; Augsburg, Kreis- und Stadtbibliothek, MS I; Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, MS S. Cugat 55; Cambridge, Trinity College, MSS O.5.17 and O.10.2; Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 649; Dublin, Trinity College, MS 275; Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, MS Amplon quart. 117; Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS iur. 159; Halle, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Ye 52; Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 127E; London, British Museum, MS Royal 11.D.II; Montecassino, Biblioteca Abbaziale, MS 396; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS 16084; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS 3009, 14997, 15994; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 743 (E.74). For information concerning the canonists and anonymous works mentioned in the text see S. Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik* (Vatican City, 1937), *idem* 'Bernardus Compostellanus Antiquus', *Traditio*, I (1943), 277-340, S. Kuttner and E. Rathbone, 'Anglo-Norman Canonists of the Twelfth Century', *Traditio*, VII (1949-51), 279-358.

These problems were posed for the commentators on Gratian by the dialectical structure of the *Decretum* itself. On the one hand Gratian vigorously asserted that the pope was the supreme judge in the church and himself to be judged by no one, that the pope alone could define articles of faith, that his legislation was to be obeyed by all, that he could even over-rule the decisions of previous general councils.<sup>5</sup> But, on the other hand, many of the texts that Gratian cited seemed to support the opposite conclusions. The ones that became the principal focal points of discussion were these: *Dist.* 15 c. 2, where Pope Gregory I, referring to the first four general councils, declared, *dum universali sunt consensu constituta se et non illa destruit quisquis praesumit aut solvere quos religant aut ligare quos solvunt*; C. 25 q. 1, in which Gratian explicitly discussed the question whether the pope was bound by statutes of general councils; *Dist.* 40 c. 6, which laid down the rule that a pope was immune from human judgement but added as a qualification, *nisi deprehendatur a fide deuius*; and finally *Dist.* 19 c. 9, which declared that Pope Anastasius II had been deserted by his clergy and smitten by God because he entered into communion with a condemned heretic *sine concilio episcoporum uel presbyterorum et clerici cunctae ecclesiae catholicae*. These texts could give rise to all kinds of subtle problems, but the central difficulties are obvious enough. If the pope was the final arbiter in matters of faith how could any teaching of his be held heretical? And if the pope was the supreme judge how could any-one condemn him?

It is evident that in discussing issues of this kind we are dealing with extreme and exceptional cases. In the days of Alexander III or Innocent III the pope did indeed preside over the day to day conduct of ecclesiastical affairs as supreme judge and legislator, and all the canonists thought it right and proper that this should be so. When one deals with limiting cases, in the nature of things one is far from the mean, from normal everyday situations; but in problems of constitutional theory an emphasis on limiting cases seems inescapable if we are to understand the underlying principles of any given system of thought.<sup>6</sup> It may also seem that, since the canonists' central problem was so much concerned with the definition of articles of faith it was in essence a theological issue which cannot properly be discussed in constitutional terms. In a sense this is very true. The point is that the theologians of the day made little attempt to cope with the problem and, in the absence of adequate theological guidance, the canonists debated it in strictly juristic terms.<sup>7</sup> The pope's power to define articles of faith was conceived of simply as one aspect of his authority as supreme judge.

Gratian himself made this clear when he posed the question whether greater authority was to be attributed to the opinions of revered theologians like Augustine or Jerome or to the pronouncements of a pope. He held that in theological studies the opinion of a writer like Augustine was to be preferred on a point of scriptural exegesis since the great theologians were especially gifted with wisdom (*scientia*), but in deciding cases the courts had to judge according to the definitions of the pope since the pope possessed the *clavis potestatis*, the power of jurisdiction that Christ had conferred on Peter.<sup>8</sup> The canonists, while commonly accepting Gratian's view that the fathers were

<sup>5</sup> These affirmations of papal authority are scattered all through the *Decretum*. See especially D.12, D.19, D.22, C.2 q.6, C.9 q.3, C.24 q.1, C.25 q.1.

<sup>6</sup> However, the problems discussed were not altogether remote from real life. When we find the canonists discussing whether schism was equivalent to heresy or affirming that, when there was doubt as to who was true pope, the issue could be settled by human judgment we may remember

that in the days of Barbarossa and the anti-pope Victor these were not merely theoretical questions.

<sup>7</sup> Landgraf remarked on the paucity of theological writing on this theme, *art. cit.* p. 577.

<sup>8</sup> D.20 ante c. 1. On the canonists' interpretation of the famous text *Tu es Petrus* ... see now M. J. Wilks "Papa est nomen iurisdictionis", *Journal of Theological Studies*, VIII (New Series) (1957), 71-91.

greater in *scientia*, sometimes took occasion to explain in this context that the pope's power of pronouncing authoritative decisions included the definition of articles of faith.<sup>9</sup> Some of them also suggested that, if a dispute arose as to whether the pope's teaching was orthodox or not, the pope ought voluntarily to appoint another as judge *et sub eo de hoc litigare*.<sup>10</sup> The only way they could conceive of settling a disputed point of doctrine was to conduct litigation under a judge. When the issue was being discussed in these terms, the question whether there was any authority in the church competent to over-rule the pope's decision in matters of faith or to pass judgement on the pope himself did present itself precisely as a constitutional problem, a problem of sovereignty. Huguccio even used the doctrine that a pope could be condemned for heresy as an argument to prove that a tyrannical king might be deposed by his barons.<sup>11</sup>

A theologian might well maintain that the ecclesiology of the late twelfth century was radically flawed by this tendency to force essentially theological propositions into a juristic mould, and it may be that the study of these problems of constitutional law cannot take us to the most profound levels of mediaeval thought on the nature and functions of the papacy. But it can teach us a very great deal about the origins and developments of 'mediaeval constitutionalism', for the constitutional problems that the canonists were already debating in the second half of the twelfth century were substantially similar to those that would arise in the sphere of secular government in the thirteenth century and afterwards.

In the fully developed constitutional theories of the later Middle Ages there existed divers elements of thought inextricably interwoven with one another. In the works of the earlier canonists we can see some of the doctrines that would be used in later systems of thought evolving separately and then, by the end of the twelfth century, being brought tentatively into relationship with one another to form comprehensive theories of authority within the church. The problems to be considered can be arranged in logical sequence, each leading on to the next. There is first the question of fundamental law, whether there existed any 'natural' or customary law, not created by the will of the ruler and unchangeable by him. The tendency in much recent work has been to de-emphasize the importance of this conception in the secular sphere, to point out that mediaeval kings did in fact make new laws changing old customs and knew perfectly well that they were doing so. There has never been much doubt that this was also true of the popes. Indeed, a scholar as perceptive as J. N. Figgis once referred to 'the Canonist theory of sovereignty (substantially the same as Austin's)'.

If, however, a theory of fundamental law did exist, there next arose the question of who was competent to define and declare that law. If men believed in the existence of a fundamental law but assumed that the individual ruler—king, emperor, or pope—had the sole power of declaring the tenets of that law, the practical result was much the same as if they had indeed attributed

<sup>9</sup> Sicardus, "In expositionibus uero scripturarum preponuntur (patres) quia ibi scientia sine potestate requiritur exceptis articulis fidei in quibus maior est apostolici quam alicuius sancti patris auctoritas." (MS Augsburg I, fol. 80va); *Summa Antiquitate et tempore*, "In scripturas autem exponendo maioris sit auctoritatis quod amplioris scientie esse constiterit . . . Nota tamen quod in obscuris scripturis et maxime circa articulos fidei maioris auctoritatis esset interpretatio pape quam augustinus. Set alias, in libro componendo uel exponendo, maioris auctoritatis esset augustinus quam apostolicus." (MS Göt-

tingen, iur. 159, fol. 25vb); *Summa Prima primi*, "Cum enim in questione fidei eius interpretationi standum est ut 24 Q. 1 Quociens, ergo et morum, quia sine illis fides mortua est. Item generaliter difficiliores questiones ad papam sunt referende." (MS London BM Royal 11.D.II, fol. 321rb). See also the gloss *ad Dist.* 20 of the Caius glosses cited by Watt, *art. cit.* p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> *Summa Duacensis*, *Summa Prima primi*. *Infra*. Appendix C.10, C.11.

<sup>11</sup> *Ad C.15 q.6. C.3.* Cited by Mochi Onory, *Fonti canonistiche dell'idea moderna dello stato* (Milan, 1951), p. 156.

to him a kind of Austinian sovereignty, even though the theoretical basis of his power was different. The common mediaeval alternative to this view was the doctrine that the highest authority for the promulgation of law was not the ruler alone but the ruler surrounded by an assembly, a parliament, estates-general, or general council, whose decisions the individual ruler could not annul. This doctrine raises a third question. If a dispute arose between the members of such an assembly and its head, which party possessed the higher authority? This is of crucial importance since it involves also the problem of the deposition of a ruler who has become intolerable to his subjects. If, in the last resort, supreme authority lay with the members of the assembly, they could judge and depose the ruler; but if, in case of dispute, ultimate authority lay with the ruler, then it would seem that, as one of the canonists put it, *non restat nisi dolor et gemitus*.<sup>12</sup>

It happens that the chronological order in which the canonists took up the problems mentioned corresponds precisely with the logical sequence in which we have presented them. The first point, the existence of some fundamental law existing outside the will of the legislator, need not detain us over long. The canonists did very clearly attribute to the pope a legislative function. There was never any suggestion that every time he promulgated a new decretal he was or ought to be merely declaring pre-existing law.<sup>13</sup> But, equally, there was a general consensus of opinion that this legislative authority was not unlimited. The very first words of the *Decretum* itself were,

Humanum genus duobus regitur, naturali videlicet iure et moribus. Ius naturale est quod in lege et evangelio continetur, quo quisque iubetur alii inferre quod sibi vult fieri.

And a little further on Gratian added,

Quaecumque enim vel moribus recepta sunt, vel scriptis comprehensa, si naturali iuri fuerint adversa, uana et irrita habenda sunt.<sup>14</sup>

The canonists were to point out that the term 'natural law' could have many other connotations, and that there were some varieties of natural law that could be modified by papal authority.<sup>15</sup> But no one dissented from the view that natural law in Gratian's own sense of the term, that is to say the fundamental moral principles laid down in the Old and New Testaments, was immutable. It could not be changed by the pope or any-one else.<sup>16</sup>

It was not until about 1160 that the canonists began to concern themselves with our second question, whether there was any institution of church government that could limit the authority of a pope. Then two major works, one from the school of Bologna and one from the French school raised the question of the relations between papal decretals and the canons of general councils.

<sup>12</sup> *Summa Duacensis, Infra*, Appendix C.11.

<sup>13</sup> The Decretists did, however, regard custom as an important source of law. See the remarks of F. Arnold, "Die Rechtslehre des Magisters Gratians, *Studia Gratiana* I (Bologna, 1953), 451-82 and of L. Buisson, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-79. On the closely related question whether popular acceptance was necessary to validate enacted law there is a detailed study by L. de Lucca, "L'acettazione popolare della legge canonica nel pensiero di Graziano e dei suoi interpreti", *Studia Gratiana* III (Bologna, 1955), 194-276.

<sup>14</sup> D.8 ante c.2.

<sup>15</sup> This was emphasized especially by W. Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism* (London, 1949),

pp. 50-75.

<sup>16</sup> Quite recently an extensive literature has grown up concerning the doctrine of natural law in Gratian and his commentators. The older work of O. Lottin, *Le droit naturel chez Saint Thomas d'Aquin et ses prédécesseurs* (2nd ed. Bruges, 1931) remains valuable and the article "Naturel (Droit)" by C. Lefebvre and G. Simon in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* provides an excellent introduction to the subject. See also contributions of Delhay and Wegner, *Studia Gratiana* I (Bologna, 1953); de Tejada, Composta and Rota, *ibid.* II (1954); Villey and Gualazzini, *ibid.* III (1955). Delhay (p. 440 n. 8) gives references to other recent work on this subject.

Rufinus taught that, while not every conciliar canon was inviolable, those 'statutes of the ancient and venerable fathers that were promulgated with full authority to preserve the state of the universal church' could not be annulled by papal authority. The *Summa Parisiensis* held that the immutable canons were those that pertained specially to articles of faith.<sup>17</sup> Then, about 1169, the *Summa Elegantius in iure divino*, another work of the French school, combined both arguments. The popes could abrogate old canons and found new ones provided that *nichil contra fidem presumant uel in quo uniuersalem ecclesiam offendant*. The author added that the pope should not be regarded as acting contrary to the general statutes of councils when he granted particular dispensations against them which did not establish binding precedents.<sup>18</sup>

These three glosses set the tone for future canonistic discussion. In the 1170s both Johannes Faventinus in Bologna and the *Summa Antiquitate et tempore* in France taught that papal decretals were not to be obeyed if they were 'contrary to the precepts of the Gospel or the decrees of the holy fathers'.<sup>19</sup> The author of the *Distinctiones Monacenses* held that the pope was bound by existing statutes concerning matters that were essential to salvation but not by those that dealt with points that had been morally indifferent before the law concerning them was promulgated. The French *Summa Tractaturus magister* offered a more elaborate analysis. There were some statutes that pertained to the general state of the church and that were essential to salvation. These the pope could not modify in whole or in part. Other universal statutes were not essential to salvation and these he could modify in part, but could not destroy altogether without the consent of a general council. Those that referred only to the special privileges of some particular church he could change in whole or in part.<sup>20</sup> The *Summa Et est sciendum* declared that the pope was bound by the statutes of councils *in his que spectant ad articulos fidei et statum ecclesie*. This formula was used repeatedly by Huguccio and had become very generally accepted by the early thirteenth century.<sup>21</sup> It may be added that the Decretists consistently rated the canons of councils as superior to the decretals of popes when they listed in order of precedence the different sources of ecclesiastical law.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Die Summa Decretorum des Magister Rufinus*, ed. H. Singer (Paderborn, 1902), p. 13; *The Summa Parisiensis on the Decretum*, Gratiani, ed. T. P. McLaughlin (Toronto, 1952), p. 230.

<sup>18</sup> *Infra*, Appendix A.1.

<sup>19</sup> *Infra*, Appendix A.2.

<sup>20</sup> For the text of the *Distinctiones Monacenses* see Landgraf, *art. cit.*, p. 579 and for that of the *Summa Tractaturus Magister* Watt, *art. cit.*, p. 28. On the right of resistance to unjust papal commands see "Grosseteste and the Theory of Papal Sovereignty", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, VI (1955), 1-17.

<sup>21</sup> A selection of illustrative texts is given in Appendix A. By the early thirteenth century it was very commonly accepted that the pope could not go against the canons of general councils in matters touching articles of faith or affecting the general state of the church, but it remained a matter of controversy whether and within what limits he could over-rule other general laws of the councils. The controversy was particularly concerned with the limits of the pope's dispensatory authority. See J. Brys, *De dispensatione in iure canonico* (Bruges, 1925), pp. 122-134, 195-226.

<sup>22</sup> Such lists were commonly included in glosses *ad D.20*; several of them have been printed by C. Munier, *Les sources patristiques du droit de l'église* (Mulhouse, 1957), p. 200. By way of example we give another; *Summa Antiquitate et Tempore ad D.20 ante c.1*, "Talis hic adhibenda videtur distinctio ut in causis decidendis primum locum et principalem obtineat lex naturalis, vetus testamentum et nouum, postea statuta generalium conciliorum, deinde decretales epistole, postea statuta primatum, patriarcharum, deinde statuta archiepiscoporum, postea episcoporum, et ut ad unum dicere sit (!), quanto altiores locum habent in iudicando tanto digniores locum obtineant eorum statuta in causis decidendis." The order of authorities varied slightly from canonist to canonist but in all the cases known to me the canons of general councils were preferred to the decretals of popes, and this in spite of a statement by Gratian himself that "Decretales itaque epistole canonibus conciliorum pari iure exequantur" (*D.20 ante c.1*). On this the *Summa Animal est substantia* commented, "i.e. sicut ista seruanda sunt sicut et illa. Utrumque debet obseruari. Maxime canones conciliorum preferuntur decretalibus quia illi equiparantur euangelio,, xv di. Sicut

The canonists seem to have considered that the meaning of the phrase *status ecclesiae* was self evident for they seldom gave specific examples of the limitations on papal authority that it implied. A *Quaestio* of Bazianus recently published by Fr. Stickler provides a significant exception. The problem discussed was whether the church courts provided a universal forum for all, clergy and laity alike. As a corollary Bazianus inquired whether, if this was not already the situation, the pope could enact a law establishing them as such for the future. The case was posed in an interesting fashion for the author explicitly raised the issue of papal *plenitudo potestatis* in opposition to a general statute of the church.

In secunda questione videtur quod dominus papa non potest statuere quod ecclesia sit generale forum. Est enim preceptum apostoli ut laici sint iudices secularium rerum: in epistola ad corinthios . . . Item hoc esset generale statutum ecclesie perturbare. Set numquid posset hoc papa, numquid posset destruere omnes leges, numquid faciet omnes clericos vacare foro et causis emere Iustinianum et Ulpianum et dimittere Paulum et reliquos sanctos, quorum scriptis ecclesia regitur, numquid usurpabit officium alienum, quod fieri non debet . . . ?

Contra: papa habet plenitudinem potestatis . . . Videtur ergo quod per voluntatem suam possit disponere tam de laicis quam de clericis.

The conclusion was that the church courts were not a general forum for all cases, that the pope could make them so only if he acted by direct revelation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and that such inspiration could be presumed only if every-one, clergy and princes alike, willingly consented to the change—an unlikely contingency.<sup>23</sup>

It has recently been argued that the limitation of papal authority suggested by the texts on *status ecclesie* 'is not a limitation in any real sense at all' because, "The sovereign of any juridical society is "limited" to the extent that, however absolute he may be held to be, it is inadmissible that he might use his power to subvert the foundations of the society with whose government he is entrusted."<sup>24</sup> But this is to take altogether too optimistic a view of the intrinsic nature of political institutions. A thirteenth century pope was so limited; a twentieth century dictator often is not. For a student of constitutional theory it is important to know whether any such limitation does or does not exist in a given society. The issue is not a merely academic one and still less is it merely mediaeval. The question whether a sovereign government can be bound by a pre-existing fundamental law defining the constitutional structure of the state has been a burning political issue in the Union of South Africa in very recent years.

What we can say with confidence is that the various texts which attributed to a general council superiority in questions of faith and in matters touching the general state of the church did not in themselves carry any anti-papal connotation, for the canonists always insisted that the pope himself or his legate had to preside in a general council. Just as, later on, the English judges were

*sancti.*" (MS Liège 127E, fol. 13vb. On this manuscript see G. Fransen, "Manuscripts des décrétistes dans les bibliothèques liégeoises", *Studia Gratiana*, I. (Bologna, 1953), 289-302 at p. 298).

<sup>23</sup> The *Quaestio* is printed in full in A. Stickler, *art. cit.* pp. 607-8. The text is given as published there though the manuscript actually has *generalē statutum* which one would normally extend as *generalem statutum*. This is grammatically impossible but *generalem statutum* would be correct. There

are similar ambiguities, probably arising out of scribal errors in some of the manuscripts of Huguccio (*Foundations* p 52 n. 3). In this case I think that the general sense of the passage and the wording of it make *generalem statutum* the more likely reading. The problems of terminology connected with the canonists' and civilians' use of the phrases *status ecclesie*, *status regni* are being investigated by Gaines Post.

<sup>24</sup> J. Watt, *art. cit.*, p. 17.

to tell Henry VIII that he at no time stood so high in his estate royal as in time of parliament so the canonists were teaching, in effect, that the pope at no time stood so high in his estate pontifical as in time of general council.

We are therefore left with our third problem. Where did ultimate authority reside in case of disagreement between the pope and the members of a council? And, if the pope was supreme, how was the deposition of a heretical pope to be brought about? We must emphasize here that the common canonistic doctrine that a man who became a heretic *ipso facto* ceased to be pope did not eliminate the need for a juridical superior to pass sentence on him. No man, pope or peasant, became a heretic simply by making a mistake in a matter of doctrine. The crime of heresy consisted in pertinaciously resisting the sentence of the church after the disputed doctrine had been condemned. If the error was one that had already been condemned a prelate might indeed incur automatic excommunication and consequent loss of jurisdiction by adhering to it, but only if the original sentence had been promulgated by a superior. An inferior could not bind a superior, nor an equal an equal.<sup>25</sup> As the author of the *Summa Et est sciendum* observed, it could not be assumed that a pope had ceased to be pope and so had lost his immunity from judgement simply because some-one had flung a charge of heresy at him. *Non enim qui accusatur reus est set qui convincitur . . .*<sup>26</sup> And the one point that was common to virtually every canonistic commentary on the problem of a heretical pope was an insistence that a pope who erred could not be condemned at once, but only if he pertinaciously continued in his error after correction. Again, who was to 'correct' the teaching of a pope?

In a previous study, based largely on the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Johannes Teutonicus, I suggested that the Decretists did not deal adequately with these difficulties and that, instead of developing a systematic theory of the relations between pope and council, they took refuge in the confusions arising out of their own ambiguous use of terms like *Romana ecclesia*. The texts from Huguccio and Alanus recently published by John Watt, together with further material now available from manuscript sources, necessitate some modification of that judgement. Although there was a good deal of confusion in some quarters a few of the most clear sighted canonists did thoroughly comprehend and systematically resolve all difficulties surrounding the case of a heretical pope.

The Decretists were slow to come to grips with this problem. Forty years after the Decretum itself had appeared glosses on the case of Anastasius were still concerned only to define the precise nature of the pope's offence,<sup>27</sup> without making any reference to the implied problem of the relationship between the pope and the *concilium . . . cunctae ecclesiae catholicae* which, according to the critical text, he ought to have consulted. Two major works of the Bolognese and French schools written around 1180, the *Summae* of Simon de Bisignano and of Sicardus scarcely mention the constitutional ambiguities inherent in Gratian's texts.<sup>28a</sup> Then, quite suddenly in the 1180s, the whole issue exploded

<sup>25</sup> On excommunication *laetæ sententiae* at this period see P. Huizing, "The Earliest Development of Excommunication *laetæ sententiae* by Gratian and the Earliest Decretists", *Studia Gratiana* III, 278-320.

<sup>26</sup> *Summa ad D.40 c.6 Infra*, Appendix C.7.

<sup>27</sup> The letter of Anastasius given by Gratian (D.19 c.8) acknowledged the validity of ordinations made by the condemned heretic Acacius. This problem of 're-ordinations' was of course ancient (see L. Saltet, *Les Ré-ordinations* (Paris, 1907)). By the second half of the twelfth century most of the canonists held that the pope could accept as valid the ordinations

of a heretical bishop, and so it seemed that Anastasius had done nothing wrong. The Decretists sometimes explained that his offence consisted in recognizing the validity of the ordinations without insisting on the need for papal dispensation; more commonly they held that his real crime was that he secretly favored the heresy of Acacius. This led on to discussions on the need for the cooperation of a council in determining disputed articles of faith. A sequence of glosses illustrating the development of canonistic comment on the case is given in Appendix B.

<sup>28a</sup> On the affiliation of Sicardus with the



into life in a group of French *Summae*, and from then onwards it was discussed in detail in nearly all the major Decretist commentaries.

One factor that seems to have been important in precipitating the whole discussion was the decretal *Cum Christus* sent by Alexander III to the Archbishop of Rheims in 1177. In this decretal the pope actually did define an article of faith concerning the co-existence of the divine and human natures in Christ. Moreover, without consulting a general council, he defined it in a sense contrary to the opinion that prevailed among the theologians of Paris, and his definition came to be universally accepted as orthodox. The canonists seem to have been considerably impressed by the discomfort of the theologians.<sup>28</sup> For them, once they had grasped the full significance of the decretal, one effect of it was to sharpen the problem of a heretical pope; for how could the pope be a heretic when whatever he decreed, even though it ran counter to respectable theological opinion was held orthodox? Could, perhaps, the fathers of a council restrain him if he sought to promulgate as an article of faith some proposition that was clearly heretical?

The first work in which all the aspects of the problem were brought under discussion seems to have been the French *Summa Et est sciendum* (1181-85). On the authority of the pope in relation to previous general councils the comment was conventional as we have seen, *non potest derogari principalibus conciliis in his scilicet que spectant ad articulos fidei et statum ecclesie*. But, in discussing the case of Anastasius the author put forward a more radical doctrine. Here he suggested that if a dispute arose *within* a council, the authority of the members of the council was greater than that of the pope.

Per hoc habes quod non debet papa ei communicare cui concilium censuit non communicandum. Eadem ratione si in questionibus que in concilio proponuntur a sententia pape discordat concilium maior est sententia concilii quam pape.<sup>29</sup>

When a canonist prefaced a statement with a phrase like, *Per hoc habes*, he was not definitively committing himself to the point of view expressed. He was merely pointing out that this was an arguable proposition that was supported by the text under discussion. In another context this author put forward the view, again without committing himself, that any opinion the pope pronounced was *ipso facto* orthodox and that it was for him alone to determine questions of faith. Finally, in his comment on *Dist. 40 c. 6*, the text which referred to the possibility of deposing a heretical pope, he drew together all the threads of the argument. The case of heresy, wrote the author, provided an exception to the general rule of papal immunity from judgement because heresy (and schism too, he added) violated the unity of the church and corrupted the foundations of the faith. Some held, however, that the pope could be accused

French school see S. Kuttner "Réflexions sur les brocards des glossateurs", *Mélanges de Ghellinck* (Gembloux, 1951), pp. 767-92.

<sup>28</sup> See *Summa Et est sciendum* ad D.17 post c.4, D.40 c.6 (*infra* Appendix C.7) and D.20 ante c.1, "Hic solet queri si gregorius qui et papa et expositor extitit inueniretur in sua expositione alicui expositori contrarius preponi deberet an subici uel equalis esset auctoritatis. Et forte equalis ubi non ut papa locutus est set ut expositor . . . Secus vero ubi loquitur sicut papa quo casu cunctis preferitur ut in extrav. *cum christus*." *Summa Omnis qui iuste* ad D.40 c.6 (*infra*, Appendix C.9) *Quaestiones Orielenses* (cf Stickler *art. cit.* p. 607); Huguccio ad C.9 q.3 c.17 (cf Watt, *art. cit.*, p. 30); *Summa Animal est substantia* ad D.20 ante

c.1, ". . . set in his que non sunt determinata in nouo uel ueteri testamento, si modo oriatur questio uel dubitatio preferitur summi pontificis sententia, extra, de hereticis, *cum christus, merentur*", ad C.24 q.1 c.13, "Arg. est hic contra theologos qui dicunt quod Christus in eo quod est homo nihil est, set aliquid quia papa reprobat istam opinionem ex. de her., *cum christus*. Et tamen ipsi propter hoc nolunt acquiescere licet iterum acquieuerit papa. Nam qui opugnat romanam ecclesiam est hereticus, xii di. *nulli*." MS Liège 127E, fol. 13vb and fol. 213vb). On the theological doctrine involved see the article, "Adoptianisme au XIIe siècle", *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 413-18.

<sup>29</sup> *Infra*, Appendix B.5.

of any crime that was notorious. Then the difficulties were fairly presented. It seemed that no statement of the pope could be heretical even if everyone disagreed with it for Alexander III had in fact successfully promulgated the decretal *Cum Christus* against great opposition. Again it could not be assumed that the pope had become automatically degraded from his office simply because his orthodoxy was suspect. (It was here that the author wrote, *Non enim qui accusatur reus est set qui conuincitur.*) And again, it seemed that even if the law did hold a pope liable to deposition for heresy, the pope could change that law.<sup>30</sup>

The final solution was that, if the pope propounded a new heresy, all these objections were valid. There was no authority in the church competent to dispute the orthodoxy of a papal pronouncement on an undetermined issue of faith. But if a pope adhered to a heresy already condemned by a previous general council then a new council could condemn him as one already excommunicate and guilty of heresy. The reason for this was that the pope alone did not have power to change the statutes of preceding general councils. Thus, although this canonist put forward the view that the members of a council in opposition to a pope might have a greater authority than the pope himself, he did not choose to base his arguments concerning the deposition of a pope on this assumption. Rather, he relied on the more common doctrine that the pope-in-council, as we might put it, was superior to a pope acting alone.

The Anglo-Norman *Summa Omnis qui iuste* was concerned with the question whether the clergy could licitly withdraw obedience from a heretical pope before he had been formally condemned. On the case of Anastasius the author observed that the text merely declared that the clergy deserted the pope; it did not say that their action was praiseworthy. In a later gloss, however, without expressing a personal opinion, he reported that some held it licit for subjects to withdraw allegiance from a pope who propounded a novel heresy.<sup>31</sup> His long comment on *Dist. 40 c. 6* was almost identical with that of the *Summa Et est sciendum*. The author of the *Summa Reverentia sacrorum canonum* started out from the proposition that a pope who fell into heresy was self-condemned, but without distinguishing old heresies and new ones. This left him with the difficult problem of deciding who could judge whether the pope was in fact a heretic or not. If a heretical pope was 'less than any catholic' did that mean that any catholic could judge an erring pope? That conclusion seemed unacceptable. Perhaps any bishop could judge, 'because heresy concerns all ecclesiastical judges and just as what touches all ought to be approved by all if it is good, so it ought to be rejected by all if it is evil' (an interesting variation on the *quod omnes tangit* phrase). But it was safer, the argument concluded, to hold that a case of this sort was among the *causae arduae* that could be decided only by the Roman church—presumably by the cardinals since it was the pope himself who was on trial. This author evidently had in mind a sharp distinction between the jurisdictional primacy of the Roman church and the personal authority of the pope.<sup>32</sup>

All the previous arguments were recapitulated in the *Summa* of Huguccio, the greatest of the twelfth century commentaries on the *Decretum*. Huguccio explicitly committed himself to the view that, in a dispute between a pope and the members of a council, the views of the pope should prevail.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly,

<sup>30</sup> *Infra*, Appendix C.7.

<sup>31</sup> *Summa ad C.24 q.1 c.1*, "Item queritur si alius prelati incidit in heresim nouam et hoc fuerit notorium, an subditi debeant eo ipso recedere . . . sane dici potest quod non debent ab eo recedere nisi consulto superiore. Set quid si sumus pontifex ita incideret? Dicunt quia non est ei superior

licite possunt subditi ab eo recedere ut supra di. xl si papa, supra di. xix, Anastasius." (MS Rouen 743, fol. 108ra). See also *infra*, Appendix, B.6, C.9.

<sup>32</sup> *Infra*, Appendix C.8.

<sup>33</sup> *Foundations*, p. 55 and Watt, art. cit., pp. 29-30.

in the long and complex gloss that he devoted to the problem of a heretical pope he maintained that no action could be taken in such a case unless (a) the pope's heresy was one already condemned (so that there was no need for any new judgement on the doctrine involved) (b) the pope publicly proclaimed himself an adherent of the condemned heresy (so that there was no need for any enquiry into the facts of the case) (c) the pope pertinaciously continued in his heresy after correction. It was virtually unthinkable that these circumstances would ever arise in practice; if a pope were to fall into heresy at all it would almost certainly be by erring in some matter of doctrine that had not been clearly defined. In another way, however, Huguccio greatly extended the possibilities of deposing an unsuitable pope, for he supported the view that had been put forward by some of his predecessors that any notorious crime which scandalized the church could be regarded as a kind of constructive heresy, and so as a ground for action against a pope.<sup>34</sup>

Besides the texts of Huguccio already published in which he defended the ultimate authority of a pope in opposition to 'the whole church' we can cite another in which the same point of view was uncompromisingly stated.

s.v. *Considimus*. In prima parte uidetur dici quod non liceat pape contradicere constitutioni uniuersalis ecclesie et ita ut ecclesia potior in constituendo quam papa, set finis principium corrigit. Et nota quod constitutio solius pape potior est quam totius ecclesie . . .<sup>35</sup>

But against this must be set a further text of Huguccio which provides an opportunity to re-assess another important department of his thought. The passage he was commenting on here referred to the unerring faith of the Roman church.

s.v. *Nunquam errasse*. Obicitur de Anastasio. Sed forte processit. Uel forte melius quod est, loquitur uniuersali ecclesie, que nunquam desinet, licet forte possit deficere. Licet enim papa romanus aliquando errauerit, non ideo romana ecclesia, que non solus papa intelligitur, sed uniuersi fideles. Nam ecclesia est congregatio fidelium, ut (De cons.) di. I *Ecclesia*, que etsi rome non sit, est tamen in partibus gallicanis potissime uel ubicumque fideles existunt. Et ecclesia qui(dem) potest desinere esse, sed nunquam contingit. Nam petro et uniuerse ecclesie in prima petri dictum est: Non deficit fides tua . . .<sup>36</sup>

The attitude here seems quite different from that in the previous quotation, but when the whole of Huguccio's work is considered there is no inconsistency in his thought on this matter. He simply did not regard the doctrine of indefectibility, the divine promise that the faith of the church would never become totally extinct, as having anything at all to do with the quite different problem of the location of jurisdictional primacy within the church.<sup>37</sup> There is no confusion

<sup>34</sup> Huguccio's gloss ad D.40 c.6 was printed in *Foundations*, pp. 248-50 and the arguments discussed at pp. 58-63. The gloss was also printed by J. F. v. Schulte, *Die Stellung der Concilien, Päpste und Bischöfe* (Prague, 1871), pp. 262-4.

<sup>35</sup> *Summa* ad C.25 q.1 c.1 (MS Admont 7, fol. 331rb). On the different recensions of this section of Huguccio's work see L. Prosdociimi, "La 'Summa Decretorum' di Uguccone da Pisa", *Studia Gratiana* III, pp. 349-74.

<sup>36</sup> Cited by Landgraf from MS Bamberg 61, art. cit., p. 581. The corresponding passage in MS Admont 7 is rendered incoherent

by homoeoteleusis. The passage occurs substantially as given by Landgraf in MS Vatican lat. 2280 and MS Lons-le-Saunier Arch. 16. For the same doctrine in other parts of Huguccio's work, see *Foundations*, pp. 41-43.

<sup>37</sup> Other contemporary canonists also interpreted the words "Ego rogavi pro te petre ut non deficiat fides tua" as referring to the universal church. In addition to the texts quoted in *Foundations* pp. 41-45 see *Summa Omnis qui iuste* ad C.24 q.1 c.9 (*infra*, Appendix B.6): *Summa Animal est substantia* ad C.24 q.1 c.9 (*infra*, Appendix B.7) and *ad* D.21 ante c.1, "Fides tua,

in Huguccio's handling of these concepts. That is to say, in dealing with the primacy of Rome he did not buttress his argument with texts concerning the unerring 'Roman church' which elsewhere he had interpreted as referring to the universal church.<sup>38</sup> In much the same way, as Fr. Stickler has shown in discussing the problems of church and state, Huguccio manipulated two quite different doctrines concerning the nature of the 'two swords', without explaining the relation between them but also without confusing them.<sup>39</sup> This question of indefectibility and primacy provides a good example of the way in which later 'publicists' would fuse together and adapt for their own purposes elements of thought that the canonists had maintained in isolation from one another. Orthodox theologians came to treat the words, *ut non deficiat fides tua* as a promise directed through Peter to the popes, and so were able to re-shape the canonists' teaching on the pope's authority as supreme judge in articles of faith into a doctrine of an infallible papal *magisterium*. On the other hand, conciliarists would use the doctrine that only the whole church was unerring in faith as an argument to prove the superiority of a general council over the pope.

To return to our problem of deposing a heretical pope. Huguccio's arguments were comprehensive, subtle and consistent. The surprising thing is that they did not prove acceptable to the next generation of Decretists. The Anglo-Norman *Summa Prima primi*, for instance, re-stated the view that within a general council the opinion of the pope outweighed that of the fathers of the council, but explicitly rejected Huguccio's teaching (which in fact followed as a necessary corollary) that the pope could not be condemned for a new heresy.

Set ecce papa confingit novam heresim. Aliquis vult probare quod sit heresis. Papa dicit quod est fides catholica. Estne audiendus qui vult probare? Hu(guccio) dicit quod non, arg. 24 q. 1 *Quociens*. Set magis credo contrarium.<sup>40</sup>

The *Summa Animal est substantia* varied between the non-committal and the negative. The author began by suggesting that a pope who fell into heresy was to be regarded as having deposed himself, though he was doubtful whether notorious crimes in general had any such effect. The trouble with this simple solution was that it did not explain who was competent to judge whether the pope was in fact a heretic or not. The author of this *summa* denied that the cardinals were competent to judge a pope, and he even denied at this point in his work that a pope who embraced a heresy previously condemned incurred an automatic sentence of excommunication.<sup>41</sup> But he suggested that if a pope was in fact deposed and another instituted in his place then the cardinals should summon a council to judge the issue. The whole gloss was a tangle of loose ends.<sup>42</sup>

finaliter nam defecit in passione, i di, fidelior. Uel fides petri, i.e. ecclesie que etiam in passione fuit in beata uirgine." (MS Liège 127E, fol. 14rb).

<sup>38</sup> The one apparent exception is in the gloss ad C.9 q.3 c.17, printed by Watt, *art. cit.* p. 29, where Huguccio did cite the texts which he interrelated as referring to the faith of the whole church in a context relating to the primacy of Peter. "*pro suo principatu, quem Beatus Petrus apostolus Domini uoce et tenuit semper et tenebit. Fluctuare potest Petri nauicula sed non subiungi, quia non deficit fides eius, nec ipse potest esse nulla ut xxi di. i et xxiii Q.1, Pudenda, A recta.*" There seems some ambiguity here, but the correct reading is

"nec ipsa potest esse nulla". It was the *nauicula Petri*, the church, that was referred to as unfailing, not Peter himself or his successors. Huguccio was guilty of an irrelevance here, but his doctrine was consistent enough.

<sup>39</sup> A. Stickler, "Der Schwerterbegriff bei Huguccio," *Ephemerides iuris canonici*, III (1947), 201-42.

<sup>40</sup> *Infra*, Appendix C.11. For other decretist views in the generation after Huguccio see *Foundations*, pp. 63-66.

<sup>41</sup> On this point the author reversed himself in a later gloss. *Summa ad C.24 q.1, c.1* (*infra*, Appendix C.12).

<sup>42</sup> *Summa ad D.40 c.6* (*infra*, Appendix C.12).

The author of the *Summa Duacensis* also found it difficult to maintain a consistent position. The general tone of this work was strongly pro-papal. It defended the unusual positions that the pope was not bound by any statutes of preceding general councils and that, contrary to Gratian's view, the opinions of a pope took precedence over those of the great doctors of the church in *expositione scripturarum* as well as in *decisione causarum*.<sup>43</sup> It was hard for a canonist with these views to tackle the case of a heretical pope. He began his gloss on the words *a nemine est iudicandus* by citing various cases from the Decretum in which popes had been accused of different offences and explained the reasons why they did not violate the principle of papal immunity. (In one instance the individual referred to was not really a pope, in others the popes had voluntarily submitted to judgement.) But he omitted the case of Anastasius which was the really difficult one. He then characteristically dismissed the argument that any scandalous crime could be regarded as a kind of heresy—that would be to reduce the papal privilege to little or nothing. As for heresy itself, the author acknowledged that a man could not be a pope and a heretic at the same time, but his refusal to concede any superiority to the statutes of earlier general councils left him with no basis for distinguishing between a previously condemned heresy and a novel one. He therefore held that a pope who fell into heresy automatically lost his power of jurisdiction whether the heresy had been previously condemned or not. But what if the pope claimed that his new heresy was orthodox doctrine? To avoid any trial of a man who was still regarded as pope it was suggested that the church should consider the issue *deliberative non iudicialiter*. If the church decided that the doctrine was heretical and the pope persisted in adhering to it, then he ceased *ipso facto* to be pope. The gloss concluded with the words, *eo (papa) invito potest ecclesia questionem fidei decidere*.<sup>44</sup>

It seems that this canonist set out to defend a very exalted view of papal authority, but manoeuvred himself into a position from which he could escape only by propounding a thoroughly 'left-wing' view on the definition of articles of faith.

The most interesting of these glosses written in the generation after Huguccio's *summa* appeared were those of Alanus Anglicus in his *Apparatus Ius naturale*. In discussing the case of Anastasius he wrote that the liability of a pope to judgement on a charge of heresy arose from the fact that 'in a matter of faith a council is greater than a pope'.<sup>45</sup> In another gloss he went further and explained that, where a matter of faith was involved, but not in any other case, the judgement of the members of a council in opposition to a pope was of greater authority than that of the pope himself. Alanus also preferred the opinion of the cardinals to that of the pope on a disputed article of faith. His insistence that, 'in all other judicial controversies I prefer the sentence of the pope to the sentence of all others' perhaps implies some realisation that the teaching authority required to define articles of faith was of a different nature

<sup>43</sup> *Summa Duacensis ad D.19 ante c.1*, "In hac xix di. agitur de decretalibus epistolis . . . Derogant ergo uel arrogat ueteri iuri, arg. D. De legibus, *non est nouum*, nec distinguimus in ueteri iure utrum emissum sit a conciliis uel a papa tantum quia utrique indifferenter abrogatur uel derogatur. Concilia enim a solo papa habent auctoritatem ut xvii di. per totum, et ipse ea sua auctoritate confirmat et sua moderatione custodit ut xxxv Q.i c.i Ex quo palam quia maior est eius auctoritas quam illorum ut eadem di. c.i in prin." (MS Douai 649, fol. 96vb). *Ad D.20 ante c.1*, "Agitur hic de

expositoribus sacre scripture. Hos Gratianus sumi pontifici in causarum decisione postponit, in expositione sacre scripture preponit. Hoc nego, quia in utroque postponendi sunt. Licet enim sunt uera que dicunt non tamen sunt autentica nisi a summo pontifice confirmata. . ." (MS Douai 649, fol. 97ra). This latter gloss also occurs in the *Summa Prima primi* (MS London BM Royal 11.D.ii, fol. 321rb).

<sup>44</sup> *Infra*, Appendix, C.10. The same doctrine occurs in the Anglo-Norman *Summa Questionem* of Honorius. MS Douai 640, fol. 10<sup>ra</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> *Infra*, Appendix B.8.

from the authority inhering in the office of a judge. But this thought was not developed, and the definition of faith was still treated as though it were a special variety of judicial process.<sup>46</sup> Alanus was no wild radical, and when he commented on *Dist.* 4c, c. 6, he rejected Huguccio's doctrine, quite commonly accepted in his day, that any scandalous crime in the pope was tantamount to heresy. The whole gloss was moderate in tone, but Alanus did not hold a heretical pope immune from judgement simply because the heresy he propounded was a new one, and, in view of his doctrine on conciliar authority, this attitude was entirely logical. In the last resort, according to Alanus, a pope was liable to judgement for heresy (and not for anything else) because a council of bishops or the cardinals possessed a superior authority in the definition of articles of faith (and not in anything else).

Est ergo uerum quod de sola heresi inuitus potest papa iudicari, ut hic dicitur, sed hoc ideo in hoc crimine, quia circa ea que ad fidem pertinent minor est collegio cardinalium, uel concilio generali episcoporum.<sup>47</sup>

These glosses form a pattern of thought as consistent as that of Huguccio, but quite different in content.

Indeed, the principal conclusion that emerges from a survey of this kind is that there was no such thing as 'the Canonist theory of sovereignty'. In this, as in other matters, there was a variety of canonistic theories. It seems generally true that the 'constitutionalism' of some of the canonists, if we can call it that, did not consist in an inclination to hamper the freedom of action of the pope in the day-to-day conduct of affairs, but rather in an attempt to devise some form of legal restraint that could be applied in extreme cases where the well-being of the whole church seemed to be threatened. Another point is that there was no real correlation between 'imperialist' sympathies and 'conciliar' attitudes at this stage of doctrinal development. Alanus, who supported the authority of the bishops in council against the pope, strongly upheld the supremacy of the pope over the emperor. Huguccio, who defended the sovereignty of the pope against all other elements within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, adopted a moderate standpoint in the controversy of church and state. Both of these two were brilliant systematic thinkers. It would be possible to extract from the work of Huguccio, and perhaps from that of Alanus,<sup>48</sup> systems of ecclesiology and political theory comparable in strength, subtlety and coherence with anything achieved by the famous 'publicists' of the later Middle Ages. Usually, however, consistency was not the strongest point of the commentators on Gratian. That is the especially true of the best known of them all, Johannes Teutonicus, whose *Glossa Ordinaria* to the *Decretum* brought to a close this whole epoch of Decretist activity. One could hardly extract a coherent theory of church government from the cat's cradle of texts scattered throughout the *Glossa Ordinaria*;<sup>49</sup> and yet one might reasonably claim that this gloss of Johannes was one of the most influential works in the whole history of

<sup>46</sup> *Apparatus ad C.9 q.3 c.17*, cited by Watt, *art. cit.* p. 31. "Sed queritur, cum ipse concilio uel cardinalibus questionem fidei uentilat et contingit papam aliam habere sententiam, aliam cardinales, cuius sententia preualebit? Respondeo, concilii uel cardinalium si omnes in concilium opinione concordent. Immo etiam si maior pars, sed si tanta pars cum papa concordat, quanta est que consensit pape adhereo, et hec in questione fidei tantum. In aliis autem controuersiis iudicialibus omnibus pape sententiam omnium aliorum sententiis prefero."

<sup>47</sup> These words, cited by Watt, *art. cit.* p.30, do not occur in the 'short version' of the *apparatus* of MS Paris BN 3909, cited in Appendix C.13.

<sup>48</sup> The principal difficulty with Alanus arises from the substantial variations that are found in the different recensions of his *apparatus*. There can be no final assessment of his mature thought until the manuscript tradition of his work has been established. This is a problem that still awaits investigation.

<sup>49</sup> The relevant texts are printed in *Foundations*, pp. 250-54.

mediaeval political theory. It provided a source of arguments for thinkers as different as Ockham and Alvarus Pelagius, for Franciscus Zabarella as well as for Johannes de Torquemada. The reason it could provide intellectual ammunition for so many thinkers greater than Johannes Teutonicus himself becomes apparent only as we come to know in detail the richness and diversity of the tradition that Johannes inherited from his canonistic predecessors and rather indiscriminately transmitted to succeeding generations of lawyers and theologians.

## APPENDIX

### A. Some ways of describing the limits to papal authority.

#### 1. *Summa Elegantius in iure diuino* (c. 1169)

Inter uniuersalia uero concilia viii preminentem et horum iiii superlatiuam habent auctoritatem . . . Que nullo dispensationis colore uel mutare uel mutilare nec ad unum iota sancta romana ecclesia preualet. (MS Paris BN 14997, fol. 3v)

Ergo et canones abrogare eisque derogare et nouos condere et priuilegia dare dataque tollere plenam habent potestatem dum tamen in his omnibus nihil contra fidem presumant uel in quo uniuersalem ecclesiam offendant. Possunt itaque contra generalia statuta pietatis uel necessitatis uel meritum intuitu beneficia conferre que non personam transgrediantur nec ad exemplum trahantur, quamquam si subtiliter considerentur non est contra generalia statuta quod sic partialiter conceditur. (*Ibid.*, fol. 8r) Secundum hoc ergo ecclesiasticarum regularum alie mobiles alie immobiles sunt. Immobiles dicimus quas lex eterna ita sanxit ut obseruate conferant, non obseruate adimant salutem. Talia sunt precepta noui et moralia ueteris testamenti. Preter hoc et iiii or primorum uniuersalium conciliorum instituta que neque consuetudine in contrarium faciente nec constitutione iudicari possunt. (*Ibid.*, fol. 6r)

#### 2. Johannes Fauentinus, *Summa* (after 1171)

Ad D. 19 ante c. 1. Sunt enim decretales epistole quas ad prouincias uel personas pro diuersis negociis sedes apostolica direxit que cum deuotione sunt custodiende nisi preceptis euangelii uel decretis sanctorum patrum inueniantur diuerse, sicut epistola illa anastasii pape. (MS Arras 271, fol. 7va)

The same gloss occurs in the *Summa Antiquitate et tempore* (MS Göttingen iur. 159, fol. 24vb)

#### 3. Simon de Bisignano, *Summa* (1177-79)

Ad C. 25 q. 1 c. 6. Hinc collige illud que frequenter solet proponi scilicet quod apostolicus contra hominum statuta possit facere, contra ea uero que a domino uel apostolis sunt instituta nequaquam. (MS Augsburg I, fol. 50ra)

#### 4. Sicardus, *Summa* (1179-81)

Ad C. 25 q. 1

Sunt		De articulis fidei		hiis derogari non potest
leges		De moribus decalogi		
communes		De negotiis seculi . . . . .		hiis derogari potest per

priuilegia conditoris earum uel maioris iudicis causa iustissima interueniente . . . (MS Augsburg I, fol. 124v)

5. *Summa Permissio quedam* (1179-87)

Ad C. 25 q. 1 *ante* c. 1. Set queritur, si autem emanauerint statuta date sententie scilicet ut qui contra uenerit anathema sit, an in eam incidat dominus papa si contra uenerit. Ad quod potest responderi quod si huiusmodi statuta emanauerint a ueteri testamento uel scriptura euangeliorum uel ab apostolis uel a supradictis iiiiior conciliis dominus papa ueniens contra eo ipso est excommunicatus. Si aliunde poterit papa contra uenire et ea immutare. Potest autem dici quod si papa ex certa scientia concessit secundum contra primum priori derogatur omnino. Si ignoranter leditur primum, alii dicunt quod si primum enormiter non leditur ualet secundum. Sin autem non ualet, ut supra xii Q. iii *Bone rei* (c. 74) et infra Q. e. § ult (C. 25 q. 1 *post* c. 16). Uel potest dici quod specialia priuilegia potest apostolicus per alia contraria tollere. Set contra generalia statuta ecclesie a domino uel apostolis eius uel iiii conciliis promulgata nichil potest dispensare. (MS Halle Ye 52, fol. 9rb)

6. *Summa Et est sciendum* (1181-85)

Ad D. 15 c. 1. Hic habes que sunt illa in quibus non potest derogari principalibus conciliis, in his scilicet que spectant ad articulos fidei et statum ecclesie. (MS Barcelona S. Cugat 55, fol. 69r)

7. Huguccio, *Summa* (1188-90)

Ad C. 25 q. 1 *ante* c. 1. Et potentiam domini pape ita uolumus artare quod ecclesiasticam constitutionem inmutare potest dummodo contra fidem non faciat uel non obuiet his que pertinent ad salutem, etiam si ab episcopis apostolis et prophetis statuta fuerunt dummodo non sint de preceptis uel prohibitionibus. Nam apostoli constituerunt quod sacerdos pro fornicatione deponatur ut in multis capitulis habere in tractatu ordinandorum potes. Tamen dispensare in ordinibus remansit nam et episcopus potest cum talibus dispensare . . . Set si precipiat quod missa non cantetur unquam non ualet quia domini est preceptum 'hec facite in meam commemorationem etc.' Similiter quod non legatur euangelium. (MS Admont 7, fol. 331ra)

Ad. C. 25 q. 1 c. 7 s.v. *sententialiter diffinierunt*, dando precepta uel prohibitiones, non ubi penam constituerunt, uel quod melius est in hiis que pertinent ad salutem, et quod in euangelio et lege et prophetis inmutare non possit. Item in hiis que statum ecclesie prospiciunt et in sacramenta! et in articulis fidei dispensare non potest. (*Ibid.*, fol. 331rb)

8. Ricardus Anglicus, *Summa Breuis* (1196-98)

Ad C. 9 q. 1. Incidenter autem apponitur de potentia pape quem dico potestatem habere ut ius commune statuatur omni ecclesie dum modo non ledatur nouum uel uetus testamentum uel statum uniuersalis ecclesie. Dispensare autem potest sine ullo termino quatenus se extendit mater discretio ut arg. i Q. v.c. ult (c. 3). (MS Dublin, Trinity 275, p. 174)

9. *Apparatus Ecce uicit leo* (1202-10)

Ad D. 15 c. 2. Nec enim potest ire contra hec concilia in hiis scilicet que ad fidem pertinent uel bonos mores set de hiis que sunt dicta de animaduersionibus potest. (MS Cambridge, Trinity O.5.17, fol. 5vb)



10. *Summa Animal est substantia* (1206-10)

Ad 25 q.1 c.6. Dicunt quod contra canones apostolorum qui loquuntur de moribus siue de euangelio non potest papa uenire, set contra eum (!) que pertinent tantum ad ius positium potest bene dispensare, et hanc solutionem bene admittimus. Nam apostoli parum statuerunt nisi de hiis que pertinent ad ius naturale siue ad bonos mores quia exponebant et interpretabantur diuinam scripturam et contra talia non potest papa dispensare quia ueniret contra ius naturale. Set si aliqua statuerunt que non sunt de iure naturali papa bene potest abrogare et uenire contra quia eandem habet potestatem quam et apostoli, xix *Sic omnes* (D.19 c.2) (MS Liège 127E, fol. 223ra)

11. *Alanus, Apparatus Ius naturale*. (c. 1210)

Ad D.15 c.2 s.v. *sic*. Quantum ad articulos fidei et ecclesie statum generalem ut ex uerbis capituli potest colligi ubi dicitur 'quia in his surgit structura fidei et norma uiuendi' . . . *uniuersali*: arg. non licere canonico suo dissentire capitulo, arg. supra di. viii *Que contra* (c.2), infra xix *In canonicis* (c.6), arg. contra infra xciii *Miratus* (c.2). (MS Paris BN 3909, fol. 3ra)

12. *Glossa Palatina* (1210-15)

Ad C.25 q.1 c.3. Hinc colligunt quidam quod dominus papa non potest contra generalem statum ecclesie dispensare et hic indubitabile quidem circa articulos fidei. Etiam si tota ecclesia consentiret non posset, immo omnes essent heretici, arg. xv di. *Sicut sancti* (c.2) et sic intelliguntur infra e. *Sunt quidam* (c.6) et c. *Contra statuta* (c.7). Uerum contra generalem statum ecclesie, puta de continentia non seruanda uel de alio consimili, posset non tamen solus statuere aliud, arg. supra prox, q.1 *Memor sum* (c.10), xi di. *Ecclesiasticarum* (c.5). In aliis autem dic papam solum posse etiam contra apostolum, xxxiiii di. *Lector* (c.18), et contra euangelium et in decimis et in uoto et in sacramento, extra *De uoto*, per totum. H(uguccio)tamen dicit papam in sacramentis non posse dispensare. Tu dic contra. Peccat tamen qui facit sine causa. (MS Cambridge Trinity O.10.2, fol. 35vb)

B. *Some comments on the case of Anastasius II*

1. *Johannes Fauentinus*

*Supra*, Appendix A.2.

2. *Summa Inperatorie maiestati* (1175-78)

In hoc capitulo dicitur quod Anastasius excommunicatus est quia communicauit fotino communicanti achatio excommunicato, et ita uidetur excommunicatio transire in tertiam personam, cui contra in xi Q. ult. *Quoniam multos* (11 q.3 c.103). Soluo. Communicatio alia extrinseca ut in cibo et potu et oratione et salutatione etc. alia intrinseca sicut in heresi et in scismate et huiusmodi. Qui in interiori comunione communicat excommunicato, scilicet ut si est hereticus cadat cum eo in heresim communicans illi excommunicatus est. (MS Munich 16084, fol. 4rb).

3. *Summa Permissio quedam* (1179-87)

Ad D.19 c.9. Dicamus quod non ideo ab eo abstinendum est quia communicauit cum excommunicante(!) excommunicato. Set quia cum uoluit eum reuocare tacite eius heresi et errori consensit, quo ipse in canonem

date sententie incidit et ideo ab illo sicut ab aliis excommunicatis est abstinendum. (MS Halle Ye 52, fol. 1va)

#### 4. *Summa Tractaturus magister* (1175-91)

*Ad D.19 c.8.* Hec decretalis anastasio non reprobatur ideo quod dixit ordinatos ab excommunicato posse in suis ordinibus recipi quod fit aliquando ex dispensatione . . . set quia dixit eos nulla lesionis portione contingi et generaliter recipiendos contra statutum generalis concilii in quo erant depositi, ut infra i Q.vii *Exigunt* (c.18). Uel propter alia que non sunt hic posita que tamen ipse dixit in illa sua decretali, unde hec portio est suspecta scilicet quia fouebat dampnatum errorem illius et uolebat eum reuocare ut habetur in sequenti capitulo. (MS Paris BN 15994, fol. 6ra)

#### 5. *Summa Et est sciendum* (1181-85)

*Ad D.19 c.8.* Hic queritur quare decretalem hanc ecclesia reprobatur. Licet enim dixisset papa achatium potuisse ordinare uel ab eo ordinatos de iure debuisse ministrare, non tamen erat ob hoc notandus cum ipse potuisset mutare canones in quibus dicebatur hereticos tolerari non posse nec cum hoc non sit contra articulos fidei. Soluo. Hic papa errorem defendebat achatii quare ipse conuincebatur magis errare defendendo culpam errantis ut C.xxiii Q.iii *Qui aliorum* (c.32). Credo tamen tempore anastasio hanc decretalem fuisse autenticam, eius uero successor presumpsit illum hereticum quia est fulmine percussus ut infra c.i(x) dicitur, quare et eius scripta iniqua iudicauit ista maxime, uel quia sine uoluntate concilii hereticum uoluit reconciliare.

*Ad D.19 c.9.* Per hoc habes quod non debet papa ei communicare cui concilium censuit non communicandum. Eadem ratione si in questionibus que in concilio proponuntur a sententia pape discordat concilium maior est sententia concilii quam pape. (MS Barcelona S. Cugat 55, fol. 70r)

#### 6. *Summa Omnis qui iuste* (c.1186)

*Ad D.19 c.9 s.v. Abegerunt*, infra viii Q.iii *Nonne* (c.1) contra. Speciale est in heresi quod possunt recedere statim ab eo et hoc in odium heresis dicitur hic. Secus de aliis criminibus in quibus non potest recedi a prelato ante sententiam ut ibi dicitur. Uel dici potest quod clerici ita fecerunt, non tamen super hoc laudari debent, nec hic laudantur. (MS Rouen 743, fol. 7ra)

*Ad D.19 ante c.9.* Solet queri quare reprobatur est capitulum illud, quia nihil est in eo quod possit reprehendi. Dicit G. quod reprobatur est hoc capitulum non propter id quod dixit hic, set propter id quod alibi dixit, uel quia dixit ordinatos ab eo licite posse officium suum consequi quod non est uerum. Ex dispensatione enim posset non ex rigore et quia uoluit totum rigorem enuntiare reprobatur hoc capitulum. Set queri potest, nonne potuit statuere ut de iure reciperentur ordinati ab eo contra alios canones? In omnibus enim potest derogare predecessoribus suis preterquam in articulis fidei. Dicitur potest quod non erat receptum capitulum istud a concilio et ideo reprobatur, uel potest dici quod successor eius uidens illum nutu dei percussus reprobaui eum cum scriptis suis. (Ibid., fol. 7ra).

*Ad C.24 q.1 c.9.s.v. Nunquam errasse*, scilicet in toto corpore suo. Nunquam enim tota (ecclesia) errauit et si aliter continget in aliqua persona, specialiter ut in anastasio, ut supra di. xix *Anastasio*. Nota hic arg. non intelligi fieri quod a tota uniuersalitate(!) non fit. (Ibid., fol. 108va)

7. *Summa Animal est substantia* (1206-10)

Ad C.24 q.1 c.9. Ergo ecclesia romana nunquam errauit. Contra xix di. *Anastasius* (c.9) . . . Soluo. Intelligitur de uniuersali ecclesia que nunquam succubuit quia etiam in passione domini quando minima erat fides in beata uirgine nec errauit. (MS Liège 127E, fol. 213rb)

8. *Alanus, Apparatus Ius naturale* (c. 1210)

Ad D.19 c.9. Argumentum quod in questione fidei maior est sinodus quam papa, ar. supra di. xv *Sicut*, et di. xvi *Sancta*, quod firmiter est tenendum. Unde accidit ex tali causa quod sinodus potest ipsum iudicare et dampnare, unde accidit quod incidit in excommunicationem latam super heresi in sinodo ut hic, quod non accideret si papa in hoc casu maior esset synodo uel equalis, ar. infra di. xxi *Inferior* Si autem ipse tamen uel ipsius predecessor alius sine concilio uel collegio cardinalium aliquam heresim dampnasset nec ipsum nec ipsius successorem in dampnatione incidere putarem, licet eundam errorem foueret, sicut nec hodie papa uerberans clericum incideret in canonum. (Transcription of J. Watt, *art. cit.* p. 30 from MS Paris BN 15393, fol. 15a)

C. *The case of a heretical pope*

1. *Summa Antiquitate et tempore* (after 1171)

Ad D.40 c.6. Nota quod non continuo pro heresi papa dampnandus est set si secundo uel tercio comonitus pertinax fuerit in errore. (MS Göttingen iur. 159, fol. 46va)

2. *Commentum Atrebatense* (1171-79)

Ad D.40 c.6. Queritur si papa manifeste fornicaretur et comonitus noluerit desistere utrum possit a subditis accusari et dampnari. Respondeo sic. Uidetur nam ydolatrie crimen incidere ut di. lxxxi *Si quis* (c.4.). Cum enim manifeste peccat mortaliter licet expressim a fide non exorbitet alios tamen exemplo prae actionis exorbitare facit. Que ergo est differentia inter heresim et alia mortalia peccata quo ad hunc articulum? Respondeo quia super aliis non potest accusari nisi notoria fuerint et desistere amonitus noluerit. Set de heresi nonnunquam (non notoria?) accusari potest. (MS Arras 271, fol. 150rb)

3. *Summa Inperatorie Maiestati* (1175-78)

Ad D.21 c.7. In causa autem fidei sedes apostolica iudicari potest. Ad hoc notandum quod prima sedes iudicari non potest nisi in articulis fidei pertinaciter errauerit ut infra di. xl *Si papa* (c.6), uel cum perseueranter ecclesiam corrumpere schismate ut infra xxiii causa *Sane profertur* (24 q.2 c.6). Set . . . ibi enim papa pro patriarcha ponitur, nec uidetur quod apostolicus pro schismate sit iudicandus. (MS Munich 16084, fol. 4va)

4. *Simon de Bisignano, Summa* (1177-79)

Ad D.40 c.6. Et nota quod probatur si(!) tunc demum potest condemnari papa a subditis cum errorem pertinaciter uult defendere ut infra xxiii Q.iii *Dixit apostolus* (c.29). (MS Augsburg I, fol. 5va)

Ad C.25 q.1 c.10. Queritur autem hic an fidem suam apostolicus huic exponere teneretur, quod ea ratione uidetur dicendum quia pro heresi potest sumus pontifex a subditis iudicari ut supra di. xl *Si papa* (c.6). Ergo et suspensionem susceptam pro heresi diluere et abolere tenetur cum sit impius et crudelis qui conscientie fidens famam negligit ut supra c.xi

q.iii *Non sunt audiendi* (c.56). Uel dici potest quod ex dispensatione et humilitate hoc fecit apostolicus non ex iuris rigore ut supra c.ii q.vii *Nos si* (c.41), unde hoc faciens non dedit successoribus formam qua id facere tenerentur ut supra c.ii q.iii(!) *Auditum est* (2 q.5 c.18) (*Ibid.*, fol. 50ra)

5. Sicardus, *Summa* (1179-81)

*Ad D.22.* Nam si ordinarius est iudex in nullo negotio iudicabit maiorem nisi in casu cum cardinales deponunt apostolicum hereticum ut di. xl *Si papa* (c.6). (MS Augsburg I, fol. 81ra)

6. *Summa Tractaturus magister* (1175-91)

*Ad D.40 c.6 s.v. A fide deuus*, contumaciter, xxiii Q.iii *Dixit* (c.29), xxiii Q.1 *Quoties* (c.12) . . . Set hoc de dampnata heresi. (MS Paris BN 15994, fol. 12vb)

7. *Summa Et est sciendum* (1181-85)

*Ad D.17 post c.4.* Apostolicus autem de quo hic dicitur accusari non poterat a subditis nec dampnari ut di. xxi *Nunc autem* (c.7) et c.ix Q.iii *Aliorum* (c.14), nisi pro fide ut di. xl *Si papa* (c.6) et tunc demum cum errorem uellet defendere ut c.xxiii Q.iii *Dixit apostolus* (c.29). Alii dicunt quod de noua heresi non potest papa accusari cum eo ipso aliquid authenticum sit quod ipse sic sentit cuius est questionem fidei terminare ut c.xxiii Q.1 *Quociens* (c.12). Secus uero si incideret in errorem dampnatam ut c.xxiii Q.1 c. ii et iii. Alii dicunt quod pro quolibet notorio crimine eum posse a concilio deponi. Si uero de hoc ipso esset questio utrum esset uerus papa hoc posset per homines terminari. (MS Barcelona S. Cugat 55, fol. 69r)

*Ad D.21 c.9.* Uidetur quod ante depositionem huius (Dioscurus of Alexandria) inquiri debuit utrum iuste excommunicauerat papam uel non, puta pro heresi. Quod tamen non prouenit. Constat etiam eum non potuisse uel etiam pro heresi hoc fecisse cum adhuc pro papa eum haberet ecclesia. (*Ibid.*, fol. 71v)

*Ad D.40 c.6.* Ecce casus qui a generalitate excipitur in quo scilicet potest apostolicus accusari cum errat in fide, quod tamen tunc demum debet intelligi posse fieri cum errorem defendit ut c.xxiii Q.iii *Dixit apostolus* (c.29). Set quare est in heresi speciale? Quia cetera peccata unitatem ecclesie non rumpunt. Cum ceteris enim uiciis potest esse homo membrum ecclesie licet putridum. Heresis uero uel scisma ipsam uiolant unitatem et fundamentum fidei maculant et corrumpunt, unde cum sit hereticus est quolibet catholicus minor. Alii uero dicunt non esse speciale in hoc casu. Idem enim potest fieri pro quolibet peccato notorio. Set contra hoc totaliter obicitur. Non uidetur quod papa possit pro heresi accusari quia eo ipso uidetur aliquid esse catholice dictum quod papa sic sentit licet ab eius sententia discrepent uniuersi, quia questio fidei non nisi per petri successorem est terminanda ut c.xxiii Q.i *Quociens* (c.12) cum uideamus quod licet omnes dicerent Christum non esse aliquid secundum quod homo preualuit tamen alexandri tercii sententia in contrarium sentientis ut in decretali *Cum Christus*. Item cum papa adhuc pro apostolico teneatur quia uel hoc factum negat uel hoc esse heresim non est certum omnis ei debetur honor a subditis et reuerentia ut ante accusationem donec obiecta sub luce constiterint ut c.viii Q.iii *Nonne* (c.1). Non enim qui accusatur reus est set qui conuincitur criminosus ut c.xv Q. ult. c. ult. (15 q.8 c.5). Sic igitur ante a nemine accusari poterat

ut c.viii Q.iii *Aliorum* (c.14) ita nec modo. Item cum liceat ei omnia constituta predecessorum mutare, nonne potest et istud ut nec etiam pro heresi possit accusari? Item par pari legem dare non potest nec sua sententia ligare. Soluo. Si nouam heresim fingeret tunc dicerem eum non accusandum, immo eius opinio ceteris anteponeretur. De errore uero iam dampnato in conciliis hoc potest intelligi. Si enim uellet defendere errorem iam dampnatum statim eum posset dampnare concilium tanquam hereticum et excommunicatum ut c.xxiiii Q.i c.ii et tercio. Nec concedendum est eum solum absque communi consilio fratrum posse derogare statuta conciliorum. (*Ibid.*, fol. 79v)

8. *Summa Reuerentia sacrorum canonum* (1183-92)

Ad D.21 c.3. Unde et summus pontifex cum omnibus sit superior omnes iudicat et a nemine iudicatur ut infra ix Q.iii *Nemo* (c.13). Casualiter tamen ratione hereseos qui superior est ab inferioribus condemnari (potest). (MS Erfurt Amplon Quart. 17, fol. 119va)

Ad D.40 c.6. s.v. *A fide deuus*, in quo casu etiam ab aliis posset iudicari ut infra ii Q.vii § (post c.22). In hoc capitulo non tamen queritur, si summus pontifex quod absit a fide deuiaret et ideo minor quolibet catholico inueniretur, an quilibet catholicus in eum animaduertere posset. Quod non uidetur quia iudex esse non potest qui nulli preest iurisdictioni, et quod is statueret non haberet rei iudicate auctoritatem ut C. *De iurisdictione omnium iudicum* l.iii (Codex 3.13.3). Set nunquid metropolitanus uel episcopus alius in eum animaduertere posset? Quod forte uidetur quia heresis omnes ecclesie iudices tangit et quod omnes similiter tangit ab omnibus, sicut si bonum est debet comprobari, ita si malum est improbari ut colligi potest ex eo quod dicitur in C. *De auctoritate* l. ult. (Codex 5. 59.5). Tutius tamen uidetur in hoc casu ut quia cognitio hereseos questio ardua est non nisi ad romanam ecclesiam referatur ut infra xxiiii Q.i *Quoties* (c.12), ut cuius sit promouere eius sit et causa cognita promotum deicere (*Ibid.*, fol. 125ra)

9. *Summa Omnis qui iuste* (c.1186)

Ad D.40 c.6. Set quero si esset hereticus et uellet retractare errorem suum an esset dicendum hereticus uel deberetne deponi, et dicunt quod non ut infra xxiiii Q.iii. Set quero si posset similiter accusari in crimine simonie uel si homicida esset. Et dicunt quod heresis et scisma ipsam uiolant ecclesiam et fundamentum maculant fidei. Cetera autem peccata non corrumpunt unitatem licet peccantes putrida membra sint ecclesie. Alii dicunt non esse speciale quod hic dicitur. Idem enim potest fieri pro quolibet peccato notorio et ita dicit G. Item uidetur quod nec etiam pro heresi posset accusari quia eo ipso uidetur aliquid canonice dictum quia papa sic sentit licet ab eius sententia uniuersi dissentiant, quia non nisi ad petrum referenda est questio fidei ut xxiiii Q.i *Quoties* (c.12), cum uideatur quod licet omnes dicerent Christum non esse aliquid in eo quod homo preualuit tamen Alex. iii sententia in contrarium dicentis in decreto illo *Cum Christus*. Item cum adhuc habeatur pro apostolico uel quia negat factum uel quia heresim esse non sit certum omnis debetur ei reuerencia a subditis ut viii Q.iv *Nonne* (c.1). Non enim qui accusatus reus est set qui conuincitur criminosus ut xv Q.ult c.ult. (15 q.8 c.5). Sicut igitur ante a nemine accusari poterat ut iii Q.ix *Aliorum* (c.14) ita nec modo. Item cum liceat ei omnia constituta predecessorum mutare, nonne potest et istud ut nec etiam pro heresi potest accusari? Item (par pari) legem dicere non potest nec sua sententia

ligare dici potest. Si nouam heresim fingeret non posset accusari, immo opinio sua ceteris deberet preferri. Si uero errorem dampnatum uellet defendere statim posset eum consilium dampnare ut xxiii Q.i c.i et ii. Nec est concedendum eum solum absque communi consensu concilii posse derogare statuta conciliorum. (MS Rouen 743, fol. 18vb)

10. *Summa Duacensis* (towards 1200)

Ad D.40 c.6. Quod autem dicitur papam posse accusari si fuerit in fide deuius, large accipit Y (Huguccio) nomen fidei ut etiam possit acusari de omni crimine notorio, et dicitur tunc deuiare a fide, i.e. facere contra doctrinam fidei. Largius etiam extenditur nomen fidei ut dicantur preces contra fidem i.e. contra consuetam loquendi regulam ut *de cons.* di. iv Si non sancti fictaur (c.72). Sic etiam omnis mortaliter peccans dicitur Christum negare ut xi Q.iii *Existimant* (c.84). Set secundum hoc nullum uel modicum esset pape priuilegium. Propterea dicendum simpliciter quod in nullo casu accusari potest propter defectum iudicis superioris arg. iii Q.i § *Patet* (post c.6). Imo uerius quia constitutum est ne accusetur ut xi Q.iii *Nemo* (c.41). Quod autem hic uidetur casus hereseos excipi, superficialiter dicitur hec exceptio. Simul enim et papa et hereticus esse non potest, arg. *de pen.* di. i *Uerbum* (c.51), di. xxiii Q.i c.ii.iii, *Didicimus* (c.31), que locum habent si sequitur heresim iam dampnatam. Si nouam et eam iam predicare cepit similiter cadit a iurisdictione sua ipso iure ut e. c. *Ait, Aperte* (24 q.1 c.35, c.36). Si uero contendat papa id heresim esse uel negauerit se heresim illam non dampnatam que ei inponitur fouere uel correctus uoluerit emendari, non potest inuitus iudicari a quoquam. Et quid si contendat heresim non esse quod predicat? Debet iudicem eligere et sub eo de hoc litigare. Licet enim legibus solutus sit debet tamen legibus uiuere . . . Et quid si nolit? Credo quia sine eo debeat ecclesia deliberatiue non iudicialiter disceptare et eo inuento quod heresis sit, papa correctus, nisi resipiscat papa desinit esse ipso iure. Secus si alias malefaciat et corrigi nolit. Tunc enim non restat nisi dolor et gemitus. Ratio diuersitatis est quoniam causa fidei omnibus indicitur esse communis ut xxvi(!) di. *Ubinam* (d.96 c.4) et eo inuito potest ecclesia questionem fidei decidere. (MS Douai 649, fol. 99ra)

11. *Summa Prima Primi* (towards 1200)

Ad D.19 ante c.1. Concilia enim a solo papa habent auctoritatem ut 22 di. per totum. Ex quo apparet quod maior est eius quam patrum in concilio existentium auctoritas ut infra eadem c.1 in prin. (MS London BM Royal 11.D.II, fol. 321rb)

Ad D.40 c.6. Nota quod si papa admonitus uelit resipiscere a nullo potest accusari uel dampnari ut 24 Q. 3 *Dixit* (c.29), 21 di. *Nunc autem* (c.7), et hoc siue sit heresis siue aliud crimen notorium. Secus si publice predicet et ammonitus nolit corrigi ut hic. Esto ergo quod papa sequatur heresim dampnatam latenter, et cum aliqui uelint hoc probare papa negat se eam sequi. Suntne ipsi uolentes probare audiendi? Credo quod non, quia non potest accusari nisi quando scitur esse heresis quod papa sequitur et papa non negat se id sequi et ammonitus non uult resipiscere. Set ecce papa conflat nouam heresim. Aliquis uult probare quod sit heresis. Papa dicit quod est fides catholica. Estne audiendus qui uult probare? Hu(guccio) dicit quod non, arg. 24 Q.1 *Quoties* (c.12). Set magis credo contrarium. Hoc enim casu debet iudicem eligere et sub eo litigare. Licet enim legibus sit solutus debet tamen legibus uiuere . . . Quod si nolit credo quod sine eo ecclesia possit disceptare et iudicare,

et eo inuento quod papa sit hereticus, nisi coreptus resipiscat, ecclesia potest ipsum condemnare et deponere. Secus si alias male faceret et corrigi nolit. Ratio diversitatis est quia causa fidei omnibus communis est ut 96 di *Ubinam* (c. 4), et eo invito potest ecclesia decidere questionem fidei. Hu(guccio) tamen dicit quod papa de quolibet crimine notorio potest accusari et dampnari . . . Hoc non credo.

12. *Summa Animal est substantia* (1206-1210)

*Ad D.40 c.6 s.v. Deuius.* Quia uenit contra substantiam religionis sue unde se ipsum uidetur impugnare et deponere. Tamen si paratus sit se corrigere non uidetur quod possit accusari, xxiii Q.iiii *Dixit* (c.29). Dicunt etiam quod de occulta heresi potest ad purgationem compelli. Set nonne accusari (potest) de alio peccato mortali notorio ut de fornicatione uel adulterio? Dicunt quod sic si nolet corrigi et ecclesia scandalizetur, ii Q.vii § *Cum Balaam* (post c.41), et hic dicendum est maxime si quis erit iudex in huiusmodi causa. Papa uero habet plenitudinem potestatis, ii Q.vi *Decreto* (c.11), ergo uidetur quod nullus alius posset habere maiorem, et ita nullus erit iudex in causa sua. Preterea uidetur quod huic decreto possit papa derogare cum habet plenitudinem potestatis. Preterea si dicatur quod cardinales sunt iudices, ergo papa potest de eis corrigi si aliquando male iudicauit et ita a papa appellabitur ad cardinales, quod non solet dici. Queritur etiam si per numerosos testes papa est depositus et alius institutus quis retractabit sententiam illam. Potest dici quod cardinales debent conuocare concilium et illud erit iudex. Et nota quod si papa incidit in heresim dampnatam non ideo est excommunicatus, set omnes alii sunt excommunicati, xxiii Q.1 *Achacius* et c. *Audiuimus* (c.3 and c.4), quia sententia paris eum non ligat, xi(!) *Inferior* (D.21 c.4). MS Liège 127E, fol. 31vb)

*Ad C.24 q.1 c.1.* Ergo uidetur quod si papa incideret in heresim iam dampnatam quod sit excommunicatus, di. xix *Anastasius* (c.9). Tamen uidetur quod non quia nullus est superior et nullus potest excommunicari nisi a superiore, xxi di. *Inferior* (c.4). Bene concedo quod est excommunicatus nam est factus inferior qui apostatando confitetur ecclesiam nullam nullam(!) esse et ita non est caput ecclesie unde inferior nullo(!) catholico, ii Q.vii § *Set queritur* (post c.26), quare potest accusari super isto crimine non super alio, xl di. *Si papa* (c.6). (*Ibid.*, fol. 212rb)

13. *Alanus, Apparatus Ius naturale* (c.1210)

*Ad D.40 c.6.* Set nonne damasus de adulterio est accusatus ut infra ii Q.vii § *Cum balaam* in fine (post c.41)? Item si publicus fenerator esset nunquid accusari posset? Posset secundum quosdam de omni notorio, qui large accipiunt peccare in fide, i.e. contra doctrinam fidei nostre sicut omnis mortaliter peccans dicitur Christum negare ut infra xi Q.iii *Existimant* (c.84). Set secundum hoc nullum esset hic pape priuilegium. Ideo dicendum quod cum iudicem non habeat superiorem inuitus iudicari non potest nisi de crimine hereseos in quo propter criminis enormitatem et commune periculum ecclesie est statutum. Set nunquid alius pape posset legem inponere cum papa canonibus sit solutus et possit eos mutare. Forte ita est in hoc crimine quia ibi quasi per consequentiam reuocatur in dubium utrum papa sit. Uidetur enim quod si hereticus est caput ecclesie non est. Si uero de alio crimine infamatur et alius uelit eum accusare ne in eo ecclesia scandalizetur, licet cogi non possit, tamen amonitus iudicem eligere debebit et sub eo litigare. Quamuis enim legibus solutus sit secundum leges tamen uiuere debet. (MS Paris BN 3909, fol. 8va)

## Mediaevalia

### I. *Heu uoce flebili cogor enarrare.*

#### I.

AMONG the poems in the collection which goes by the name *Carmina Burana* is one whose first line stands at the head of this treatment, no. 50 in the edition of Hilka-Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930; text at i, 99-103; notes at ii, 104-110), no. xxvi in the edition of Schmeller (*Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1847, Publicat. 16, pp. 29-32). This poem bears the name *Planctus de amissione terrae sanctae* in P. E. D. Riant's *Haymari Monachi de expugnata Accone liber Tetrastichus*, 1866, where it appears in Appendix A as the first of the "*carmina tria tetrasticha Acconensi Rhythmo, aetate et argumento, affinia*" there reproduced. Under this name, too, it is entered in the *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi* of August Potthast (1896), who lists, besides the edition of Riant, four others mentioned by Riant (*op. cit.*): that of Docen in Aretin's *Beyträge zur Gesch. u. Literatur*, vii, 1806-7, pp. 297ff., that in Soltau's *Ein-hundert deutsche historische Volkslieder*, 1836, pp. 35ff. ("nach Docen"), that of E. du Méril in his *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au 12 siècle*, Paris, 1843, pp. 411ff., and that of Schmeller (*cf. supra*). References to these five editions occur in that of Hilka-Schumann, in either apparatus or notes on the poem. Mention is made by Potthast of a sixth edition, that of C. Cipolla which stands as an appendix to the Italian translation of Thr. Ilgen's *Markgraf Conrad von Montferrat* made by G. Cerrato (Casale, 1890), but this, though known to Hilka-Schumann, was not available to them (*cf. ii*, 108).

It appears from the readings admitted by Schmeller, Riant and Hilka-Schumann, and from those attributed to earlier editions in the notes or apparatus of the last-named, that the five earlier editions listed, and that of Hilka-Schumann ("es nur in einer deutschen Hs. erhalten ist", ii, 110), have not made use of the version of the poem which is to be found (at f. 218) in Vaticanus Palatinus latinus 927, in the *Inventarium* of which it bears the name *Carmina de Hierosolyma a Turcis capta*. To this version Potthast (*op. cit.*) makes reference: his comment on manuscripts of the poem, "München. Hofbibl. mbr. sec. xiv. Schlechter als die folgende:—Rom, Vatic. Palat. n° 927", is likely to derive from Cipolla's edition. The general unavailability of this latter work, however, will serve to justify the publication of this additional evidence for the text of the poem, which it is desirable to have related to the now generally current text of Hilka-Schumann. It may at this point be remarked that the existence of the Palatine manuscript removes even the slender grounds on which Hilka-Schumann (in any case, rashly) base their conclusion that the author of the poem was most probably a German (ii, 110).

#### II.

In considering the readings of the Palatine manuscript, it is unnecessary to cite those readings which involve questions of orthography only, since Hilka-Schumann, in their apparatus, only twice give instances of the orthography of B unconnected with other problems, at 5.2 (= 18), *scite*, and at 11.3 (= 43), *cominus*; these spellings are also found in Pal. lat. 927. It is relevant, however, to mention that proper names (as well as other words) are here and there misspelled, showing erroneous aspiration, confusion of *e* and *ae*, *i* and *y*, incorrect doubling of consonants. One instance may perhaps be singled out: Pal. lat. 927 has throughout *eu* unaspirated, at 1.1, 18.1 (= 69), 18.4 (= 72),



19.1 (=73); B, according to the apparatus in H.-S., has "H auf Rasur": no authority exists for the *eheu* of Riant and Schreiber.

The evidence of Pal. lat. 927 supports the reading which stands in the text of H.-S., contrary to the testimony of B, in the following instances:

3.3 (=11): *turcos*, as in all editions; B has *turco*, on which H.-S. have the right view ("ist nicht zu halten"); their tentative explanation ("Ist es unter dem Einfluss von *turgo* 5,1 entstanden?") is hardly necessary in a case of haplography.

4.2 (= 14): *frigiam*, the accusative case as in the editions, against *phrigia* of B.

5.1 (= 17): *ueniunt*; *geniunt* of B has yielded either *gemunt* (*ni* = *m*) or, by emendation of the incorrect first letter, *ueniunt*.

7.1 (= 25): *cuncta* supports the emendation of Riant, based (it appears from the apparatus in H.-S.) on a suggestion of Docen, and adopted also by Peiper and Lundius; *cunctam* of B, H.-S. claim, is due to preceding *terram . . . inclitam*. While the Biblical expression *cuncta uastare* (mentioned by H.-S., ii, 107) could serve as an explanation of a change from correct *cunctam*, it seems likely, in view of the number of scriptural reminiscences contained in the poem, that *cuncta* should be read.

23.2 (= 90): *ex* supports Peiper's improvement on the conjecture of Schmeller, accepted by Riant, for *et* of B.

In addition there are two places where Pal. lat. 927 supports the corrector's hand in B: at 18.3 (= 71) *dona* (uncorrected *bona* of B due to *bona* at 18.1 (= 69), and at 24.4 (= 96) *uiscera* (but on this stanza cf. *infra*, p. 9 f). At 3.1 (= 9) the reading of Pal. lat. 927 is capable of yielding *Tripoli* or *Tripolis*.

The acceptance of the reading of B by H.-S. contrary to one or more of the other editors is supported by the evidence of Pal. lat. 927 in the following lines: 1.3 (= 3): *quando Saladino concessum est uastare*; neglect of the caesura (remarked by H.-S., ii, 104) led Riant to change the order to *Saladino concessum quando est uastare*. Cf. *infra*, pp. 11 & 12.

2.2 (= 6): *et octoginta* is further evidence (if this is necessary) against Peiper's proposed *octogesimo*, in his *Handexemplar* (cf. H.-S., i, 102 and p. xv). The first suggestion of H.-S. is probably the correct explanation, i.e. *octógintá*; the second, supposing the enunciation of the names of the letters representing the numeral (*lxxx*), needs further discussion and substantiation—some support may be seen in the possible origin of the discrepancy at 11.2 (= 42), cf. *infra*, p. 6. In discussing any problem in this line, attention should be directed to the unsatisfactory nature of the reading afforded by both mss., i.e. *iuncti*: cf. *infra*, pp. 4 & 13.

2.3 (= 7): retention of *quo* (against Strecker's *quam*) is supported by the Palatine ms.

11.3 (= 43): *pugnando* occurs in Pal. lat. 927 also. The proposal of du Méril, *pugnabant*, seems to be due to the absence of syntax in the received reading; it does, however, make it difficult to take *sic* with 1.44, as is natural—the heavy losses are the outcome of the disparity in numbers, of which the enemy takes advantage by resorting to close combat: this points to *sic* (*nam pugnante com(m)inus Bactri et Yrcani uix e nostris*). This, however, is to re-write, and the verdict of H.-S., ii, 106, "nachlässiger Satzbau", must be accepted.

14.1 (= 53): *nautica* appears in Pal. lat. 927 and in B. H.-S., finding this word strange, incline (ii, 108) towards *nauita*, suggested by Peiper, *Manuskript für eine neu Ausgabe* (cf. H.-S., i, p. xv). The word is far from strange, if the possibility of haplography be admitted (i.e. = *nauticam*), for it is aptly descriptive of Tyre, and it is particularly effective in its juxtaposition with *marinus*.

14.2 (= 54): *uere* in Pal. lat. 927 supports B against *uero*, printed by Soltau alone.

24.3 (= 95): *coegerunt* of B, accepted by H.-S., is supported by Pal. lat. 927. At ii, 106, under the heading "nachlässiger Satzbau", H.-S. remark "*coegerunt* für *coacti sunt* 24.3 (verderbt?)". Their vision is impeded by the reading they accept at 1.96, *stabant*: here Pal. lat. 927 reads *tabe* (cf. infra, p. 7), and the subject of *coegerunt* is clearly *uiscera* of 1.96. An improvement in the order of the lines would result if 1.96 were to precede 1.95, but change on these grounds alone is undesirable.

25.3 (= 99): *digne* of B, accepted in the text by H.-S., is supported by Pal. lat. 927. In their apparatus (i, 103), H.-S. note *digna* of du Méril: there are no grounds for alteration.

In one instance, at 2.2 (= 6), the Palatine ms. supports B against H.-S., and in another instance, at 16.4 (= 64), supports B as corrected.

2.2 (= 6): *iuncti*; Strecker's emendation *iunctis* is accepted in the text by H.-S. ("ist wohl nicht vermeiden"); they add "scil. *annis*", and remark (ii, 106) "nachlässiger Satzbau". Cf. supra, p. 3; infra, p. 13.

16.4 (= 64): the addition by the hand of the first corrector in B, k<sup>1</sup>, of an ampersand before *iordanis*, is supported by *et* of Pal. lat. 927 (on the corrector of B, cf. supra, p. 3). H.-S. follow the example of Peiper (*Manuskript*) and incorrectly omit *et*; cf. also ii, 105.

The following passages are those in which the Palatine ms. offers new variants. 2.4 (= 8): *de paupere* is the reading of B; H.-S. print *de puluere* (cf. apparatus, i, 102, "*puluere* setzten wir ein"). The reading of Pal. lat. 927, *stercore*, must be admitted here, since B is obviously in error: the O.T. passages which H.-S. quote in their note at ii, 106, remain relevant.

2.4 (= 8): Pal. lat. 927 also reads *acceno*, the first *c* being marked out with suprascript and subscript dots. It is not certain that this 'correction' is to be made; the reading *ac ceno* would remove a difficulty to which H.-S. refer in their notes (*loc. cit.*): "*mundum* wohl Obj. sowohl zu *respexit* wie zu *erigens*". With *ac ceno*, *mundum* would not, on grounds of balance, need to be taken as object of *erigens*, though its position suggests this, and indeed the awkward expression *sorde pleno* appears to connect it more closely with what follows. Under either interpretation, and with both readings, *sorde pleno* presents difficulty.

5.1 (= 17): *Hircomili* is accepted in the text of H.-S. and of du Méril: H.-S. add (cf. apparatus, i, 102) "*hyrcanii?*", and also cite Riant's *Hircanij* and Heraeus' *Turcomili*. Pal. lat. 927 reads *yrcanuli*, the initial *h* being added faintly above the line: there is nothing to suggest that this is an addition by other than the first copyist. There seems little doubt that *Hyrcanuli* should be read, since it is the form which would most easily give rise to the incorrect *Hircomili*.

5.1 (= 17): in the second half of the line, H.-S. (with Schmeller) print *Turgo et Edite*: the apparatus notes du Méril's *Tusci*, *Edomitae* and Riant's *Curdi et Meditae*. The penetrating nature of Heraeus' view (cf. H.-S., ii, 106: "Heraeus erwägt, ob der Verf. in der Bibel *Trogoeditae* gelesen habe.") is shown by the reading of Pal. lat. 927, *et trogoeditae*, which has the additional advantage of avoiding the objectionable tmesis: *et Trogoeditae* must surely be read. Pal. lat. 927 may also suggest the way in which *et* has been misplaced: a larger space intervenes between *o* and *e* than is general between letters of the same word in this text, and this feature in another ms. could have led to the addition at this point of an accidentally omitted *et*. H.-S. are certainly right in rejecting the supposition that *turgo* has anything to do with the Turks, but err in saying that they are first named at 6.1 (= 21): cf. 3.3 (= 11).

6.2 (= 22): *katari atque*, the reading of B, is reproduced by Schmeller and

<sup>1</sup> The compound form of the verb is found at 7.1 (= 25), *deuastantes*: the appearance of the simple form here may be an additional pointer to different authorship.

Riant; *Tartari* of du Méril is noted by H.-S. in their apparatus. In the text they admit *Tatari*, after Heraeus, supposing a confusion of *Tatari* and *Kathari* (ii, 107). After Peiper (*Handexemplar* and *Manuskript*), they change *atque* to *ac*, since the reading of B gives an additional syllable in the first part of the line (i.e. 8 v — in place of 7 v —: cf. ii, 104). This 'correction' also removes a further rhythmical anomaly. Neither difficulty is present in Pal. lat. 927, which preserves the unexceptionable reading *Bactri atque*; *atque* of both mss. should not be questioned, and the *Bactri* are mentioned at 11.3 (= 43).

6.3 (= 23): *quadriundili* of B, closely followed by Docen, du Méril and Peiper (*Manuskript*), yields *Quadi*, *Vandili* in H.-S., Schmeller and Riant. Pal. lat. 927 reads *quādā uuandali*: *quādā* must be incorrect; while it could conceal *quando* or *Quadi*, it is perhaps more likely that the proper name has suffered distortion.

13.4 (= 52): the last half of this line reads, in B, *manu simul et arte*, which is accepted by Schmeller. As H.-S. point out (ii, 104), this destroys the rhythm ("7 — v statt 6 — v"); accordingly they follow du Méril, Schreiber, Lundius and Peiper in omitting *et*. Pal. lat. 927 also has *et*, but reads *ui* instead of *manu*: this reading, *ui simul et arte*, which was discussed in Peiper's *Manuskript* (cf. H.-S., i, 103: no indication is given of any acquaintance with the Palatine ms.), removes the superfluous syllable and should be admitted into the text.

21.3 (= 83): *mutate in melius* is the order in the text of H.-S.: in their introductory notes (ii, 105) they state "Auch in 7 v — ist der TW (= Taktwechsel) auffällig selten: er findet sich nur 8,2 und 21,3". The order preserved in Pal. lat. 927, *in melius mutate*, is still less good since it destroys the characteristic rhythm of the first part of the line, and the superiority of B must here be admitted.

24.1 (= 93): *sed et quamuis uiribus* is accepted by H.-S. Of the first word only the initial letter, *s*, is clearly legible in Pal. lat. 927; this could point to *si* or to *sic* (cf. 23.1 = 89) or to *sed*: while there is no indication of the *d*, some trace of which might be expected to appear in the space between the lines, this may point to the spelling *set* (cf. 12.4 = 48) and the use of the ampersand: this might explain the origin of *sed et* in B. For *et quamuis*, Pal. lat. 927 reads *pro suis*, showing as a common element *uis*. The superiority of the sense given by the Palatine ms. suggests that it preserves the true reading; while a subordinating conjunction would be acceptable here, the concessive idea is not necessary, and *uiribus* without reinforcement is weak.

The following minor variants should also be noted:

4.3 (= 15): *araben* of B is deserted by H.-S. in favour of *Arabem* of Schmeller and Riant (cf. apparatus, i, 102). Pal. lat. 927 reads *arabum*.

6.1 (= 21): Pal. lat. 927, contrary to the testimony of B (accepted by H.-S.), reads *atque*, giving 8 v — instead of 7 v — (cf. H.-S., ii, 104): B is plainly correct here, and *atque* of Pal. lat. 927 is probably due to *atque* of the following line (on which, cf. supra, p. 5).

8.3 (= 31): for *nisibus* of H.-S., Pal. lat. 927 reads *uiribus*: in the case of such likely confusion, certainty is impossible, nor will the *lectio difficilior* provide an answer.

11.2 (= 42): *ter centum* stands in the text of H.-S.: Pal. lat. 927 has *bis centum*. A discrepancy of one million in the figure for Saladin's army needs no serious discussion (cf. H.-S., *ad loc.*), but it may be noted that, as the source of the error may lie in the use of the symbols ccc (cf. H.-S., ii, 105), this may give support for the second suggestion of H.-S. on *octoginta* at 2.2 (= 6); cf. supra, p. 3.

11.4 (= 44): Pal. lat. 927 has *e* in place of *ex*; at 23.2 (= 90) the same ms. has *ex nubibus*, though this may be due to *ex alto* in the same line. *Vix ex* is an ill-sounding collocation and *e* should probably be read here.

12.2 (= 46): in place of *tercentum*, Pal. lat. 927 has the form *trecentum*, which may point to ccc (cf. supra).

- 14.4 (= 56): *ferox*; *ferus* stands in Pal. lat. 927 with the letters *or* added above *u*; the contrast of *ferox* and *timet* appears to have greater weight.
- 15.4 (= 60): *presepi*; Pal. lat. 927 gives *pr(a)esepe*.
- 16.1 (= 61): *pedibus*; Pal. lat. 927 reads *gressibus*, which may be accepted as the variant more likely to undergo alteration: *pedibus* of B is doubtless due to *pedibus* of 15.3 (= 58).
- 16.4 (= 64): for *post retrogradauit* in H.-S., Pal. lat. 927 has *se retrogradauit*; *se* is probably to be attributed to dittography with confusion of *r* and *s*.
- 18.4 (= 72): *cingit*; Pal. lat. 927 preserves *cinxit*: the same tense appears at *Eccli.* 45.9, cited in their note on this line by H.-S., ii, 108. The change to the present could have been made under the influence of the preceding *nunc*.
- 19.4 (= 76): *aqua*; Pal. lat. 927 has incorrect *aquas*.
- 20.1 (= 77): *et non*; *ac non* is the reading of Pal. lat. 927.
- 20.3 (= 79): for *undas*, Pal. lat. 927 has *multa*; the former reading, as being that more likely to have suffered alteration, is to be preferred.
- 21.3 (= 83): for *uitam*, Pal. lat. 927 reads *uitas*, under the influence of plural *mores*.
- 22.2 (= 86): *per tempus*; Pal. lat. 927 preserves *ad tempus*. The remark of H.-S. (ii, 109) that *per tempus* is "schon klassisch" is not then necessarily relevant: their citation of *Hebr.* 9.10 has little bearing on the point.
- 23.2 (= 90): *de alto*; *ex alto* is the reading of Pal. lat. 927; alteration from *ex* to *de* seems unlikely, and *ex* is probably due to *e* (*ex*) of the earlier part of the line.
- 23.3 (= 91): *zeli*; here, by an inexplicable error, Pal. lat. 927 reads *ueli*.
- 24.2 (= 94): *compulsi*; Pal. lat. 927 preserves *compuncti*, a reading more appropriate to the context than the more colourless alternative.
- 24.4 (= 96): *stant*; the superiority of the reading of Pal. lat. 927, *tabe*, is apparent from the remarks on *coegerunt* at 24.3 (= 95); cf. *supra*, p. 4.
- 25.1 (= 97): *conuertamur*; Pal. lat. 927 has incorrect *conuertemur*.

### III.

The poem in Pal. lat. 927 preserves a different order from that of B, followed by H.-S. A minor difference within stanza 5 is that the second line stands as the last line of the stanza, but a correction is indicated by the addition between 5.1 and 3 (= 17 and 19) of the word *Mauri*, in apparently the same hand. The order resulting from this correction, which is that preserved in B, is preferable, for 5.4 (= 20), *atque cum his omnibus sunt Amalechite*, more appropriately concludes the stanza: further, if the reading of Pal. lat. 927 is accepted at 5.1 (= 17), this order shows a natural passage from East African *Trogoedite* in l.17 to West African *Mauri*, *Gaetuli* and *Barbari* in l.18, as H.-S. point out (ii, 106).

More interesting is the different order of stanzas in Pal. lat. 927; here stanza 19 is postponed and follows stanza 22, whose last two lines are lacking. After 22.2 (= 86) a space of one line is left; the manuscript then resumes, in an apparently different hand, with the words

*eu eu domine gloria iustorum angelorum bonitas salus peccatorum* written as one long line. This stanza, as well as stanzas 23 and 24 (also written in the new hand), shows a different practice with regard to the common rhyme: this, in the twenty-one preceding stanzas, is the common element to all four lines of the stanza, whose final words in this way lack all or part of their final syllable; exceptions occur only where casual error involves repetition, i.e. at 8.1 (= 29), *ingressa* + *so* (though the offending letters here seem to be an attempt at correction!); 15.4 (= 60), *fabricator* + *tor*; 21.1 (= 81), *auditore* + *res*. In stanzas 19, 23 and 24, however, the final words are complete, and the common

rhyme appears as an addition. This added element is not in a different hand as seems to be the case in stanza 25, which stands at the head of the second column of f. 218<sup>v</sup>. This stanza observes the rhyme-pattern of stanzas 19, 23 and 24, although it is not certainly written in the later hand; here the last syllable is represented in three lines by an abbreviation, and only the final letter is repeated: representation of the common element by a single letter only (without repetition) occurs in stanzas 16 and 17.

In Palatinus latinus 927 there is an indication that stanza 19 is displaced, in the marginal sign O added opposite its first line: a barely discernible marginal mark between stanzas 18 and 20 may well be the corresponding sign. This would suggest that stanza 19 was first accidentally omitted from its proper position and subsequently added. Omission of the stanza could have been due to the circumstance that it begins with *eu*, as does stanza 18. In view of the changed hand, however, there can be no certainty that these signs and, with them, stanza 19 were not added after an interval during which another version of the poem was examined. It must then be asked whether a version of this poem existed which did not have stanza 19: in the sequence followed in B, and in Pal. lat. 927 as 'corrected', stanza 18 is addressed to the Holy Land, the land blessed, as the three preceding stanzas show, by the presence of the Saviour; stanza 19 is addressed to God; and stanza 20 introduces a general call to lamentation. Stanza 20 follows readily upon stanza 18, while the first two lines of stanza 19 represent an interruption: in these lines *angelorum bonitas* has already been queried by H.-S. (ii, 108), and it should also be remarked that *salus peccatorum* is premature in this part of the poem. It should be added that stanza 19 cannot follow stanza 22, which must precede stanza 25 (cf. *infra*, p. 11f).

Beyond the omission by the first copyist in Pal. lat. 927 the evidence for the rejection of stanza 19 is slight, but in the case of stanzas 23 and 24, which follow stanza 19 in Pal. lat. 927, it is otherwise. Opposite the first line of stanza 23 appears the marginal sign +; its counterpart appears in the margin between stanzas 21 and 22: no separate indication is given for stanza 24, but the subject-matter of the stanzas (23 and 24) necessarily links them. Four possibilities are then open—either the order of B is correct (21, 22, 23, 24, 25) or that of corrected Palatinus latinus 927 (21, 23, 24, 22, 25); or, disregarding the marginal indications of Pal. lat. 927, stanzas 23 and 24 are to be taken with stanza 19; or stanzas 23 and 24 do not belong to this poem.

The order in B, retained by H.-S., is certainly perverse: stanza 22, with its portrayal of God impartially judging and mercifully inclined, does not serve as an introduction to stanza 23, with its picture of God *iratus*. The first word of stanza 23, *sic*, is without point in this arrangement. Furthermore the parallel of the episode which stanzas 23 and 24 recount is unrelated if it is introduced at this point. In stanza 22, as is made apparent in the preceding stanza, the Christians are the *peccatores*, who are in their categories punished in 22.1-2 (= 85-6), but for whom hope through repentance is held out in 22.4 (= 88). In stanza 23 the notion of judgment occurs, but what follows is far from being parallel: in stanza 24 the woes are those of the Philistines, the *populus crudelis* of 23.4 (= 92), whose surrender of *munera cum arca* is not explicitly connected with repentance on the part of the injured who have suffered the loss: the addition of stanza 24 indeed goes against the author's purpose in this section of the poem which is a call to repentance. Furthermore the transition from stanza 24 to stanza 25 is difficult, since *igitur* does not follow upon the miseries of the Philistines, though it does upon 22.4 (= 88).

The order of Pal. lat. 927 as corrected introduces the parallel immediately

after the call to lamentation has been brought to a conclusion in stanza 21 with the injunction to lead a better life,

*nam de celo prospicit deus peccatores.*

Here again *sic* presents difficulty: it can be taken neither with *iratus*, for there has been no hint of this, nor with *iudicans*, since this concept differs from that expressed in 21.4 (= 84), nor with *tradidisse legitur*, for there has been no mention of any comparable action. It is possible that *sic* goes with *ex nubibus et ex alto celi*, but it is doubtful whether parallelism in a circumstance of such relative unimportance would be intended. The parallel has no relevance at this point, and there is the further very serious objection that, if stanza 22 follows stanza 24, the six verbs of stanza 22 have no subject specified and occur in a position where it is impossible to supply one. In order that there shall be a subject for the verbs of stanza 22 it is necessary that stanza 21 immediately precede it, so that while the corrector is right in juxtaposing stanzas 22 and 25 (cf. *infra*), he is wrong in separating stanzas 21 and 22.

If the marginal signs are disregarded, and stanzas 23 and 24 are taken immediately after stanza 19 there is a greater degree of parallelism between the present situation, reflected at 19.3 (= 75),

*ecce canes comedunt panem filiorum,*

and the illustration from the past contained in stanza 23: the *canes* are equated with the *populus crudelis* of 23.4 (= 92). Nevertheless, after the terms employed at 19.1-2 (= 73-4), God's anger is abruptly introduced at 23.1 (= 89), and stanza 24 presents difficulty; for, with its suggestion of eventual restoration (without any specific reference to penitence), it does not continue the parallel. If stanza 19 is to follow stanza 18, and stanzas 23 and 24 are to be introduced before stanza 20, the transition from 24 to 20 is difficult, since the suggestion in the former does not suit the call to lamentation introduced in the latter: nor does this call to lamentation arise out of the woes of the Philistines.

These possibilities are, it seems, to be rejected, and the difficulties arising from them strongly suggest that stanzas 23 and 24 do not belong to this poem: this view is reinforced by the uncertain tradition about their position; and neglect of the caesura at 23.3 (= 91), a phenomenon which occurs only once elsewhere in the poem (at 1.3, on which cf. *infra*, p. 12), may be a further indication of the non-authenticity of this stanza. It is not impossible that stanza 19 (cf. *supra*) is likewise an addition.

In the course of the preceding remarks it has been stated that stanza 22 must precede stanza 25 as it does in Pal. lat. 927 as corrected: the last words of 22.4 (= 88) *digne penitentes* must form the link with *peniteamus* of 25.1 (= 97), and *igitur* of 25.1 has weight only when this order is followed. The structure of stanza 22 demands that stanza 21 immediately precede it (cf. *supra*, p. 10f), and both the theme and the form of stanza 20 bring it into close relationship with stanza 21. The poem concludes, then, with a section consisting of four stanzas whose theme is to enjoin general lamentation and to call for general repentance: lamentation occupies stanzas 20 and 21, and the theme of placation stanzas 22 and 25.

Attention has already been drawn (cf. *supra*, p. 9) to the passage which deals with the Holy Land, as the land which had experienced God's bounty: this section likewise occupies four stanzas (15 - 18). Examination of the remainder of the poem reveals three further sections of the same length. Stanzas 3 to 6 treat the treacherous introduction of the Turks, and the assembly and composition of Saladin's army. Stanzas 7 to 10 deal with the onfall of the Saracen and organized resistance, and show a careful regard for arrangement; attention is

directed in stanzas 7 and 9 to the Saracen, and in stanzas 8 and 10 to the Christian. The central section (stanzas 11 to 14) reports numbers involved and losses sustained and the fate of Tyre.

It is tempting to regard this arrangement of five sections, each consisting of four stanzas, as an intentional pattern: the only objection to it is the absence of punctuation between the third and fourth sections, but this is paralleled by the equally slight pause between the first and second sections.

The suspect stanzas apart, there remain, outside this pattern, two stanzas whose function is introductory. Of these, the first contains (at 1.3) the sole instance of a neglected caesura, apart from the example contained in the suspect stanza 23 (cf. *supra*, p. 3 & 11). This circumstance may cast doubt upon the authenticity of the stanza, and it is worth remarking that two expressions which it contains reflect expressions found elsewhere in the poem: *flebili* reflects *flete* at 20.1 (= 77) and 21.1 (= 81), and *uastare terram* reflects *terre deuastator* at 15.1 (= 57).<sup>1</sup> Furthermore *facinus quod accidit* is a strangely colourless expression, and *nuper* appears unnecessary beside the specific time-indication given in stanza 2. It should be added that if this stanza were to fall under suspicion, the words *ultra mare* would cease to be an argument for the poem's composition in Europe (cf. H.-S., ii, 109).

The other introductory stanza also has its difficulties: it is unique in that it is only here that the sense is incomplete in itself at the end of the stanza. H.-S. remark (ii, 105) that "Der Satz geht von einer Strophe in die andere über 2/3 und 14/15"; at stanza 14, however, the sense is complete and the apposition is the only link; the relation of 14 and 15 more closely resembles that of 21 and 22. Stanza 2, furthermore, shows in its second line a metrical and a syntactical problem (cf. *supra*, p. 3 & 4). These circumstances may combine to throw suspicion on the stanza's authenticity: the mere awkwardness of *sorde pleno* (cf. *supra*, p. 5) can not be admitted as an argument. Perhaps the most telling factor, however, in a consideration of stanza 2 is its subject-matter: the careful provision of a time-indication in a poem which is obviously concerned with a recent event is a curious feature, and one which suggests that this may be an addition subsequent to the date of composition.

Further than this one may not go, for though there are here plain signs of a carefully planned poem, there can be no question of lightly excising stanzas which are attested in both manuscripts, and which in those manuscripts occupy the same position. The case of stanzas 1 and 2 is quite different from that of stanzas 23 and 24, which are certainly to be rejected, and from that of stanza 19, which is probably to be rejected.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>I wish to record my appreciation of the facilities (including the provision of photographic material) extended to me by the

Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

## II. Appellations of Saints in Early Irish Martyrologies.

*FELIRE Oengusso* (FO) is the greatest attempt ever made to present the subject matter of the martyrology in a poetical form.<sup>1</sup> Devoting one quatrain to the (up to four) saints of each day, it describes by its prologue and epilogue (of 85 and 91 quatrains respectively) the whole undertaking as a poem in honour of all the saints. The *Martyrology of Tallaght* (MT) is a unique variant of the *Hieronymianum* (MH) in as much as it reduces the narrative element (again) to a mere list of names, adding, in a separate paragraph, for each day Irish names (the total of the latter not much less than that of names derived from MH).<sup>2</sup>

The statement made about 1167 by Mael-Maire hua Gormáin that MT was the source of FO has scarcely been questioned.<sup>3</sup> The most readable and the least readable martyrologies ever produced are thus considered as closely linked. FO would appear to be a versified selection from MT. In this transformation the non-Irish and the Irish entries became intermingled, as was unavoidable when only one quatrain, in a metre of rigid alliteration laws, was available for each day. Oengus, however, made it clear that the information on the non-Irish saints was different from that on the Irish saints: In the 32nd quatrain of his epilogue he spoke of the sources of the former and in the subsequent quatrain of the sources of the latter. In his epilogue (233 ff.) he added to the ten grades of non Irish saints the 'saints of Ireland (and of Scotland)' and the 'virgins of Ireland' as separate groups.<sup>5</sup>

On a few days MT has three sections. On 19/1 we have in the middle of the non-Irish group as a separate paragraph the entry *Pauli senis heremitae* (corresponding to FO: *féil* ('feast') . . . *sen-Phóil*, the saint who in prol. 97 is described as *manach* and in epil. 251 as the leader of the *ancharait*). On 13/1 we have between the non-Irish and the Irish groups a paragraph consisting of the entry *Hilarii episcopi Pictavis* (FO: *Helair abb Pictavis*;<sup>6</sup> *abb* probably because *episcop* could not be fitted in, once it had been decided that the place-name should be mentioned. On 24/4 the entries *Ecbrichti saxonis*.<sup>7</sup> *Uldbrithi* also form a paragraph between the non-Irish and Irish groups, and so does on 1/4 the entry *Erectio Tabernaculi* (these entries are not in FO). On 19/1 the significance of the Egyptian tradition to Irish monasticism is emphasized, on 13/1 that of Gaul to the Irish Church, on 24/4 the affinity of the Anglo-Saxon to the Celtic Church,<sup>8</sup> while the entry for 1/4 illustrates the prominent part played by Ireland in the development of mediaeval devotion to Old Testament saints.<sup>9</sup>

From the *Stowe Missal* and MT via FO to *Féilire hui Gormáin* (FG) there was a steady increase in assimilation of devotion to Irish saints to that of non-Irish saints.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. W. Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Soc. xxix, 1905) and Henning, "The Felire Oengusso and the Martyrologium Wandalbarti" in *Mediaeval Studies* xvii (1955), 219-226.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. R. I. Best and J. Lawlor (Henry Bradshaw Soc. lxviii, 1931) and Henning, "Studies in the tradition of the Martyrologium Hieronymianum in Ireland" in *Studia Patristica* I (1957) 104-111.

<sup>3</sup> *Felire hui Gormáin*, ed. W. Stokes (Henry Bradshaw, Soc. ix, 1895), 4 and Henning in *Studia Patristica* I, 106.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of the term *cruthnech* in MT see Henning, "Britain's place in early Irish calendars" to be published (if ever) in *Medium Aevum*.

<sup>5</sup> For this and other Irish lists of the *arád*

of saints (notably also in the epilogue to FO) Henning, "The literary tradition of Moses in Ireland", *Traditio* vii (1951), 233-261.

<sup>6</sup> An illustration of a place-name becoming an epithet of a saint's proper-name.

<sup>7</sup> For *saxo* see my paper mentioned above note 4.

<sup>8</sup> Henning, "England's contribution to the history of the calendar", in *Clergy Review* xxxix (1954), 162-168 and "A feast of All the Saints in Europe", in *Speculum* xxi (1946), 46-66.

<sup>9</sup> See my paper mentioned above note 5.

<sup>10</sup> Henning, "A list of Irish saints in Rawl. B 484", in *Eigse* vi (1949), 50-55 and "Studies in the liturgy of the early Irish Church", *Ir. Eccl. Rec.* V, lxxv (1951), 318-333.



For the non-Irish saints MT did not draw on the works listed by Oengus, but on the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (MH), which presented the subject matter in brief narration rather than in tabulation as had done the original martyrologies or expanded calendars.<sup>11</sup> While the calendar is basically a list of proper-names of saints, the narration of the martyrology supplies three additional data, a place-name and date associated with the Saint and his *grád*. In the development from calendar to martyrology, MT seems to put the clock back: It reduced MH again to a mere list of names, more barren even than the rudimentary martyrologies. While the index of persons in the Roman calendar of MT occupies 21 pages, that of places takes up only two pages, and many of the place-names listed were misinterpreted by MT as names of further saints. On the other hand, the index of places in the Irish calendar of MT occupies half as many pages as the index of persons. In the non-Irish calendar of MT practically no dates are referred to; in the Irish calendar the entries for St. Brigid and St. Canice stand out by their mentioning the age at which these saints died.<sup>12</sup>

In accordance with MH, MT frequently gives information on the rank of non-Irish saints. The terms used for this purpose are *abbas*, (*arch*-)*angelus*, *apostolus*, *cenobieris* (a variant of *coenobius* apparently not testified elsewhere), *confessor*, *diaconus* (*archi*-, *sub*-), *discipulus*, *episcopus*, *evangelista*, *heremita*, *martir*, *monachus*, *papa*, *presbiter*, *profeta* and *virgo*, to which we may add *rex* (19/5 for Decius, MH: *imperator*, cf. 19/8 and Irish entry 5/8 for Saxon kings), about that time becoming a rank in the hierarchy, and *miles*. Moreover we have epithets summarily describing fellow-martyrs as *alii*, *ceteri*, *multi*, *socii*, *viri*, *clerus*, *fratres*, *sorores* etc. and giving their number, and epithets relating to degree of relationship (*filia*, *mater*, *uxor*).

Entry in the martyrology has been traditionally considered as equivalent to what later became known as canonization or beatification. In the non-Irish sections of MT the word *sanctus* is applied only to the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin, Ambrose and Muricius (7/10). The corresponding Irish term (*noeb*) never occurs by itself but only in 4/3 *Noebescop*, as a proper name followed by the preposition *o* with place-name,<sup>13</sup> 22/7 *macnaeb* without the father's name, 9/9 *Noebingena* ('daughters'), as a proper-name followed by a place-name in the genitive case. On the other hand, in 68 cases in the Irish entries of T the word *sanctus* is used either before or after the proper name, most conspicuously on 14 and 16/1, 14 and 23/3 and 13/5 where the word *Sancti* opens the Irish section. In the entry for 20/4 this word occurs four times in an attempt to establish co-ordination between the saints of Ireland, North-Western Europe and the other parts of the world. The *Communis solemnitas omnium sanctorum et virginum* . . . *Euopae* is referred to in the corresponding entry by Oengus as *féil* . . . *nóeb n-Eorapa uile* ('whole'); in the margin note for 4/8 in the fifteenth century Ms.F of FO the word *naeb aile* and *sanct aile* are equivalent. The subsequent words *specialiter in honorem Sancti Martini* (representing Gaul) are of interest with regard to the description of this saint in FO 11/11 (MT missing) as *sanct*. According to FO 12/6 Coemán had the *slondad* (Stokes: "appellation")<sup>14</sup> of *sanctlethan* ('broad').<sup>15</sup> In FO the word *noeb* is frequently

<sup>11</sup> H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques* (Paris, 1908).

<sup>12</sup> Hennig, "Irische Einflüsse auf die frühen Kalendarien von St. Gallen", in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* xlviii (1954), 24 and 26.

<sup>13</sup> In FO this term is applied to a Babylonian bishop (20/3) and to the Popes (epil 253). Compare the composition with *noeb* in FO as listed in Stokes glossary.

<sup>14</sup> P. 140; p. 442: 'nickname'. Hence the title of the present paper. In his outstanding address to the United Nations on November

30, 1956, the Irish Minister of External Affairs warned Nasser that he may be remembered under "the appellation *na nGall*" ('of the foreigners') like Diarmuid Mac Murchadha who called the Normans into Ireland.

<sup>15</sup> According to a margin note in the *Book of Leinster* (FO ed. Stokes, p. 182) 'a *sanct* to whom the welcome of the men of heaven will be greater' (*mó*) and according to a margin note in Ms F 'a *naeb* whose honour is vaster with God'.

used as an adjective with regard to God, the Blessed Virgin and both non-Irish and Irish saints, also with regard to relics. In later centuries it became common practice to apply the word *noeb* primarily to Irish saints, the word *sanct* to non-Irish saints (e.g. Francis). The identification of the Irish term *noeb* with *sanctus* starting with FO was a significant step in the assimilation of Irish devotion to native saints to the liturgical veneration of saints in other parts of the Church, the avowed object of *Féilire húi Gormáin*.

By comparison with the non-Irish calendar, the Irish calendar of MT is very rich in epithets and place-names; in fact, most proper-names in the Irish calendar have some attribute of this kind. With regard to the Irish *noib*, place-names were of greater importance than with regard to non-Irish saints, because of most of the former listed in MT and FO nothing is known but this association with a place. It seems to make no difference in meaning whether the place-name is added in the genitive case or with the prepositions *i* or *o*: In all these cases the reference is not to a place of birth, activity, death or liturgical cultus attached to a tomb, but to the *cill* bearing the saint's name not by way of dedication but in virtue of the tradition that he 'built' or 'founded' it, or of which he was the 'patron' because it 'belonged' to his *paruchia* (an association of churches subservient to a great monastic establishment)—all terms peculiar to early Irish church history and scarcely understood yet.<sup>16</sup>

The special significance of patronymics in ancient Ireland need not be discussed here.

As in the non-Irish calendar, in the Irish calendar 'strictly speaking all proper names commemorated should be in the genitive, but the practice of the scribe varies'.<sup>17</sup> The use of the nominative, more frequent perhaps than is suggested by this statement, is quite unknown in the non-Irish sections (or in MH). Where MT uses the genitive, the proper name has either a Latin ending or an Irish inflexion, the nominative is never Latinised. No rule can be discovered for the use of the Latinised or Irish genitive, a point of some interest to the question of dissolving into either Irish or Latin the abbreviations identically used in both languages of *ab.*, *ep.* and *sac.* It might be suggested that these abbreviations should be dissolved into the Irish genitive where the proper name is in the Irish genitive and *vice versa* for the Latin forms. However, by way of analogy, it can be shown that by no means the genitive *meic* is used only with Irish genitives (whereas *filii* only with Latin ones), and that Latin attributes, even where equivalent Irish ones were available, were used with proper nouns in the nominative, an illustration of the complete intermingling between Latin and Irish in this text. In contrast to *ab.* and *sac.*, the Irish forms of which are generally not written out, the Irish form for *ep.* frequently is written out especially when preceded by the numeral *secht* ("seven") or when preceding a proper name. *Ab.*, *ep.* and *sac.*, whether to be dissolved into the Irish or Latin forms or written out in the Irish form, are by far the most frequent epithets in the Irish calendar of MT: Reference to bishops is made 150 times, to abbots 63 times and to priests twenty times (not counting *crumther/presbiter* see below).<sup>18</sup>

A list of appellations of saints in the Irish calendar of MT will have to pay special attention to the many parallels between Irish and Latin terms. What we understand by "appellations" covers a number of stages between proper-names via nicknames to adjectives. Proper names not also occurring as appellations (e.g. those composed with *coem* and *find*, 'fair', like *cain*—in FO—relating to the spiritual rather than the physical sphere) or forms of endearment

<sup>16</sup> See above note 10, also Hennig, 'A note on Egerton 185', in *Eigse* vi (1951), 197-226.

<sup>17</sup> MT ed. Best, p. xxvi.

<sup>18</sup> In contrast to Stoke's edition of FO, the edition of MT by Best and Lawlor has no glossary.

are outside the scope of this paper. Appellations either take the place of proper-names, unknown or understood, or are invariably associated with them, e.g. for the sake of distinction. The border-line to both real proper-names and to general adjectives is not clear. The vast majority of the terms used in the non-Irish calendar of MT (and in MH) for denoting *grád* are not appellations (exceptions: *Zephani protomartiris* and *Mariae matris Domini*). With regard to the Irish saints FO makes the basic distinction between *noeb* and *uagi* ('young' and 'virginal'). Similarly in the entry for the solemnity of all the saints of Europe MT refers to *sancti* and *virgines*, but in this instance *virgines* stands also for male saints, namely "white" and "blue" martyrs (practically all being Irish saints) in contrast to the red martyrs (practically all being non-Irish saints). In its last non-Irish entry MT says: 'et sanctarum virginum . . . et aliorum multorum martirum'.

In the epilogue to FO we have an early list of choirs of saints, a subject of great importance to Irish devotion to the saints (a devotion collective rather than individual, and thus spiritual rather than historical). Here we have the host of archangels, patriarchs (*rerach* ('ancestors'), ep. 13: *uasalathraigh* ('noble fathers') also *altathraigh*), prophets (*faithe* = *vates*),<sup>19</sup> apostles, martyrs, 'holy bishops of Roma' with the 'bishops of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria', 'battle-soldiers', 'sages' (led by Benedict), *sacart* and *manach*, followed by the choirs of Irish saints, where the word *uagi* clearly relates to female saints, not mentioned among the choirs of non-Irish saints.

Of the terms used by MT (in accordance with MH) with reference to non-Irish saints, the Irish forms for *abbas*, *episcopus* and *sacerdos* were so similar that the same set of abbreviations could be used. The word *martir* occurs only in one Irish entry (24/7). While the term *virgo* is applied to 53 Irish saints, only in one instance MT uses the Irish equivalent (31/7: 'virginal in his body'); for 'nun' we have a more specific Irish term, namely *caillech* (fr. *pallium*) on 22/5 relating to three unnamed woman-saints and in FO 2/1 identical with *óg*. The term *os psalmorum* (MT 27/3), probably denoting the office of psalmist, occurs only in Latin.<sup>20</sup> While in the epilogue of FO Paulus senis is described as the leader of the *ancharaít*, in MT only the Latin form anchorita is used (with reference to six Irish saints). On the other hand, the Irish forms of *diaconus* and *monachus* occur in MT as often as the Latin terms, *deochain* 3/3 as a proper-name and 5/9 after a proper name,<sup>21</sup> *manach* 19/7 (plural, cf. *cum suis monachis* 21/10).<sup>22</sup> (The term *miles*, used in the epil. of FO in the secular sense, occurs in the Irish entries of MT only as *miles Christi* 29/9).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> in FO 29/11 Brennan is stylled *cenn find faithe nErenn*, 'the fair head of the prophets of Ireland'.

<sup>20</sup> Hennig, 'De officio psalistas', in *Liturgy* xi (1942), 49-56. For the analogy between the nine grades of the church and the nine choirs of saints see the Tract on the Mass in the *Stowe Missal* [Henry Bradsaw Soc. xxxii (1906), 38] and *The Vision of McConiglinne* (ed. Kuno Meyer, 1892) *The Martyrology of Donegal* [see J. Kenney, *Sources for the early history of Ireland*, i (1929), No. 279] uses the epithets *psalmichetlaidh* (9/11) and *senoir-psalmach* (19/8; for *senoir* see below).

<sup>21</sup> *Diaconi* always after proper names in Latinised genitive (31/8, 31/12; 16/4 and 7/10) followed by a place-name with the preposition *i*, probably the church where the saint was a deacon. On 14/1, 17/4, 13 and 16/4 FO rendered MT *diaconi* by the Irish term, on 10/8 MT *archidiaconi* by *deochain*. On 4/5 FO added *dechain* to MT

*Siluanus*. Of the non-Irish entries 13/4 is of interest because MH has *acoliiti*; on 5/10 FO has in *dechain Eutimus*, MT: *Eutini et non Justini* (the words *et non Justini* were not explained by Quentin), MH: *Eutimi diaconi*, important indications to the sources of MT and FO.

<sup>22</sup> 23/3 to Monan the Brussels abstracts add *monachi*. Best and Lawlor note: "*monaige legendum*", add. alongside in another hand, the implication being that with an un-Latinised proper-name the epithet should not be in Latin. MT 7/6 *monachi*, FO *manaig* [as in FO 27/7 *Semeoin manaig* (MT missing); MH *Symeonis monachi*]. 19/1 MT *Pauli senis heremitae* (see above) compare with FO prol. 97 *Sen Phoil manach*.

<sup>23</sup> FO prol. 7376 and 152 we have the contrast between the *mildid* who crucified the Lord and the *mildid Issu*. See below *cele Dé* and *cele Crist*.

*Presbiter* is found in the Irish sections of MT as often as the Irish form *crumther* (on 20/1 *presbiter* in the non-Irish section and *crumther* in the Irish one), on 9/n and 11/10 the latter is a proper name (*Crumtherán* occurs only as a proper name).<sup>24</sup> The Irish equivalent of *profeta* (*faith*) does not occur in MT, but the word *eces* has a similar meaning.<sup>25</sup>

MT contains two distinctively Irish terms for ecclesiastical *grád*. The term *céle Dé* is applied only to one Irish saint (2/8 nominative and 13/10 genitive after Latinised genitive of the proper name). Only from the seventeenth century the author of FO has been described by this term.<sup>26</sup> FO, however, supplies the expression *céle Ríg* (with reference to the patriarchs, epil. 239), *céle Crist* (with reference to the patriarchs and prophets, epil. 13; also 3/3 with reference to an African martyr and epil. 310, 426 and 554 with reference to the author), important parallels to Latin terms and illustrating the connotation of the Irish terms. —The term *comarbae* occurs in MT only in the entry of 10/1 for Tommine, where we should supplement, according to the Brussels abstract of MT: *Ard Macha*, according to FG: *Patraicc*. In FO 15/12 (missing in MT) we have *comarbae Bennchair*, whereas MT refers repeatedly to *abb. Bennchair* 11/9 also *ep. Bennchair* (10.5 *Comgall Bennchair principatus*). From the sparing use of the terms *céle Dé* and *comarbae* we may conclude that in general MT applies these descriptions of *grád* primarily as appellations.

The terminology used by MT to describe ecclesiastical rank of Irish saints thus provides a comprehensive picture of the bilingualism of the Irish calendar of MT. Various degrees of Hibernisation of Latin terms can be distinguished and on the other hand the infiltration of Irish terms be studied.

The main difference between the epithets in the non-Irish section of MT and the appellations in the Irish sections however is the prominence given in the latter to secular aspects. The transition from the strictly ecclesiastical to the secular terminology takes place in two fields, namely monastic offices or occupations leading to references to secular professions, and states of life leading to references to physical appearance.

MT (and FO) 8/7 an Irish saint is described as *scribuidh*, a term applied before the mid-tenth century to the *fer-leighinn* ('lector'). I have shown elsewhere that the use of the terms *aite* ('spiritual foster-father')-*magister*, *oscach* (*sapiens*), *eces*, *sui* and *sruith* ('sage') as well as *sen* (*senis*) and *senoir* (*senior*) was a significant contribution made by the Irish church to the establishment of the term 'Fathers' relating to the wisdom usually associated with old age rather than old age itself or antiquity.<sup>27</sup>

The expression *hostiarius* (MT 17/2 and 24/8, in both cases preceded by *Patricii*) occurs only in Latin. The expression *mac ind eicis* ('son of a sage'), the appellation of Onchu (FO and MT 8/2, also MT 5/10), may be compared with *mac in tsaer* ('son of the smith'), to this day the distinctive appellation of St. Kieran of Clonmacnois (MT, FO and calendar in the Karlsruhe Bede).<sup>28</sup> The two *noibh*, *Factna mac Mongaig o Rus Ailithir* and *Mac in tsaer ep. 7 ab.*, listed in MT 14/8, are identified with each other by FG (and the *Martyrology of Donegal*). In MT 7/6 we hear of an Irish saint who was a smith (*gobae*) himself.<sup>29</sup> On 23/12 MT commemorates a *coc* of the monastic establishment at Clonfert; this appellation was omitted in the corresponding entry in FO. On

<sup>24</sup> *Cruimther* 11/5 in FO as in MT, and 9/8 instead of MT *presbiteri*. FO applies the term *crumther* also to non-Irish saints. On 13 and 19/9 the Brussel abstract replaces *presbiteri* by *sac*. On the specific meaning of *presbiter* see Kenney, *Sources*, p. 291.

<sup>25</sup> See note 19.

<sup>26</sup> FO, xxvii. *Céle* was also a social term *soerchéle* ('free client') and *doerchéle* ('unfree c.'). See M. Dillon, *Early Irish*

*literature* (1948), xiii.

<sup>27</sup> Hennig, 'The place of the Fathers in the early Irish devotional literature', paper presented to the First Intern. Conference of Patristic Studies, 1951, in *I.E.R.* lxxxiv (1955), 226-234.

<sup>28</sup> Kenney, *Sources*, No. 525.

<sup>29</sup> FO 25/11 a place-name composed with *gobae*, MT 3/1 a place-name composed with *muccida* ('swineherd').

29/3 MT commemorates (again as the first Irish saint of the day) a *liach* (leach). The kitchen and the hospital, as well as the *scriptorium*, were among the first secular parts of the monastery for which about that time special blessings were evolved on the Continent.

In accordance with earliest liturgical practice (surviving in the liturgy of Good Friday) in MT the travellers and the sick appear as states particularly akin to saintliness.

*ailithir/peregrinus*: MT 25/4 *ailithir* is an epithet followed by an entry for Ailither (proper name). MT 12/3 Ailithir Muccinsi, associated by the margin notes with Cill ind Ailithir in Western Connaught and with Muadan *ailithir*, his *brathar*, is mentioned; the Latin translation in Dublin Trin. Coll. 1140 says: 'Altherius seu Peregrinus de Cella duorum Peregrinorum' and FO has 'Ailithir ainm coemda' ('a beloved name'). The Latinised genitives occur as proper-names *Ailithri* (MT 7/1) and *Ailitherii* (MT 21/10). *Ailithir* is an epithet preceded by *i.* in MT 12/6 and followed by the words 'uagh ina curp' in MT 31/7, and a proper name in MT 30/9. MT 23/12 we have *da ailithir* ('two peregrini'). — *Peregrinus* occurs 26/12 probably in deference to the preceding Latinised name Eugenius. Holweck lists no less than 23 'Saints' by the name of *Peregrinus*.

*lobor/infirmus*: That these two terms are equivalent is quite clear from the doublet MT 11/5 *Lugair infirmus*, *Loegaire lobor* (not in FO). MT 16/3 and 21/5 (also FO) as well as 21/10 we have *lobor* as epithets.<sup>30</sup> That Irish word should not be translated by 'leper' is also suggested by Stokes's rendering of FO Epil. 336 *do deórudán lobur* by 'thy feeble exile'. On the other hand for the epithet *lainnech* ('scaly' FO 11/10, not in MT) Ms.F suggests that it refers specifically to leprosy, and similarly for the epithet *crochta* ('crucified', FO 21/10) Ms.R 1. — *Infirmus* is used MT 11/5, 28/9 (preceded by *i.*) and probably also 5/3.

To *crochtha* (frequently in FO) we may compare *aircisiremh* in MT 11/3, explained by the margin note as 'qui fuit in cruciatibus diuturnis' (epilepsy?). Also on 11/3 an Irish saint is described by MT as *cecus*, whereas on 7/4 the appellation *caimm* is explained as meaning 'in oculis eius fuit ista obliquitas', the same physical defect being referred to in MT 16/1 by the appellation *laebdercc*. The occurrence of the epithet *amlabar* ('dumb') in both MT and FO 20/6 suggests that this was an appellation of Faelán. The name *Tua* (MT 22/12) does not refer to dumbness but to voluntary silence, which a saint imposed to himself (as the Latin explanation added says) during the season of Lent. The physical characteristics described by the words *clairenech* ('table-faced' MT and FO 12/10 and MT 30/9 as appellations of St. Mobhi;<sup>31</sup> MT 29/1 *na trí clarenig*<sup>32</sup> and 17/1 as proper name)<sup>33</sup> and *cerclach* ('circular', MT 6/1, not in FO) do not seem to have been regarded as deformations.

Physical stature is referred to by the cognomen *Bec* ('small'; MT 10/3, 18/5 (also FO), 14 and 22/6 and 2/10), whereas *mor* (only FO 12 and 19/8)<sup>34</sup> and *magnus* (MT 25/12) is an epithet of honour like *ner* ('noble' MT and OF 8/1) and probably also *bán* ('white'; MT 19/10,<sup>35</sup> *cain* (MT 11/5)<sup>36</sup> and *find* (both

<sup>30</sup> *Finan lobor* in a note in *Lebar Brecc* to FO 9/7.

<sup>31</sup> For Irish explanations of this term in FO ms R1 see Stokes' ed. p. 222 and 310.

<sup>32</sup> Specified by name; these names also in FO ms F without the appellation.

<sup>33</sup> In *Clarenach*, the only instance of this use of *in* [quite frequent in FO, e.g. 20/6 in *t-amlabar* ('n muteness') by the adjective *án* ('splendid') clearly described as spiritual].

<sup>34</sup> The decorative function is most obvious in FO 13/8. Otherwise FO used the term *mór* with reference to God (epil.312 f.), a

king, places, multitude, love and crime (compare the present-day use of the adjective 'great' in the sense of 'grand'). Tallness is described by the term *fota* (Kenney, Sources, p. 469).

<sup>35</sup> In FO never an appellation but a frequent epitheton ornans, 15/1 and 1/2 with regard to female saints, 30/9 with regard to St. Jerome, 26/11 and 31/3 with regard to the *popul* or *cléir* of saints, in contrast to the *dubhsluaig* ('black host') *Demuin* (prol.253 f.), epil.331 and 339 with regard to the faces and garments of the saints, and 7/12 with regard to *féil*. The

'fair'; appellation in MT 4/4 and 5/5). On the other hand, *deirg* ('red', 15/3),<sup>37</sup> *brice* ('speckled', MT 16/10), *garb* ('rough', MT 10/9) and above all *dubh* ('black') relate to physical appearance (MT 12 and 20/1, 13 and 18/9 nomin.; 5 and 16/10 genitive as proper name, 6/1 proper name;<sup>38</sup> *niger* 17/6 appellation). The appellation *cichech* ('of the paps') may relate to physical appearance or be a place-name.

The secular terminology of the Irish calendar of MT stands out by its variety and distinctness. Apart from *ner*, the only decorative epithet is *niadh* ('champion', MT 6/7). In contrast to FO also *craidech* ('pious', 30/3, 30/9 and 27/10) seems to denote always a specific quality.<sup>39</sup>

Wherever explanations of these appellations are given they are in Latin. In fact, in the whole of MT only in the entry for 11/5 we have a full sentence in Irish, but even this sentence is continued in Latin: 'ad quem Diabolus dixit' (the subsequent words *Dia mba cleirech* are of course not an entry in the martyrology.<sup>40</sup>

The comparison of the epithets in the non-Irish and Irish sections of MT throws light not only on the difference in the sources but even more so on the difference in conceptions of saintliness. The wider conception characteristic of Ireland allowed for greater consideration of secular and physical aspects. In this respect FO preserved many features of MT, and from this comparison Stokes's verdict that in FO 'there is not a trace of observation of nature and human life as they really are' should be revised. Of course, in FO 'substance had to be sacrificed to form', but this sacrifice can scarcely be described as 'ruthless'.<sup>41</sup> The decorative terminology of FO is as rich as the appellative terminology of MT.

JOHN HENNIG.

### III. Some Mediaeval Opponents of Divine Infinity.

THE notion of divine infinity as a perfection of the divine being seems to have become a common teaching of the schools during the last half of the thirteenth century. After 1250 a good number of the masters in the universities of the West were teaching that God is infinite in His very being, and that this infinity is synonymous with perfection. Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent and others all agree in holding at least these two points that infinity connotes perfection and, secondly, it does so with regard to the divine reality itself, whereas their predecessors in the previous century seem unaware of such a doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

description of the rank of a Saint is liturgically required to allocate him to the appropriate *Commune*; however, a few saints are liturgically described by other terms, particularly by *rex* and *regina* or—as St. Isidore of Madrid—by *agricola*.

<sup>36</sup> To Stokes's extensive list for FO add 9/7.

<sup>37</sup> Interlinear glossa (MT, p. 180) after *Trenech* rather than after *Diucaill* (FO ms R1: *Dichuill dercg*).

<sup>38</sup> In FO only adjectives 9/3 (*luc*, 'locus') and prol.254 (*sluag*, see above note 35).

<sup>39</sup> To the list of Irish saints to whom this term was applied in MT and FO add the instance noted by Grosjean in *J. Celt. Stud.* i (1950), 193.

<sup>40</sup> MT, ed. cit., p. 110.

<sup>41</sup> FO, ed. cit., p. xlvii.

<sup>1</sup> See L. Sweeney, S.J., "Divine Infinity: 1150-1250," *The Modern Schoolman*, XXXV (Nov., 1957).

In order to understand accurately the theory of divine infinity prevalent during the second half of the thirteenth century, one must keep two warnings in mind. First of all, do not expect necessarily to find the rich connotations which present-day infinity has. Then it simply but technically described the status which the divine being enjoyed in virtue of its freedom from the determination and limitation of matter and potency, and an author's position seems rooted in his metaphysics of form/matter and of act/potency. See L. Sweeney, S.J., *ibid.*, "Additional Reflections," pp. 46-50; *idem*, "Infinity in Plotinus," *Gregorianum*, XXXVIII (Oct., 1957).

Secondly, most Schoolmen in the latter portion of that century agreed in making infinity a perfection of God's very being, unlike, say, Pseudo-Dionysius, for whom God is infinite because He is non-being and

This unawareness, however, was not entirely universal. Sometime prior to 1250 a group arose who explicitly asked themselves whether the divine essence is infinite and, significantly for a mediaeval historian, just as explicitly answered no. Here, then, are early thirteenth-century teachers who not only are aware that infinity may conceivably be attributed to entity but who also deliberately reject that sort of attribution.

That rejection suggests the topics of the present paper—who were those theologians? to what speculative influences were they reacting? what doctrinal impression did they themselves make upon their contemporaries and successors? Although completely satisfactory and definitive answers are not yet possible, still even our partial information and probable conclusions will be of value by outlining tentative suggestions which our own further research will confirm or qualify and by stimulating others to make contributions.

How, then, shall we proceed? After screening various mediaeval sources for explicit information on this group, we shall arrange such data into a composite picture so as to see as clearly and objectively as possible the main conclusions of this position, as well as the lines of argumentation which have produced them. After this comprehensive view, we shall next take up each line separately and ask what its possible sources might be in an effort to establish the identity of the "quidam" and to understand the doctrinal development of which they form a part.

The earliest mention of the position we are examining is found in the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*.<sup>2</sup> After positing essential infinity in God, the author or authors answer the objections to essential infinity. The first objection substantially formulates the position we are examining: finite and infinite are associated with quantity; but quantity is not predicated of the divine essence but only of the divine power, and this predication is according to virtual quantity as opposed to dimensive quantity. The objection concludes that we should not speak of God's essence as finite or infinite, but only of His power.<sup>3</sup> In answering, the

hyper-being. Still no one should be surprised at individual differences within that area of agreement. By way of example, divine infinity for St. Thomas basically is a negation, whereas Henry of Ghent conceives it as a positive attribute of God. On Pseudo-Dionysius, see L. Sweeney, S.J., "Are Apeiria and Aoristia Synonyms?" *The Modern Schoolman*, XXXIII (May, 1956), 279 and note 25. On Aquinas, see *In I Sent.*, d. 43, q. 1, a. 1, sol (Mandonnet, p. 1003); S.C.G., I, c. 43 (Leonine manual, p. 41); *De Pot.*, I, 2, resp. (Marietti, p. 11); S.T., III, 10, 3 ad 1 (Leonine-Marietti, p. 87). On Henry of Ghent, see *Summae Quaestionum Ordinatarum*, a. 44, q. 2: "Utrum infinitas significet circa deum aliquid positive an privative sive negative" (Jodocus Badius Ascensius, II, fol. xliii); E. Gilson, "Theology and the Unity of Knowledge," *The Unity of Knowledge* (Columbia University, Bicentennial Conference, 1955), p. 41.

In the initial research of some sections of this paper, I have been aided by W. W. Meissner, S.J., to whom I here express my gratitude.

<sup>2</sup>This *Summa* cannot be ascribed to Alexander of Hales himself but is rather a compilation of his writings and those of other Franciscans, made perhaps to some extent by Alexander but especially by John of La Rochelle and others. Its Books I to III existed in some form or other by 1245. See V. Doucet, *Prologomena in Librum III Necnon in Libros I et II "Summae Fratris*

*Alexandri*," Tomus IV of *Alexandri de Hales Summa Theologica* (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1948), Sect. II "De 'Summa Fratris Alexandri' Historice Considerata," pp. LIX-CCCLXX. Especially see p. CCCLV: "... factum historicum certe probatum iam haberi possit, quod *Summa* I-III, incepta post annum 1236, iam existebat anno 1245 qualis fere nunc asservatur, mutila scilicet et incompleta." Also p. CCCLXIX: "Conclusio: Ipse Alexander quodammodo *Summam* fecit (*critica externa*), sed collaborantibus aliis (*critica interna*); item, ex propriis maxime scriptis, sed etiam ex alienis. Quare et authentica et halesiana quodammodo *Summa* dici potest, non autem simpliciter."

<sup>3</sup>*Alexandri de Hales Summa Theologica*, I, tr. 2, q. 1, c. 1 (Quaracchi, I, 56): "Quantum ad primum sic obijciatur: finitum et infinitum congruunt quantitati; unde semper dicitur finitum et infinitum sub ratione quantitatis, simplex autem et compositum sub ratione substantiae vel essentiae. Si ergo quantitatem non dicimus circa divinam essentiam nisi solum circa virtutem ejus, quae dicitur aliquo modo quanta, secundum quod ponit Augustinus quantitatem virtutalem et dimensionem, in libro *De Quantitate animae*; ergo non est dicere de essentia divina quod sit finita vel infinita, sed solum de ejus virtute vel potentia."

Attention should also be paid to the phrase, "simplex autem et compositum sub

author of the *Summa* simply points out that since there is no possible division of essence and power in God, we cannot predicate infinity of God's power without at the same time predicating it of His essence as well.<sup>4</sup>

St. Thomas, writing about a decade later, outlines the same position and refutes it in his *Scripta super libros Sententiarum*.<sup>5</sup> He says that those who hold this position take "finite" and "infinite" as proper to quantity and hence find infinity in God only insofar as He has the "ratio" of virtual quantity. God is infinite, then, only because His power is infinite. Thus, they are led to deny the infinity of God's essence. They assert, St. Thomas adds, that the blessed in heaven see the divine essence precisely because it is finite.<sup>6</sup> Those who held this position are referred to in this text as "quidam", which indicates that they were most likely contemporaries of Thomas and their doctrine was a current one.<sup>7</sup>

St. Bonaventure, writing his *Commentarium in libros Sententiarum* about the same time as Thomas,<sup>8</sup> supplies us with a somewhat more expanded account of the doctrine of the "quidam." They hold that God is infinite in power, but only finite in essence, for three reasons. First, essence names God as He is in Himself, and so God is finite because in Himself He is perfect. Secondly, His essence is finite because it is comprehended by the finite intelligence of the blessed—this comprehension arises from the simplicity of the divine essence, which is either seen in its entirety or not at all. Finally, if the divine essence is considered in

ratione substantiae vel essentiae." As we shall see, it was characteristic of the doctrine of the "quidam" that the blessed were able to comprehend the divine essence in the Beatific Vision by reason of the simplicity of that essence. See below, n. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ad 1. "Primo ergo modo, secundum quod finitum et infinitum dicuntur in quantitate, est dicere infinitum in Deo. Sed quantitas duplex est, secundum quod dicit Augustinus, scilicet quantitas dimensiva et virtualis. Prout finitum et infinitum sunt circa quantitatem dimensionalem, neutrum est in Deo, quia talis quantitas non est in eo; sed juxta quantitatem virtualem, quae in ipso est, dicitur in eo infinitum. Sed quia in Deo omnimoda est indivisio virtutis et essentiae, non potest esse infinitas virtutis quin etiam sit essentiae; ubi autem differunt virtus et essentia, quod est unius non est alterius."

For a better understanding of the differences between St. Thomas's refutation of this objection and the present reply of Alexander, it is important to notice that Alexander does not break the connection between infinity and quantity. In his mature formulation on divine infinity, St. Thomas disposes of this connection by his distinction of material and formal infinity (see ST. I, 7, 1 resp.). Even earlier (*In I Sent.*, d. 43, q. 1, a. 1 sol [Mandonnet ed., p. 1063]) he breaks the connection by contrasting an infinity in quantity with one in essences.

<sup>5</sup> On the dating of the *Scripta super libros Sententiarum*, see I. T. Eschmann, O.P., "A Catalogue of St. Thomas's Works," in E. Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Random House, New York, 1956, p. 384. Mandonnet sets the terminus a quo for the *Scripta* at 1254, Pelster at 1253. Fr. Eschmann seems to favor Pelster's date, although he remarks that "The best dating of this work is to say that it was composed around 1256." The important point is that Thomas's comments and refutation of the doctrine we are examining came around the time when St. Bonaventure was also writing a commen-

tary on Lombard's *Sentences*.

<sup>6</sup> *In I Sent.*, 43, 1, 1 sol. "Quidam enim, accipientes finitum et infinitum solum secundum quod sunt passiones quantitatis, non poterant in Deo invenire infinitatem, nisi secundum quod inveniebant in eo rationem quantitatis virtualis; unde dicebant Deum esse infinitum, quia virtus ejus est infinita. Ideo accidit quod quidam negaverunt essentiam Dei esse infinitam in ratione essentiae consideratam, et sic a sanctis eam videri asserebant. Sed istud erroneum est."

In the expression, "... sic a sanctis eam videri asserebant," the word, "sancti," does not seem to mean "Fathers of the Church," as it commonly does in mediaeval texts (see M.-D. Chenu, O.P., *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Vrin, Paris, 1950, pp. 106-117). Rather the sense of the passages suggests understanding "sancti" as the blessed in heaven. Thus St. Thomas is saying that the "quidam" asserted God is seen in the beatific vision by reason of the fact that God's essence is finite. This interpretation corresponds, as we shall see, with St. Bonaventure's remarks on the same position. An unequivocal instance of the mediaeval use of "sancti" for the blessed can be found in Bonaventure, *In III Sent.*, 14, 1, 2, ad 6.

<sup>7</sup> On the use and meaning of "quidam" in mediaeval texts, see Chenu, *ibid.*, p. 115. For other reasons why the originators of this position may be contemporaries, see below, note 33.

<sup>8</sup> The editors of the Quaracchi edition place the date of the *Commentaria* somewhere between 1248 and 1256. See Sancti Bonaventurae, *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum, Opera Omnia*, 5, I, Quaracchi, 1882. Prolegomena ad Primum Librum Sententiarum, pp. lv-lviii.

E. Gilson (*History of Christian Philosophy in Middle Ages*, Random House, New York, p. 685) sets the dates as 1250-1255.

St. Thomas's parallel work dates around 1253-1256. See above, n. 5.



the light of its power, then one views it in relation to its effects. Since God is always able to produce more, His power has no end. Hence, the divine essence can be said to be infinite only when considered as power.<sup>9</sup>

Those are the textual sources for the doctrine of the "quidam" which we are attempting to assess. Let us next re-assemble the scattered bits of information derived from them into an integrated picture.

The "quidam," then, hold that God is infinite in power, but only finite in His divine essence or being. The properties of finiteness or infiniteness are linked with quantity, and since quantity can in no way be found in the divine essence, these properties cannot be found in the divine essence. Virtual quantity, however, is found as a perfection of the divine power, which thereby can also be described as infinite.<sup>10</sup> A second reason advanced for the denial of essential infinity is that the divine essence is finite because it is perfect. This meaning of finite identifies definiteness or determination with the notion of perfection. A third basis is found in the fact that the divine essence is comprehended by

<sup>9</sup> St. Bonaventure, *In I Sent.*, 43, 1, 2c. "Respondeo: Ad hoc voluerunt quidam dicere, quod divina essentia sub ratione essentiae est finita, sub ratione potentiae est infinita. Nam essentia nominat Deum ut in se, et sic est finitus, quia perfectus; finitus etiam, quia comprehenditur a finito, ut a Beatis; et hoc dixerunt propter essentiae simplicitatem, quam dixerunt totam videri. In quantum autem consideratur sub ratione potentiae, sic dicit respectum ad effectus. Et quia non est status ibi, quia semper est aliquid extra accipere, dixerunt, quod sub ratione potentiae erat infinita." Later Bonaventure adds that the originator of this position subsequently retracted it: "... et qui hoc primo dixit postmodum retractavit" (*In III Sent.*, 14, 1, 2 resp.).

The argument from comprehension in the Beatific Vision is also indicated in one of the objections in this same article, *In I Sent.*, 43, 1, 2, obj. 5. "Item, nullum infinitum comprehenditur a finito. sed Deus comprehenditur a Beatis, quia aliter non essent beati, nisi Deum perfecte cognoscerent — semper enim appetitus ferretur ad amplius, et non quiescerent, et ita non essent beati — si ergo comprehenditur, non est infinitus."

The same complexus of reasons is advanced in a later text, in which Bonaventure takes up the knowledge of Christ. *In III Sent.*, 14, 1, 2, resp.: "Ad praedictorum intelligentiam est notandum quod aliqui dicere voluerunt quod Verbum increatum et ipse Deus non solum ab anima Christi sed etiam ab aliis animabus beatis habet comprehendendi et aliquo modo est incomprehensibilis. Comprehendi enim habet quantum ad essentiam, ut dixerunt, quae est finita, et ideo finita quia in se ipsa simplex et perfecta; dicitur autem et est incomprehensibile [sic] quantum ad potentiam, quia respicit infinita; numquam enim potest in tot quin in plura. Et per hoc dissolvere voluerunt auctoritates Sanctorum et Scripturae quae videntur invicem repugnare. Aliquando enim dicitur quod Deus est incomprehensibilis; aliquando dicitur quod Beati habent cognitionem comprehensionis et sunt comprehensores."

An earlier text on knowledge of God echoes the same line of thought. *In I Sent.*, 1, 1, 1 ad 3: "Ad illud quod infinitum non capitur a finito, dicunt aliqui quod capere

infinitum est dupliciter, scilicet quantum ad essentiam, et sic capitur, et quantum ad virtutem, et sic non capitur, sicut punctus a linea totus attingitur secundum substantiam, sed non totaliter secundum virtutem. Sed ista solutio non videtur solvere, quia in Deo idem est essentia quod virtus, et utraque est infinita. . . ."

<sup>10</sup> What do the "quidam" mean by "virtual quantity"? So far we have only two clues. In its presentation of their position, the *Summa Fratris Alexandri* (see above, note 3) refers to Augustine's doctrine on dimension and virtual quantity in *De Quantitate Animae*. There, however, Augustine does not explicitly speak of quantity as dimension or as virtual but rather contrasts a quantity computed according to "spatium latitudinis vel longitudinis vel roboris" with "[quantitas] potentiae atque virtutis" (*ibid.*, 3, 4) or with a magnitude "sine ulla mole" (*ibid.*, 14, 24).

Bonaventure furnishes the second clue, although without expressly mentioning quantity. If the divine essence is considered as power, he explains, it is infinite with respect to its effects, which are never so many but that more can be added. "In quantum autem [essentia divina] consideratur sub ratione potentiae, sic dicit respectum ad effectus. Et quia non est status ibi, quia semper est aliquid extra accipere, dixerunt quod sub ratione potentiae erat infinita" (*In I Sent.*, 43, 1, 2 c, quoted above, note 9). In such a context virtual quantity would seem computed according to "extent of power," and a being is describable as infinite in such quantity if he is capable of producing endless effects.

Other authors, however, broaden the notion of virtual quantity to such an extent that it is not only applicable to power but to any sort of form or perfection. For example, see St. Thomas, *De Ver.*, 29, 3 resp.: "Et sic quantitas virtualis uniuscuius formae attenditur secundum modum suae perfectionis. . . . Quantitas autem virtualis in tot distinguitur quot sunt naturae vel formae, quarum perfectionis modus totam mensuram quantitatis facit."

For a brief history of the notion, see Anneliese Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme der scholastischen Naturphilosophie* (Roma: Editioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951), p. 6 sq.

the blessed in the beatic vision. Such comprehension is possible because the divine essence is absolutely simple, with the result that whenever it is grasped, it is grasped in its totality, so that nothing of it is left outside. If this simple essence is attained by the finite intellect of the blessed, it too must be finite.

These are the major points of the doctrine of the "quidam." Tracing back each of these reasons to possible sources may provide us with some indication of the identity of the "quidam" and the doctrinal development which is reflected in their teaching.

The first reason advanced for the denial of essential infinity is based on the linking of infinity and quantity. This association is basically Aristotelian, although a possible proximate source of the doctrine can be found in Averroes's commentary on the *Physics*.<sup>11</sup>

In the *Physics* Aristotle seems to limit the notions of finite and infinite to quantity. "The infinite," he explains, "is found in quantity. . . . For to define infinity you must use quantity in your formula."<sup>12</sup> In fact, consideration of infinity enters into the philosophy of nature precisely because of its connection with quantity. Since a philosopher of nature is obviously concerned with "nature," which is itself defined as a principle of motion and change, he must understand what "motion" means. But motion involves the continuum and quantity, in which the infinite primarily presents itself. Hence, the study of infinity also belongs properly to the philosopher of nature.<sup>13</sup>

This linkage is reinforced by the comments of Averroes, for whom infinity is essentially predicated of quantity<sup>14</sup> and is, actually, its property.<sup>15</sup>

Between Aristotle and Averroes, then, and the "quidam" there exists a similarity of language and perhaps even of doctrine inasmuch as for both parties infinity is intimately linked with quantity.

Before moving on to the second reason upon which the "quidam"-position rests and in line with our mention of Averroes, let us incidentally mention an Arabian doctrine which Averroes himself opposed but which may be relevant to our inquiry—the distinction some Moslem writers place between essence and attributes in God, which could easily have issued into that of our "quidam," who distinguish between divine essence, which is simple and finite, and power, which is infinite.

The question, then, of the relation of God's attributes to His essence was a

<sup>11</sup> Both the *Physics* of Aristotle and the commentary of Averroes on the *Physics* were available to the West in translation. The earliest translation of the *Physics* from the Greek, and the one which served as foundation for the other Latin versions, was the *Physicae Fragmentum Vaticanum*, which dates from around the middle of the twelfth century. A translation was made from the Arabic by Gerard of Cremona, who died in 1187, and soon after, another translation from the Greek appeared, which depended to a certain extent on the Vatican fragment and which was known at least by 1170. An early translation of Averroes's commentary is ascribed to Michael Scot and was probably to be had early in the thirteenth century (circa 1227). The origin of these translations is discussed in G. Lacombe et al., *Aristoteles Latinus*, Pars Prior, Rome, 1939, pp. 51-52, 104. See also F. Peister, S.J., "Neuere Forschungen über die Aristoteles Uebersetzungen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts: eine kritische Uebersicht," *Gregorianum*, XXX (1949), 46-77. M. Grabmann, "Aristoteles im zwölften Jahrhundert," *Med. Studies*, XII (1950), 123-162. Pertinent information

on Michael Scot is gathered by M. de Wulf in *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*, t. II, Vrin, Paris, 1936, pp. 27-29.

<sup>12</sup> *Phys.*, I, ch. 2, 185a33 sq.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, III, ch. 1, 220b8-20.

<sup>14</sup> Averroes, *Commentarium in I Physicorum*, (apud Jacobum Giuntam, 1542) text 15, c. 2, iv. "Deinde dixit, si igitur ens, etc., dicit: et cum declaratum sit quod infinitum praedicatur de quanto essentialiter, et de aliis praedicamentis per accedens; si intendunt, cum dicunt quod ens est unum, substantiam et quantum; substantia enim non dicitur infinita, nisi secundum quod est quanta; tunc ens erit duo, non unum; scilicet, substantia et quantum secundum quod dicitur ipsa esse finita, aut infinita; et si intendunt substantiam tantum, tunc non dicitur infinita; neque habere mensuram omnino; si enim haberet mensuram, esset quanta; et ista contradictio est secundum sermonem, non secundum rem." The last phrase seems to mean that if one were to consider substance in itself as measurable the expression of this would be a verbal contradiction, since in the thing there is no measure without quantity.

<sup>15</sup> Averroes, *ibid.*

vital one for the Arabs, and by the tenth century a doctrine of the distinction of essence and attributes in God was developed by the Asharites, among whom one finds Algazel.<sup>16</sup> An important point to notice is that Averroes maintains an identity of essence-attributes<sup>17</sup> against Algazel, while affirming a plurality of attributes against the Mutazilites.<sup>18</sup> His position seems to have mediated between those two extremes. Thus we have enough evidence to suggest that the doctrine of the "quidam" may be in some sense a result not only of an Aristotelian-Averroistic restriction of infinity to quantity, but also of an Arabian distinction of essence and attribute.<sup>19</sup> The combination of these lines of thought could give rise to a doctrine joining within one and the same divine being a simple and finite essence to an infinite power.

Another characteristic of the "quidam"-position is the identification of finitude and perfection. Such an identification answers to the typically Hellenistic notions of the finite and infinite. For the Greeks the finite meant determination, per-

<sup>16</sup> See M. Chossat, "Dieu (sa nature selon les scholastiques)," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, t. 4, col. 1205. "D'accord sur ses points, sauf quelques rares exceptions en ce qui concerne la démonstrabilité de l'existence et de l'unité de Dieu, les Motékalim étaient divisés au sujet des noms ou attributs divins. Des le milieu du viii<sup>e</sup> siècle une secte dissidente, les Motazelites, nia les attributs, sous le faux prétexte que la pluralité des attributs est incompatible avec d'unité absolue de la nature divine. C'était, on le voit, se faire de la simplicité de Dieu une notion telle que la Trinité des chrétiens devenait un trithéisme; mais c'était aussi transformer en expressions figurées, en métaphores et en symboles, tous les noms qu'avait l'Écriture et les chrétiens la Coran donne à Dieu. Opposés aux Motazelites, les Motékalim concédaient qu'il ne faut pas prendre à la lettre les anthropomorphismes de l'Écriture; mais ils soutenaient qu'il faut admettre en Dieu des attributs éternels et essentiels, à savoir la vie, la science, la puissance et la volonté, nous dirions la personnalité. Ces attributs étaient éternels, parce qu'indépendants de la création; ils étaient essentiels, parce que non distincts de l'essence divine. Certains Motazelites se rapprochèrent de cette manière orthodoxe de penser, à l'aide des formules suivantes: Dieu est vivant par son essence; il sait par son essence. Au x<sup>e</sup> siècle, se forme la secte des Acharites, directement opposée à celle des Motazelites; ils professaient sans détour les attributs divins, mais ils les prétendaient distincts de l'essence. C'est cette secte qui parle St. Thomas, lorsqu'il rapporte que quelquesuns ont prétendu que les noms divins ne signifient pas la substance divine, *sed intentiones quasdam additas essentialia* (*De Pot.*, 7, 6) ou encore, *a lingua dispositio addita essentialia ejus* (*De Ver.*, 2, 2).

Also see L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1948), pp. 39-76. On Al-Ashari himself, see R. J. McCarthy, S.J. (transl.), *Theology of Al-Ashari* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1953), Qus. 13-67, pp. 12-44.

<sup>17</sup> The translation of this series of arguments is found in S. van den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahafut Al-Tahafut*, vol. I (Oxford; 1954), pp. 186-200. The Sixth Discussion is entitled, "To Refute Their Denial of Attributes." Averroes there uses Algazel's Asharite arguments, which are opposed to

Mutazilite conceptions of God (i.e., to denial of attributes), which are drawn from Algazel's *Tahafut* and which are then refuted by Averroes's own arguments.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188: "Now, it cannot be denied that one essence can have many attributes related, negative, or imaginary, in different ways without this implying a plurality in the essence."

<sup>19</sup> According to one interpretation, in the twelfth century Gilbert of La Porrée and his followers advanced a doctrine similar to that of the Asharites. See, for instance, E. Maignot, "Dieu (sa nature d'après les décisions de l'Eglise)," *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, Tome IV, Part I, col. 128. "Gilbert de la Porrée, évêque de poitiers (1142-1154), établissait une distinction réelle entre l'essence et l'être de Dieu, entre l'essence et les attributs. La première proposition, extraite de ses écrits, était conçue en ces termes: Quod divina essentia, substantia et natura, quae dicitur divinitas, bonitas, sapientia, magnitudo Dei, et quaeque similia, non sit Deus sed forma qua Deus est." Also see M. Chossat, "Dieu (sa nature selon les scholastiques)," *ibid.*, cols. 1165-1167 and 1174-1175; F. Vernet, "Gilbert de la Porrée," *ibid.*, Tome VI, Part I, cols. 1352-1353.

Recently, though, N. M. Haring has so convincingly defended Gilbert as to make that earlier interpretation seem improbable. See N. M. Haring, "The Case of Gilbert de la Porrée Bishop of Poitiers," *Mediaeval Studies*, XIII (1951), 1-40. Especially see pp. 17-8: "If, as A. Hayen, a recent critic of Gilbert's doctrine, maintains, Gilbert's distinction of *id quo* and *quod* in God proves that he taught a real distinction between *Deus* and *divinitas*, the divine attributes would logically deserve the same classification in Gilbert's theology. The divine *sapientia qua*, *potentia qua*, *veritas qua*, *justitia qua*, to mention only a few, would prove an incredible multiplicity of distinct forms in God. But they are each *diversum quidem nomine, IDEM vero re*, not excluding the *divinitas*." For a survey of attitudes on the part of modern authors towards Gilbert, see *ibid.*, pp. 1-5. As a help to a general understanding of Gilbert's doctrine, see Fr. Haring's recent edition of a late twelfth century document, described as "the best analysis of Gilbert's doctrine discovered to date"—N. M. Haring, "A Latin Dialogue in the Doctrine of Gilbert of Poitiers," *Mediaeval Studies*, XV (1953), 243-289.

fection, intelligibility, whereas the infinite implied lack of determination, imperfection and unintelligibility.<sup>20</sup> The presence of this basically Greek mode of thought constitutes another indication of a possible Hellenistic influence on the denial of essential infinity in God.

Perhaps the most prominent reason advanced for the denial of the infinity of God's essence is that the divine essence in itself is comprehended in the beatific vision. Such a comprehension by finite intellects demands that the divine essence also be finite. An examination of the teaching on the beatific vision immediately prior to the first known formulation of the "quidam"-position may cast further light on the origins and chronology of this latter doctrine.

An important landmark in the development of the doctrine of the beatific vision is the Parisian condemnation of 1241,<sup>21</sup> whose first article inveighs against those asserting that in heaven neither men nor angels see the divine essence. But, first, what is known of the general background of that condemnation?

On the testimony of several manuscripts of the document itself<sup>22</sup> and of Bonaventure,<sup>23</sup> those instrumental in its formulation and promulgation were William, Bishop of Paris, Odo the Chancellor and Alexander of Hales.<sup>24</sup> Efforts

<sup>20</sup> See J. Owens, *Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian Metaphysics* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1951), p. 336, note 19: "These two appraisals, by a Christian and a Greek respectively, agree in signaling the same fundamental difference between the doctrine of Genes's and the tradition of the Greeks. In the Christian teaching, the power of God is infinite; for the Greeks, it is finite. Perfect Being for the Greeks meant limitation and finitude; for the Christians, the perfect being is infinite. Limitation for the Christians denotes imperfection; while for the Greeks, imperfection was implied by infinity." Also see L. Sweeney, S.J., "Infinity in Plotinus," *Gregorianum*, Vol. 38 (July, 1957), pp. 515-517.

On the meaning and translation of *apeiria* and *aoristia* in Plotinus, Proclus and Pseudo-Dionysius, see L. Sweeney, S.J., "Are *Apeiria* and *Aoristia* Synonyms?" *The Modern Schoolman*, Vol. 33 (1956), 270-279.

<sup>21</sup> There is difficulty in determining the exact date of the condemnation. V. Doucet has pointed out that there may be two condemnations involved: one of January 13, 1241, in which the doctrine was censured; the other of January 5, 1244, in which the doctrine was more stringently reproofed and excommunication imposed on those who held it. He even suggested that the *Charitularium*, which to him seems to reproduce the 1244 document under date of 1241, should be corrected. See V. Doucet, "La date des condamnations parisiennes dites de 1241," *Mélanges A. Pelzer*, (Louvain: Editions de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1947), pp. 183-193. (Also see A. Callebaut, "Alexander de Hales et ses confreres en face des condamnations parisiennes de 1241 et 1244," *La France franciscaine*, X [1927], 257-272, who first suggested the possibility of two condemnations.)

A. Dondaine, however, thinks the correction should be held off until further investigation. (See A. Dondaine, "Mélanges A. Pelzer," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XVIII [1948], 419). F. Pelster, S.J., after reviewing and evaluating Doucet's position, holds for a single condemnation, and that on January 13, 1241. (See F. Pelster, "Die Pariser Verurteilung von 1241:

eine Frage der Datierung," *ibid.*, 405-417).

This much is certain: for all parties a condemnation took place in 1241, although some (e.g., Doucet) would have that condemnation repeated in 1244.

<sup>22</sup> See V. Doucet, "La date des condamnations," *Mélanges A. Pelzer*, pp. 186-7; M.-D. Chenu, "Le dernier avatar de la théologie orientale en Occident au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>23</sup> *In II Sent.*, 23, 2, 3 ad 7: "Nunc autem pro firmo tenendum est quod etsi Adam Deum in sua substantia non videbat in statu innocentiae, videbitur tamen in gloria in sua substantia. Nec licet huius contrarium sentire et dicere. Nam hic est unus de decem articulis reprobatibus ab universitate magistrorum Parisiensium tempore Episcopi Guilelmi et Odonis Cancellarii et fratris Alexandri de Hales, patris et magistri nostri, qui, ut evidentur, subscripti sunt.—Articuli Parisiis Condemnati: Primus articulus est quod divina essentia in se nec ab homine nec ab angelo videbitur."

Also St. Thomas was aware of the condemnations, at least that of the first proposition. See *In II Sent.*, 23, 2, 1 sol: "Quidam erant ponentes Deum numquam per essentiam nec in patria nec in via videri, quod haeticum est." Also *De Ver.*, 8, 1 resp.: "Respondeo dicendum quod circa hanc quaestionem quidam erraverunt, dicentes Deum per essentiam a nullo unquam intellectu creato videri posse, attendentes distantiam quae est inter intellectum creatum et divinam essentiam. Sed haec positio sustineri non potest, cum sit haeretica." In these places, however, he gives no information on the formulators and promulgators.

<sup>24</sup> The "William, Bishop of Paris," is William of Auvergne (d. 1249). His views on the beatific vision and, especially, on divine infinity are still unexplored since the seventeenth century edition of his main work, *Magisterium Divinale*, is as yet difficult to come by—*Guilelmi Alverni Opera Omnia* (Paris: 1674), 2 vols. For its chronology and a synopsis of its contents, see J. Kramp, "Des Wilhelms von Auvergne Magisterium divinale," *Gregorianum*, I (1920), 538-616; II (1921), 42-103, 174-195. For a survey of his doctrine on other points,

to identify those holding the proscribed doctrines, however, have not met with much success.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, according to Chenu, all ten propositions condemned testify to an Eastern influence—to an “néoplatonisme chrétien d'Orient, en même temps qu'à la spiritualité trinitaire de ses Pères.” They seemingly could only have come from theologians acquainted with “Joachim de Flore, Boèce, Gilbert de la Porrée, Denys, Erigène, Avicenne, Gebirol” and the like.<sup>26</sup>

That influence is obvious in the first proposition, which makes the divine essence inaccessible even for the blessed.

Isti sunt articuli reprobatī contra theologicā veritatē et reprobatī a cancellario Parisiensi Odone et magistris theologie Parisius regentibus anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>XL, dominica secunda post octabas Natalis Domini.

Primus [error], quod divina essentia in se nec ab homine nec ab angelo videbitur. Hunc errorem reprobamus et assertores et defensores auctoritate Wilhermi episcopi excommunicamus. Firmiter autem credimus et asserimus, quod Deus in sua essentia vel substantia videbitur ab angelis et omnibus sanctis et videtur ab animabus glorificatis.<sup>27</sup>

Although the abrupt formula actually censured would hardly be found as such

see E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy*, pp. 250-258.

William's *De Bono et Malo* has recently been edited by J. R. O'Donnell, “Tractatus Magistri Guillelmi Alvernensis *De Bono et Malo*,” *Mediaeval Studies*, VIII (1946), 245-299. This later work, however, seems to mention infinity only with reference to an “infinite number of movers” and “an infinite series” and, hence, does not furnish directly relevant material on divine infinity. See *ibid.*, c. XI (O'Donnell, p. 272): “. . . alioquin esset infinitas motorum sive moventium. . . Si vero ibitur in infinitum, tota sua infinitas via est. Etc.”

Still more recently Fr. O'Donnell has published William's *Second Tractate* on good and evil—see J. R. O'Donnell, “Tractatus Secundus Guillelmi Alvernensis *De Bono et Malo*,” *ibid.*, XVI (1954), 219-271. Also this treatise apparently offers little on God's infinity, since William here restricts infinity to evil: “[Mal] extenduntur in immensum et supra numerum multiplicentur. . . Immo et de hoc Aristoteles: Bonum determinatum, malum vero infinitum. Et Seneca: Rectitudo finita, error vero immensus. Et manifestum est quia sanitas una est et finita, aegritudinum autem nec finis nec numerus. Sic unitas et aequalitas determinatae sunt et finitae. Multitudo autem et inaequalitas in infinitum abeunt. Sic bonitas et gratia certae sunt et determinatae omni modo, malitia autem infinita” (O'Donnell, 221).

“Odo the Chancellor” is Odo de Castro Radulfi seu Eudes de Chateauroux, chancellor of the University of Paris from 1238 to 1244. See F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi* (Wurzburg: Apud Ferdinandum Schönigsh Bibliopolam, 1947), I, 290; P. Glorieux, *Réertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1933), I, 304. The nineteenth century edition of his “Quaestiones Theologicae et Morales” (J. B. Pitra, “Questions d'Eudes d'Ourcamp” [to whom the editor wrongly attributed them], *Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solesmni*, [1888], 3-187), is not readily available, nor is his *Quodlibet* (written 1238-1240), of which only two MSS are

extant (Paris, Nat. lat. 15.571 [f. 113d-114d] and Nat. lat. nouv. acq. 1470 [f. 14d-15d]). See P. Glorieux, *La Littérature Quodlibétique* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1935), II, 75. When edited, this *Quodlibet* may contain important information on our problem, since its third question is “Utrum potentia Dei est infinita.”

On Alexander of Hales, see below, note 31; E. Gilson *History of Christian Philosophy*, p. 327 sq.

<sup>25</sup> In 1947 V. Doucet renewed an opinion formerly put forth by the editors of the *Chartularium*, by Mandonnet and by Glorieux but opposed by F. Pelster and A. Pelzer—namely, that the Dominican Stephen of Venizy was among those holding the condemned doctrines. (See V. Doucet, “La date des condamnations,” *Mélanges A. Pelzer*, p. 192 sq. and note 17, where he furnishes references to the *Chartularium*, Mandonnet, etc.) In a review of Doucet's article, A. Dondaine finds little solid foundation for that opinion. If Venizy refused to submit to the Master General and persisted in error, he could hardly have held his mastership after 1241 or have been asked to sign the condemnation of the Talmud in 1248. (See A. Dondaine, “[Review of] *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer*,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XVIII [1948], 419-420.)

V. Doucet (*art. cit.*) also mentions “John Pagus” as linked with the condemned propositions. On this Pagus as mentioned in various MSS in connection with Alexander of Hales, see F. Pelster, “Literargeschichtliches zur theologischer Schule aus den Jahren 1230 bis 1256,” *Scholastik*, V (1930), 68 sq. and 76 sq.; M.-D. Chenu, “Maîtres et bacheliers de l'Université de Paris v. 1240,” *Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, I (1932), 11-39. On Alexander of Hales, see *infra*, note 31.

<sup>26</sup> “Le dernier avatar,” *Mélanges A. Pelzer*, p. 180 and p. 170.

<sup>27</sup> H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1889-1897), I, 170. An English translation is found in L. Thorndike, *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 47.

in Pseudo-Dionysius or even in Scotus Erigena, as Chenu indicates, still it does fit best into an oriental tradition of theology. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom and Theodoret all insist upon the invisibility and inaccessibility of God—an insistence which agrees perfectly with certain types of neo-platonist philosophy but can only raise opposition in any one whom Augustine has led to aspire to direct union with God.<sup>28</sup>

Interestingly enough, the three drawing up the condemnation (William of Auvergne, Odo of Castro Radulfi and Alexander of Hales) were Augustinian in their theology<sup>29</sup> and it is another lover of Augustine, St. Bonaventure, who points at texts in John Chrysostom as the ultimate source of the unfortunate confusion.

Quidam namque, innitentes auctoritatibus male intellectis et rationibus sophisticis, dixerunt Deum numquam immediate videri, nec in via nec in patria. Dicit enim Chrysostomus: "Ipsium qui Deus est non solum prophetae sed nec etiam angeli vident." Et aliae reperiuntur auctoritates consimiles, quas male intelligentes et putantes hoc dictum esse, quod Deus immediate videri non potest propter disproportionabilitatem lucis increatae ad oculum mentis creatae, dixerunt quod Deus per quasdam lucubrationes videri habet et in statu viae et in statu innocentiae videbatur et in statu gloriae. Et in illis luminosis influentiis dixerunt Deum in his statibus videri magis clare et minus clare secundum quod Deus se magis oculo nostro vult contemperare et clarioribus theophaniis ostendere.—Sed ista positio haeretica est et reprobata.<sup>30</sup>

Apparently, then, the first article condemned at Paris in 1241 comes at the end of a long Eastern theological tradition and its condemnation occurred at the hands of Western ecclesiastics imbued with Augustinianism.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> "Le dernier avatar," *Mélanges A. Pelzer*, p. 171: "Formule abrupte, qu'on ne peut faire entrer à Denys, ni même peut-être à Erigène, qui en tout cas durcit l'attitude et les solutions de la tradition orientale. Un Basile, dressé contre Eunomius, un Grégoire de Nysse, un Chrysostome, un Théodoret, proclament l'invisibilité et l'inaccessibilité de Dieu; et leur insistance, surtout quand elle se construit avec une philosophie néoplatonicienne, a de quoi heurter un esprit occidental tout nourri du *De videndo Deo* d'Augustin et de son aspiration à une communion immédiate avec Dieu."

For an account of the doctrine of Basil, Chrysostom, Theodoret, etc. with reference to the beatific vision, together with texts, see A. Michel, "Intuitive (Vision)," *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, Tome VII, Part 2, cols. 2365-2369. Also see G. Bardy, "Jean Chrysostome," *ibid.*, Tome VIII, Part 1, "L'enseignement théologique," cols. 671-684.

<sup>29</sup> M.-D. Chenu, "Le dernier avatar," *Mélanges A. Pelzer*, p. 179: "L'affaire avait été menée évidemment par les augustiniens. Etc." On the characteristics of an "Augustinianism," see E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy*, p. 361 sq.

<sup>30</sup> St. Bonaventure, *In II Sent.*, 23, 2, 3, resp.

<sup>31</sup> The *Glossa in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, of Alexander of Hales is commonly agreed to have been written around 1225—that is, less than twenty years before he helped formulate the Paris condemnation. (See *Magistri Alexandri de Hales Glossa in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* [Bibli-

otheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi; Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1951], XII, p. 116<sup>a</sup>: "*Glossa* Alexandri finaliter assignanda nobis videtur circa 1223-1227." Also see E. M. Buvtaert, "Damascenus Latinus: On Item 417 of Stegmüller's *Repertorium Commentariorum*," *Franciscan Studies*, XIII (1953), p. 70: "Alexander's *Glossa* is composed before the schoolyear 1224-1225.")

In that *Glossa* texts occasionally show up which suggest that during that relatively short interval Alexander may have changed his position on the beatific vision. For example, see *Glossa in I Sent.*, d. 1 (Quaracchi, p. 16, l. 7 sq.): "*Glossa*: 'Essentia Dei a nullo plene videbitur.'—Respondeo: tripliciter est videre essentiam: per se, per speciem, per similitudinem. Primo modo videt solum Deus essentiam divinam; est enim *lux inaccessibilis*. Lux autem dupliciter sumi potest: ut est in aere vel ut est in sole. Ut est in sole, invisibilis est; ut est in aere, pati potest oculum eius aspectum. Sic divina essentia in se est invisibilis; ut autem in unoquoque nostrum per gloriam est, sic est visibilis, et hoc appellatur species. Vel potest videri per similitudinem quae est creatura . . ."

Such a text can be orthodoxly interpreted. For instance, we might say that Alexander there does not intend to deny that the divine essence is itself seen but only to say how that vision occurs, and "species" might be comparable to "lumen gloriae." In fact, he later explains that "videre per speciem" is "videre facie ad faciem" (*Glossa in II Sent.*, d. 8 [Quaracchi, p. 78, l. 7 sq.]).

He renders that orthodox interpretation

But to return to our main concern: what influence may this public condemnation, with its accompanying strong affirmation that the very essence of God is apprehended in the beatific vision, have had upon the "quidam"?

In opposing the notion of the inaccessibility of God's essence, the document of 1241 stressed that the divine essence is directly grasped by the finite intellects of men and angels in the beatific vision. A few years later<sup>22</sup> a group appeared who refused to predicate infinity of the divine essence because, among other reasons, the blessed in heaven enjoy a direct vision of that essence, which thereby must be finite. In the light of what we know both of the Parisian document and of the "quidam"-position as reported by Thomas and Bonaventure, may we not legitimately conclude that the "quidam" restricted infinity to divine power and attributed finiteness to divine being precisely because of ecclesiastical insistence in 1241 upon a direct beatific vision? The doctrine of the "quidam" would, in this interpretation, be a reaction to the 1241 condemnation and would,

somewhat questionable, however, when shortly after the preceding explanation he adds, "Sed hoc ipsum quod est Deus, nec angeli neque archangeli vident," apparently paraphrasing Chrysostom's statement that "Neither prophets nor angels nor archangels have seen or are now seeing That Which is God. The Son and Holy Spirit alone see Him, for how can a created nature see the Uncreated?" (Chrysostom, *Hom. XV in Joan.*, 1, 2 [PG 59, col. 98]). Immediately after that addition, he utilizes Augustine's statement from *De Civitate Dei*, "... species qua videtur Deus non est hoc quod ipse" and then introduces long quotations from Scotus Erigena, among which we find, "... intellige divinam essentiam per se incomprehensibilem esse; adiunctam vero intellectuali creaturae mirabili modo apparere, ita ut ipsa divina essentia sola in ipsa intellectuali creatura appareat" and "Deus, in se incomprehensibilis, in creatura quodammodo comprehendatur" (*ibid.*, [Quaracchi, p. 79, 1.5 sq.]).

And we must remember that in the text in question he does actually say that only God sees the divine essence *per se*, that just as light in the sun is invisible, so too the divine essence is invisible *in itself*, and so on.

According to one interpretation of such a text, then, God's essence is not the direct terminus of a created intellect in the beatific vision. If this interpretation is correct, Alexander in 1241 would be condemning a position of which he himself approved in 1225.

Finally, what is Alexander's doctrine on divine infinity? Obviously, the question does not have reference to the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, which is a compilation of extracts from Alexander and, especially, from various other Franciscans (see above, note 2), which seems to apply infinity directly to the divine reality itself (see *ibid.*, tr. II, q. 1, c. 1: "Utrum divina essentia sit finita vel infinita") and which recounts and then rejects the "quidam"-position. Rather the inquiry is raised with regard to Alexander's own doctrine found expressed in his *Glossa*.

What, then, is Alexander's doctrine on divine infinity? According to texts so far analyzed, infinity either is attributed merely to the effects of God's power: "... potentia divina est ad infinitos effectus, non ad definitos" (*Glossa in I Sent.*, d. 19 [Quar-

acchi, p. 207, 1. 6 sq.]). Or it locates God with reference to creatures, Who is thus said to be above the grasp of created intellects, above place and time and, in a word, above any extrinsic binding force. For instance, see *ibid.*, d. 19 (Quaracchi, p. 192, 1. 29 sq.): In saying that the magnitude of God is infinite, one does not describe that magnitude in itself but solely w.t.a regard to us inasmuch as our intellects cannot comprehend God. "Respondeo: ista determinatio [the statement that 'magnitudo Dei est infinita'] non est magnitudinis in se sed quoad nos, eo quod intellectus noster semper inchoatur a temporali et infinitum non comprehendit nisi [per] finitum." Again, *ibid.*, d. 37 (Quaracchi, p. 374, 1. 13 sq.): Is the divine nature infinite according to place? Yes, provided one speaks negatively and simply means that God is not contained, either actually or potentially, in place. "Quaeritur utrum concedendum sit divinam naturam esse infinitam secundum locum. — Respondeo: infinitum dupliciter accipitur. Uno modo accipitur negative, alio privative. . . . secundum vero primum modum est verum quod non finitur per locum actu vel potentia." (See also *ibid.*, [Quaracchi, p. 363, 1. 5 sq.], where God is said to be removed from definitions and place because His essence is infinite, and from time because it is eternal.) Finally, *ibid.*, d. 8 (Quaracchi, p. 110, 1. 18 sq.): When Lombard quotes Hilary's phrase, "natura scilicet perfecta et infinita," what he means is that the divine nature is infinite through negation—that is, that which limits all else is itself not limited from without: "... non sumitur privative . . . sed negative, scilicet non aliunde ens finitum, sed finiens alia."

Manifestly, then, God is rightly described as "infinite" with respect to all creatures, none of which can contain or circumscribe Him. Still such relative and extrinsic infinity does not necessarily mean the divine reality itself is infinite, which rather may be entirely determinate and finite if perfection is conceived as synonymous with determination and limit.

For a similar conception of infinity in St. Albert's early works, see below, note 37.

<sup>22</sup>The earliest mention known to us of the doctrine of the "quidam" is found in the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, which dates around 1245. See note 2.

we might add, thereby present this anomaly. The 1241 document is directed against a Christianity heavily imbued with what might be called "Eastern" elements (mainly, Greek and Arabian neo-platonism). Yet the "quidam" were themselves conditioned by Greek and Arabian forces (as evidenced in their contrasting divine essence and power, in their equating infinity with imperfection, and the like). Under the directives of the Church in Paris at 1241, however, they cleared one area of that Eastern influence by allowing God Himself to be the direct object of the beatific vision. But this sufferance in turn discloses within them another typically Greek attitude at work, which weds intelligibility to determinateness and finitude. True enough, the divine essence now is directly apprehended in the beatific vision, but it also is an essence described as "finite".

Incidentally, Thomas's and Bonaventure's own treatment of divine infinity to some extent seems itself to be in reaction to the "quidam." The earliest texts which the Dominican and Franciscan devote to the matter explicitly mention, as we have seen, the "quidam" and expound their own more acceptable doctrine as a refutation of the earlier position. The "quidam"-position seems, consequently, to have itself served as a catalyst for the definitive formulation of the correct Christian notion of divine infinity.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, then, the author of the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure testify to the existence previous to 1250 of opponents to the doctrine of divine infinity. According to this as yet anonymous group, infinity should not be predicated of the divine essence but restricted entirely to divine power. Why this restriction? Because, first, infinity and quantity are necessarily linked, and only divine power involves even virtual quantity and, thereby, infinity. Secondly, because perfection is conceivable only in terms of finitude and determination. Since, then, the divine essence is perfect, it must be finite. Finally, because only something finite can be comprehensively known. Since, accordingly, the blessed in heaven directly and comprehensively see God, His essence is manifestly finite.

Before attempting to identify the proponents of this theory, let us point to what seems an obvious connection between the association of infinity with quantity, the linking of finiteness and perfection, and the joining of immediate comprehension with finiteness. If God's essence is to be directly known, it must be intelligible; if this latter, it necessarily is perfect and determinate and, as such, it must be finite. Moreover, His essence can be so grasped only because it is simple and non-quantitative.

Who, finally, are those "quidam"? Reflection upon evidence so far uncovered indicates at least this—they are most likely Christian thinkers who were active just prior to 1250<sup>33</sup> and who had at least to some extent come under the influence

<sup>33</sup> That the "quidam" only slightly antedated Thomas and Bonaventure and were active in the decades immediately preceding 1250 seems likely not only because they are designated as "quidam" (see above, note 7) and seem to be reacting to the 1241 condemnation but also because at least some theologians in the twelfth century and in the earliest decades of the thirteenth are excluded. In those earlier times the technical question of whether or not the divine essence is infinite is neither affirmed nor denied: it is simply bypassed. Such representative writers as Peter Lombard, the anonymous Abelardian author of *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, Robert of Melun and Peter

of Poitiers in the twelfth century, as well as Stephen Langton (d. 1228) and Hugh of St. Cher (teaching at Paris 1230-1235) in the early thirteenth, seem unaware of the problem and, hence, can hardly be the "quidam."

For documentation on the positions of these earlier theologians except Hugh of St. Cher, see L. Sweeney, S.J., "Divine Infinity: 1150-1250," *The Modern Schoolman*, XXXV (Nov. 1957), pp. 38-51. On Hugh of St. Cher, see his *In I Sent.*, Codex vat. lat. 1098, fol. 40va sq. In his commentary on distinction 43, where Thomas and Bonaventure twenty years later will offer ample discussions of divine infinity, Hugh says



of Greek and Arabian forces. The parallelism between their contrasting essence with power in God and the Asharite distinction between divine essence and attributes, the affinity between their linking infinity with quantity and Aristotle's and even Averroes's similar view, their equating perfection with definiteness and finitude, which is almost traditional among early Hellenic philosophers—all of these considerations underwrite that influence. True enough, they grant to the heavenly citizens a direct vision of the divine essence, a concession which almost certainly seems a reaction to the Parisian condemnation of 1241, which is itself apparently directed against a long Greek tradition headed perhaps by St. John Chrysostom. Nevertheless, even this concession may be colored by a typically Greek bias—why do the blessed immediately and comprehensively see a divine essence which is *finite*, unless perhaps infinity still resounds with Greek overtones of imperfection and unintelligibility?

At the present state of research, can we name names? Only negatively—that is, by listing some who are *not* to be numbered among the “quidam.” Besides those in the twelfth century and in the first three decades of the thirteenth already excluded,<sup>34</sup> we may also mention Richard of Fishacre, who certainly is not one of the “quidam.” “Is God infinite?” Richard asked himself in approximately 1243. Certainly, he answered, because as a completely separate substance He is infinitely removed from all hindrances and from matter.

Quia ergo Deus in se simplex est et carens compositione cum alio ut sit pars compositi, patet quod est infinitus virtualiter, non propter additiones virtutis factas in infinitum, sed potius quia in infinitum elongatus est ab impedimentis et materia, cum sit substantia omnino separata.<sup>35</sup>

Here, then, infinity is linked with the divine substance in its freedom from the determination and limitation of matter. Far from agreeing with the “quidam,” this Dominican theologian is the first so far discovered who appears expressly to expound the theory of infinity common after the middle of the century.

Likewise, St. Albert the Great does not fit in with the *quidam*-position, although in his early writings he also stands apart from Thomas and Bonaventure. In his *Commentary on Lombard's Sentences*, begun around 1243,<sup>36</sup> he rather frequently affirms God is infinite, but solely in what might be called an

nothing. He once mentions the word in his commentary on the preceding distinction but solely in a grammatical or logical context: “Hic nota hanc regulam: si duorum praedicabilium alterum sit superius ad reliquum, infinitum superioris erit inferius ad infinitum inferioris, ut patet in his terminis ‘hoc animal.’” (*ibid.*, fol. 41va). For this information on Hugh we are indebted to Richard F. McCaslin, S.J., who is preparing a study on divine infinity in this early Dominican theologian.

<sup>34</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>35</sup> *Commentarium in Sent.*, I, d. 2, c. 1, [a. unicus], Solutio tertiae quaestionis (Codex vat., Ottob. lat. 294, fol. 6 va). A section of Fishacre's commentary on this distinction, where incidentally he takes up the question of the beatific vision (“hic ergo de Dei visione in patria quaeratur”) and hence may show influence exercised by the 1241 condemnation discussed above, is being published in a critical edition—see Charles J. Ermatinger, “Richard of Fishacre's *Commentarium in Petri Lombardi Sententias*,” *The Modern Schoolman*, XXXV (January, 1957). On its chronology, see *ibid.* On Fishacre's doctrine of infinity, see Leo Sweeney, S.J. and Charles J.

Ermatinger, “Divine Infinity in the *Commentarium* of Richard of Fishacre,” *ibid.* pp.

A somewhat similar way of describing God shows up in Thomas of York (d. 1260). See his *Sapientiale*, Bk. I, ch. 11 (Codex vat. lat. 6771, fol. 25rb and fol. 25va): “Praeterea quicumque ponit Deum esse, necesse habet ponere ipsum optimum, pulcherrimum, perfectissimum, a materia summe elongatum et abstractissimum. . . . Praeterea quicumque ponit Deum, necesse habet ponere ipsum infinitum. . . .” (Italics added). On the chronology of Thomas, as well as for a brief description of his *Sapientiale* and for its “Table of Contents,” see E. Longpré, O.F.M., “Fr. Thomas d'York, O.F.M.: La première Somme métaphysique du XIIIe siècle,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XIX (1926), 3-58.

<sup>36</sup> On the dating of Albert's works, see C. H. Scheeben, “Les écrits d'Albert le Grand d'après les catalogues,” *Revue Thomiste*, XXXVI (1931), 260-292. Also see E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy*, p. 668, note 2, where he refers to the position of M. H. Laurent and of O. Lottin on Albert's chronology.

extrinsic and relative fashion—i.e., entirely with reference to creatures, since neither time nor place nor created intellects can contain, limit, comprehend or define Him Who surpasses all.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, this affirmation need not imply that the divine reality itself is infinite and, in fact, Albert explicitly says that God is, in one sense, “the most finite of all in His power and in whatever He is.”<sup>38</sup> By predicating finitude of God as well as by restricting infinity to an extrinsic and relative attribute, the German Dominican apparently separates himself from his Dominican confrere and the Franciscan, while by making even the divine power finite he shows his difference from the “quidam.” And although in his latest work he will at least once join Thomas and Bonaventure in declaring God’s very being to be infinite,<sup>39</sup> nevertheless in his *Liber de Causis et Processu Universitatis* he still is at odds with both groups. May we, he there inquires, characterize God as infinite without qualifications? Yes, but if “we wish to speak strictly, He rather surpasses both finiteness and infinity in His excellence.”<sup>40</sup>

Such, then, are the results of our present study, which are negative and, to an extent, tentative and conjectural. Still it is not without value if it stimulates other scholars to confirm or correct our research and if it has disclosed the complex interplay of intellectual forces in the middle decades of the thirteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Among the forces shaping the mediaeval conception of God as infinitely perfect in His very reality, the “quidam”-position surely is to be counted.

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<sup>37</sup> See *In I Sent.*, d. 43, C, a. 2, sol (Borgnet XXVI, 378-9): “Dicendum quod infinitum multipliciter dicitur. Dicitur enim negative ut dicatur non finitum. Et sic diximus supra quod si vis fiat in verbo, Deus est infinitum, id est, non finitum, et punctum est infinitum et forma et locus et omne illud quod est finis et nullo modo finitus. Tamen aliter Deus quam alia, quoniam Deus non finitur tripliciter, scilicet intellectu diffiniente cuius est diffinire, eo quod circumspicit totam rem per terminos essentiae rei; et sic solus Deus finit se quia suum intellectum nihil sui latet, et sic comprehendit se Deus, quia aliter suus intellectus esset minor quam ipse; unde sibi non est infinitus. Hoc modo autem non finitur ab aliquo alio intellectu, nec loco, quantumcumque sit in expansio [sic] sive re sive intellectu, etiamsi ponatur multi mundi quocumque, non finitur illis Deus sed magis finit et continet, ut supra dictum est. Nec tempore finitur, quia nunc suae aeternitatis durando excellit tempus ante et post.” Also see *ibid.*, d. 2, A, a. 2, ad 2 (Borgnet XXV, 55sq.).

This extrinsic and relative sort of infinity, which is consonant with entirely determinate and finite entity, is similar to what one finds in Plotinus, *Enneads*, V, 5, 10, 10 sq. Having explained in the previous chapter (V, 5, 9, 27 sq.) that an item which has nothing prior to it is always uncontained and unlocalized, Plotinus then concludes that the Good, because first and prior to all else, is uncontained and unlimited by anything which could be prior and extrinsic to Him: “He is the cause and power of a wise and intellectual life. From Him comes Life and Intelligence because [He is the source] of entity and being inasmuch as He is one. He is simple and first, because He is the principle and from Him comes all things. From Him comes primal motion, which is not in Him, and also rest, of which

He has no need, for He is neither in motion or at rest, since He has nothing in which to rest nor to which to move. Around what should He move? Or to what or in what? For He is the First. But He is not limited (peperasmenor), for by what could He be?” This same sort of infinity Plotinus predicates of of intelligible number—VI, 6, 18, 1-22. See L. Sweeney, S.J., “Infinity in Plotinus,” *Gregorianum*, XXXVIII (Oct., 1957), pp.

<sup>38</sup> *In I Sent.*, d. 43, C, a. 1, ad 1 (Borgnet XXVI, 379): “Nec tamen dicimus Deum esse infinitum, ita quod non sit finis: sed potius finitione qua finis dicitur finitus, finitissimus omnium Deus et potentia sua, et quidquid ipse est. . . .”

<sup>39</sup> *Summa Theologiae*, I, tr. 3, q. 14, m. 1 ad 2 (Borgnet XXXI, 71): “Infinitum autem quod est actus nihil habens potentiae passivae, non dividitur ad intra sed ad extra, ut si dicam potest in unum, potest in duo, potest in tria, et sic de aliis. Et si infinitum est, non est accipere in tali processu ultimum in quo stat virtus eius, ita quod non posset in amplius. Et tale infinitum, quia actus est purus in se et non est in potentia nisi [ad] id quod est extra se, secundum se est maxime intelligibile, nobis autem incomprehensibile propter infinitatem potentiae et essentiae, quibus excellit ea in quae potest: hoc autem attingi potest per intellectum sed non comprehendit.” (Italics added) On the date of the *Summa Theologica*, see *ibid.*, p. 668, note 2: “According to M. H. Laurent, . . . his last work seems to be the unfinished *Summa Theologiae*.” Also see above, note 36.

<sup>40</sup> *Liber de Causis et Processu Universitatis*, II, tr. 3, c. 4 (Borgnet X, 553): “Hoc ergo oportet quod simpliciter sit infinitum, vel si proprie loqui vellemus, est suorum finitum et supra infinitum omnia excellens.” See *ibid.*, c. 6 (Borgnet X, 555).

Albert’s *Liber de Causis* was written

#### IV. The Demonstrative Adjective *This*: Chaucer's Use of a Colloquial Narrative Device.

ONE of the minor but effective stylistic devices used by Chaucer to create narrative tone and dramatic meaning is the demonstrative adjective *this*. The present study, directed especially toward the *Canterbury Tales*, is an attempt to point out some of the narrative and dramatic effects which Chaucer achieves with his use of the word.

Primarily, the demonstrative adjective helps to establish the language as colloquial,<sup>1</sup> and the story-telling situation as rather informal. It is a habit of the *vis-à-vis* narrator, or one assuming that rôle, to go through a story referring to his characters as "this ——" And so in the *Canterbury Tales*, presented as a series of spontaneously told stories, the narrators speak of "this Emelye," "this Nicholas," "this false knyght," "this noble marchant." Chaucer most frequently uses the word at a point of transition, usually when the narrator has been telling about one person, and is shifting to another. In the Shipman's Tale, for example, after the monk has requested the loan, the merchant's reply is introduced with, "This noble marchant gentilly anon / Answerde and seyde . . ." (VII, 281-82).<sup>2</sup> There are many variations on this pattern. In the Nun's Priest's Tale the narrator begins to tell of Chauntecleer's preparations to sing for the fox: "This Chauntecleer his wynges gan to bete . . ." After several lines he briefly apostrophizes on the dangers of flattery, and then returns to the action: "This Chauntecleer stood hye upon his toos . . ." (VII, 3322-31). In the Manciple's Tale we are introduced in turn to Phebus's habit of carrying a bow, to Phebus's bird, and to his wife:

This Phebus, that was flour of bachilrie,

. . . .

Was wont to beren in his hand a bowe.

Now hadde this Phebus in his hous a crowe.

. . . .

Now hadde this Phebus in his hous a wyf

(IX, 125-39).

Many of the conventions and practices of Chaucer's time would of course have taken into account direct contact between story-teller and audience. Although poets were becoming more and more writers of poems rather than reciters of poems,<sup>3</sup> they would still have thought of a poem's performance before

sometime between 1246 and 1268. See H. D. Saffrey, O.P., *Sancti Thomae de Aquino super Librum de Causis Expositio*, Editions E. Nauwelaerts, Louvain, 1954, p. xx and note 3.

The entire problem of Albert's conception of infinity is being made the subject of a doctoral dissertation at Saint Louis University by Francis J. Catania.

<sup>1</sup> According to St. Bonaventure, there was another group then unwilling to predicate infinity of the divine essence. After setting forth the "quidam"-position (see above, note 9, first paragraph) and his reasons for rejecting it, Bonaventure next introduces this second opinion, according to which both the essence and power of God are finite with reference to God Himself and infinite solely with respect to creatures because of His surpassing excellence. "Et propter hoc dixerunt aliqui, quod est finitum simpliciter et infinitum nobis: et voluerunt dicere, quod tam essentia quam potentia est finita secundum veritatem, quia

est finita Deo, qui est veritas; sed tamen utraque nobis est infinita, quia impropotionaliter nos excedit. Unde 'Deus infinitus dicitur, quia nec loco nec tempore nec comprehensione comprehenditur' sicut dicit Damascenus" (*In I Sent.*, d. 43, a. 1. qu. 2. resp.).

Although we must postpone investigating this second group until a later date, let us here pose one question: do not St. Albert's texts cited above in notes 37 and 38 fit into this position? And to some extent, perhaps, also those of Alexander of Hales, quoted above in note 31?

<sup>2</sup> For a study of other colloquial effects in Chaucer's language, see Margaret Schlauch, "Chaucer's Colloquial English: Its Structural Traits," *PMLA*, LXVII (1952), 1103-16.

<sup>3</sup> Line references are to F. N. Robinson, *The Poetical Works of Chaucer* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933).

<sup>4</sup> Arthur K. Moore, *The Secular Lyric in Middle English* (Lexington, Ky., 1951), p. 2.

an audience as natural. In the convention of the dream-vision, the poet creates the fiction that he is relating his own experience. And, to go for a moment outside the field of poetry, stories used as sermon *exempla* would commonly have been told directly to a congregation. Nevertheless, in none of these conventions and situations, although the speech was direct, need it have been colloquial. Nor would every writer's ear have been equally sensitive to the patterns of speech. Gower, for example, in the tales of the *Confessio Amantis*, uses the demonstrative adjective *this* approximately as Chaucer does. But in the tale of *Beryn* the word is used only occasionally, even though the poet was presumably trying to imitate Chaucer.

One technical limitation on Chaucer's use of *this* should be noted, since it is also something of a limitation on the present study. The names of most of Chaucer's characters are accented on the first syllable. Therefore it is easy to begin a line of iambic with, for example, "This Januarie." But it is awkward to do so with a name accented on the second syllable (Custance, Criseyde, Aurelius), and Chaucer never does. Since *this* is metrically ambiguous, and can be placed either as a relatively weak accent—Chaucer's usual practice—or as a strong one, it is theoretically possible to modify any proper noun with it, regardless of accent, by adjusting the position of the noun in the line. Chaucer seldom does so, however, and there are very few lines like, "Nat oonly this Grisildis thurgh hir wit" (IV, 428). Whatever effect *this* may have on the noun it modifies, Chaucer rarely goes out of his way to use it for names accented on the second syllable. But again, such names are not numerous.

Chaucer seldom uses the demonstrative adjective to refer to a person unless the person has been at least somewhat characterized. The reason for this is obvious: the use of the demonstrative usually implies pre-acquaintance with the object of discussion. But the effect in the *Canterbury Tales* is more than perfunctory. The demonstrative adjective, as Chaucer's use of it in transitions would indicate, is an excellent means of focusing attention. But in the colloquial context, the word *this* continually carries an implied meaning, "This Alisoun I have been telling you about." Occasionally the meaning is made explicit: "This noble monk, of which I yow devyse" (VII, 62). Reference to a character as "this Alisoun," or "this Summonour," or "this Januarie" appeals, however subtly, to the reader's whole previous knowledge of the character. I would suggest, then, that the repeated use of the demonstrative adjective tends to make the definition of any particular character sharper and stronger as it is developed.

A rather peculiar but effective characterizing force, difficult to describe, is achieved in some tales by Chaucer's use of *this*. Perhaps as a first step, we can note the way in which characters are frequently referred to by *this* plus a common noun, with or without an epithet: "this noble marchant," "this honorable knyght," "this markys," "this mayde." The device makes for variety and a certain amount of characterization (whether or not the epithet is used ironically). F. N. Robinson points out that "hende Nicholas" is perhaps as close as Chaucer ever comes to the fixed classical epithet.<sup>4</sup> But the demonstrative adjective, as it is applied to some names, seems to achieve the force of classical epithet and at the same time to surpass the epithet in complexity and subtlety. When a rich characterization is being achieved, to refer repeatedly to the character with a single epithet is, unless the epithet is a very rich one, to impose a limit on the characterization. When characters have certain inexpressible but unmistakable qualities Chaucer tends, especially with the comic characters, to let the name carry its own associations, the demonstrative adjective appealing to the reader's own perception of the character. What, for

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, p. 787. Perhaps one could also include "fresshe May" of the Merchant's Tale.

example, could sum up the totality of Chauntecleer better than the repeated "this Chauntecleer"? The effect conveyed is, roughly, the hopelessness of defining such a character, and an obscure tickling about the *herte roote* at his carryings-on. In *Troilus and Criseyde* "this Pandarus" often introduces the uncle at times when his inner motivations and outer appearances are most complexly and characteristically mingled, e.g., "This Pandare tok the lettre . . . And gan to jape" (II, 1093-96); "This Pandarus gan newe his tong affile" (II, 1681). Similar treatment is given in the Miller's Tale to Absalom, Alisoun, and Nicholas, although Nicholas is, in addition, described by the richly suggestive "hende."<sup>5</sup> However, it must be pointed out that the effect suggested comes into play only when an exceptionally strong characterization demands it. Repeated references to "this Troilus," for example, do not especially reinforce his characterization.

But at the same time that the demonstrative adjective draws the reader's attention into the story, as a colloquial device it reminds him that someone is telling the story, controlling the total effect. And insofar as the narrator controls the materials of his story, he is at a certain artistic distance from them. Perhaps a negative example will illustrate this most convincingly. While the Wife of Bath is reminiscing about her "daliaunce" and marriage with Jankyn, she calls him "this clerk" (III, 566), "this joly clerk, Jankyn" (628). But in the later passages, which show the effect their love had on her, she does not use the adjective. It is interesting to attempt to insert "This Jankyn" at, for instance, lines 794 ff.; the phrase seems to destroy the effect of intimacy between the couple:

And he up stirte as dooth a wood leoun,  
And with his fest he smoot me on the heed,  
. . . . .  
And neer he cam, and kneled faire adoun,  
. . . . .  
He yaf me al the bridel in myn hond,  
. . . . .  
After that day we hadden never debaat.  
God helpe me so, I was to hym as kynde  
As any wyf from Denmark unto Ynde,  
And also trewe, and so was he to me.

(III, 794-825)

For the Wife, the pathos of the situation is still immediate; she is no longer telling anecdotes about herself, but is relating an important moment of her life, the time when she and Jankyn came to a profound and mutual affection. She sees the comedy of it and so do we, but Jankyn has now become too close to her to be treated by an objective *this*.

The tales are dramatic utterances, then, only within the framework of what I have called the narrator's artistic distance from his tale. The Merchant complains briefly about his wife in his prologue; but in the tale his grievances against his wife and against himself are objectified in the creatures called "this fresshe May" and "this Januarie." The burden of the argument between the Miller and the Reeve is carried by the mutually uncomplimentary figures they create in their stories. The malice of the Miller and the Reeve and the complex bitterness of the Merchant are the more sharply realized, are faintly but positively underscored, because in each tale the demonstrative adjective is a continual reminder that a narrator, one of the Canterbury pilgrims, is choosing the incidents. In a tale narrated with only slight use of *this*, the Second Nun's Tale,

<sup>5</sup> See Paul E. Beichner, "Chaucer's Hende" 151-153.  
Nicholas," *Mediaeval Studies*, XIV (1952),

for example, the only *milieu* is that of the tale itself. The tale can, of course, be analyzed and understood as dramatic utterance, but there is not the repeated suggestion to the reader's consciousness that the tale is a deliberate expression of attitude.

In at least two instances the demonstrative adjective *this* seems in another way to strengthen the quality of a tale as characterizing the teller. The Miller's Tale is plainly suited in general outline to the character and purposes of the teller. But more subtly, the Miller's own gusto is pointed up by the delight he takes in the doings of the characters; he communicates this delight by carefully focusing upon each character in turn, usually using the proper name: "this Alisoun," "this Nicholas," "this sely carpenter," "this Absalom." There is a similar effect in the Prioress's Tale, in which the Prioress repeatedly refers to the boy as "this litel child," "this innocent," "this martyr." Moreover, she speaks of many things in the same manner, "this abbot," "this provost," "this beere," "this wonder," "this welle of mercy." Perhaps only in the Miller's Tale is there a like concentration of the demonstrative adjective. The focus of the Prioress's Tale is on pathos; and since nearly every detail heightens the pathos of a child murdered in his innocence by a purely evil Jewry, the Prioress of the tender heart sympathetically stresses each detail, bringing the reader's attention in more closely whenever possible.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps it is possible to demonstrate the result, again negatively. If line 642, for example, is read as, "The abbot, which was an hooly man," there is an effect of detachment—or perhaps indifference describes it more accurately—not present in the line as it stands.

Although the various effects in the *Canterbury Tales* have been treated separately, it will be seen that they work in unity because Chaucer's all-embracing purpose in the *Canterbury Tales* exploits the potential of the demonstrative adjective in two directions. At the same time that certain effects of narration and characterization in the tales are pointed up by the use of the demonstrative adjective, the narrator-pilgrims, often with the qualities and attitudes which have led them to tell the tales, are kept unobtrusively in the reader's consciousness.

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<sup>6</sup> There is a similar sympathetic heightening of pathos in the Clerk's Tale, line 551: "And in hir barm this litel child she leyde."

# An Old French Poetic Version of the Life And Miracles of Saint Magloire

ALEX. J. DENOMY, C.S.B. †

(Introduction and edition of notes by J. Brückmann.)

The text which is here edited is the last scholarly work of the late Father Alexander J. Denomy, C.S.B. This text is a fourteenth century French verse life of St. Magloire by Geoffroy des Nés, the only extant manuscript of which is at present at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Arsenal 5122.

St. Magloire was a cousin and disciple of St. Samson, whose dates are determined by his signature of the Second Council of Paris in 557 and his relations with Childebert I, King of Paris, who died in 558.<sup>1</sup> Samson and Magloire crossed from the Island of Britain to Armorica ca. 548-550. When St. Samson died ca. 565, St. Magloire succeeded him as Bishop-Abbot of Dol in Brittany. St. Magloire was buried on the Isle of Sark (Sargia) and his relics remained there until their translation to Lehon on the continent ca. 850, where they stayed hardly 70 years; in 920 they were brought with the relics of many other Breton saints to the interior of France to escape the Norman invasions. They finally found a resting place in Paris in the Church of St. Bartholomew, which became in the middle of the tenth century the Abbey of St. Magloire.

In addition to the French verse text here edited, there exist two different Latin prose versions, one complete and one abridged, and one French prose version of substantially the same account.

The complete Latin version is contained in Mss. B.N.Lat. 5283 (159-182<sup>v</sup>) and B.N.Lat. 15436 (57-75<sup>v</sup>), and consists of a prologue and 22 chapters. The abridged Latin version, which omits the prologue and reduces the number of chapters to 12 is in Mss. B.N.Lat. 11951 (135-40) and B.N.Lat. 14364 (68<sup>v</sup>-74) and has been printed by Mabillon<sup>2</sup> and by the Bollandists.<sup>3</sup> The Mss. which give the complete text are notably older than the others. B.N. 5283 and 15436 are of the beginning of the eleventh century, 11951 is of the twelfth, and 14364 of the twelfth and thirteenth. In the notes which he has left, Fr. Denomy concludes that the complete Latin version, with the exception of a few interpolations, must have been written before the exodus of the monks from Lenon in 919-920. "The changes introduced by transcribers of the eleventh century at the Abbey of St. Magloire in Paris are very few; they did not alter seriously the content and character of the ninth century redaction. This redaction, done before the Norman invasions, probably from written documents and traditions close to St. Magloire's own time, cannot have the authority of contemporary history, but it is probably faithful to the existence and historic role of the founder."<sup>4</sup> The abridged Latin version was written later, at that same abbey in Paris, after its foundation in the tenth century. "It is independent of the earlier *Vita* and in an altogether different style."

The Old French prose text of the Ms. B.N.Fr. 13508 (30-60) is of a much more recent origin. In 1315 the old wooden reliquary of St. Magloire, kept at the Abbey in Paris, was sufficiently worn to be replaced by a new silver reliquary. "Possibly on this occasion—to make the saint and his power better

<sup>1</sup> J. van Hecke, *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. X, 774-5, says that it was Childebert II, which appears to be wrong; cf. the Chronology of Mabillon, *Acta SS. O.S.B.*, I, 180, and Lobineau, *Vie des SS. de Bretagne*, 104, 105, 108-9, 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, I, 223-31.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. X, 782-91.

<sup>4</sup> All quotations in this introduction are verbatim from the notes which Fr. Denomy has left.

known—the prose translation was made of the Latin *Vita*. It was finished on November 28, 1315.” This French prose text agrees with the older longer Latin version, rather than with the abridged text. The relics of St. Magloire were finally solemnly translated from the old to the new reliquary on July 9, 1318. “This third translation [of the relics] was the occasion of a second translation of the Latin *Vita*—a poem—at the demand of the Abbot and the religious of St. Magloire at Paris.” This last version is the one here published. Geoffroy des Nés, the poet, tells us himself at the end of the poem, that he finished his work on November 1, 1319. “Geoffroy des Nés translated, or rather paraphrased, *not* the truncated [text edited by] Mabillon and the Bollandists, but the complete [text] of B.N.Lat. 5283, completed by the story of the construction of the Church at Lehon which is lacking in these Mss. . . . Geoffroy added two chapters, adding *ca.* 700 lines: the last chapter of the poem, dealing with the translation of 1318, and the next to the last chapter, dealing with the translation of the tenth century from Lehon to Paris. For this [tenth century translation] Geoffroy used the text published by Mabillon,” whereas the account of the proceedings of 1318 is his own original contribution.<sup>5</sup>

The total length of the poem consists of 5578 lines, of which only the first 2618 can be published at this time. Though Fr. Denomy had completed the emendation and punctuation of the whole poem, his footnotes, unfortunately, remain unfinished and lead us only as far as line 3404. They are published here almost exactly as he has left them. It is also unfortunate that he has left us only one brief comment to clarify his emendation procedure: “In editing the poem, I have endeavored to keep the readings of the manuscript, even those that would be considered orthographical errors in modern usage: the auditory forms of *ces* for *ses*, *lé* for *les*, *au* for *aus*, *e* for *est*. Where evident errors have crept into the verse, additions are indicated by square brackets, abstractions by round.”

The notes, which Fr. Denomy has left us on all the work he had done towards embodying the conclusions of his extensive philological criticism of the poem in a preface, had unfortunately not yet reached a publishable stage.

Ci commence li prologues de la vie  
Monseigneur saint Magloire.

David, li glorieus prophetes,  
En ces propheties perfectes  
En rien que feist ne mespřit,  
4 Car le saint Esperit l'esprit  
A la loenge des sains dire.  
Si puet en ses escriptz eslire  
Son sauvement toute personne  
8 Com en psalterion, qui sonne

<sup>5</sup> This very last chapter has already been published in de Wailly & Delisle, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Paris, Imprimerie Imperiale, 1865, XXII, 166-170; cf. also Chastelain, *Martyrologe universel*, 802-5. Unfortunately it has not been possible to check before publication time how much, if anything, of the poem has been printed by A. de la Borderie either in *Miracles de S. Magloire*, or in his article in *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Archéologique des Côtes du Nord*, 2<sup>e</sup> Série, tome IV, 224-363.

1-16 Compare the Latin Ms. B.N.Lat.15436: “Cum igitur gloriosissimus prophetarum

David omnem psalmodum plenitudinem in qua aliquando benigna vox summi patris, aliquando vox Christi et ecclesie, aliquando vox apostolorum aliorumque sanctorum resonat atque ad decantandum laudem illorum et ad promerendam eterne salutis remunerationem multa dulce velut tympanum concrepant, accensus igne Spiritus sancti prophetico sermone descripsisset” (fol. 159<sup>v</sup>). The Old French translation (Ms. B.N.Fr.13508) accords word for word.

2 *ces*=*ses*.

3 *feist*—imperfect subjunctive in an adjectival clause modifying *rien*.

8 *psalterion*: a stringed instrument played



- Acordé de toute acordance,  
 Uquel il parle en audience  
 En la personne Dieu le Pere  
 12 Et du Filz et de nostre Mere  
 Que l'en apele sainte Eglise;  
 Des apostres en mainte guise  
 Et des autres sainz et de saintes  
 16 Dit il de propheties maintes.  
 Et de son sautier en la fin  
 Un enseignement fit a fin:  
 "Chantéz chant a nostre Seigneur  
 20 Nouviau et u temple greigneur  
 Des sainz soit sa loenge dite".  
 Et après un pou nous recite:  
 "Loéz en ses sainz nostre Sire".  
 fol. 1v 24 Tele parole qu'é ce a dire?  
 Devant nous fist enseignement  
 A loer singulerement  
 Dieu et li regehir toute heure,  
 28 Mes après tantost sanz demeure  
 En la loenge Dieu ajouste  
 Ses sains, mes faite n'est en doute  
 Mes a cause tel junction.  
 32 Si en font aucun question,  
 Car Diex est souverainement  
 A loer et tout autrement  
 Que les sains et de guise estrange.  
 36 Conment donques est la loenge  
 Des sains avecques Dieu conjointe,  
 Quant David l'ot devant desjointe?  
 Jhesucrist loer, aourer  
 40 Et com saint des sains honorer  
 Doit on? et com seigneur des sires  
 Et roi des regnes et (des) empires  
 Qui crea toute creature  
 44 Et gouverne toute nature  
 Ne fin n'a ne commencement?  
 Salomon le dit voirement  
 Que de li toute sapience  
 fol. 2r 48 Est et la prent originance  
 Et avecques li fu touz jourz  
 Et est ainz aage et touz jourz.

by plucking the strings with the fingers or a plectrum. Wace, *Brut*, 3766. Used frequently in the Psalms: cf. especially Ps. cl, 3: "laudate eum in psalterio et cithara" quoted by the poet l.23. Cf. also Ps. 91, 4; 80, 3; 32, 2; 56, 9; 107, 3; 149, 3.

10 *en audience*: to speak so as to be understood or heard by all, i.e. clearly, publicly. Cf. *Cligés* 3825. *Lancelot* 277.

15 *de saintes*=des saintes.

19-21 "Cantate Domino canticum novum; Laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum." Ps. cxlix, l.

23 "Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus." Ps. cl.i.

24 Ms. *quece*.

30-31 Transl.: But such a linking together is not made with apprehension but on purpose.

39 Ms. *loer*.

42 Hypermetric: omit *des*.

47 Ms. *de de* with first *de* deleted by dots.

47-50 "Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est; et cum illo fuit semper, et est ante aevum." Eccli. i.1.

50 Compare the Latin: "Sanctos vero laudare et venerari sicuti creaturam ab ipso creatore conditam et per accessus temporis pietate illius sanctitatis grandem habentem. In quorum specie se idem psalmista intermiscens dicit."

- Les sains, ausinc com creature  
 52 De il faite et a sa figure,  
 Lesquielz par sa douce pitié  
 En leur temps a si visité  
 Que grace de saintée eurent;  
 56 Et ainsinc les genz les honneurent  
 Par tel reson et en tel guise  
 En nostre mere sainte eglise.  
 Et ce dit David le prophete  
 60 (Que) humaine creature est fete  
 De Dieu et par li nous nasquismes:  
 Il nous fist, nous ne nous feismes.  
 Entre lesquielz fet difference  
 64 Saint Pol, qui dit par sa sentence  
 Q'autrement luit soleil que lune.  
 La lune, si com dit aucune  
 Gent, du soleil prent sa lumiere;  
 68 Si senefie en tel maniere  
 Des bons feaus la compaignie  
 Qui de Jhesucrist esclarie  
 Est, qui (le) soleil est de droiture.  
 fol. 2v 72 Et ja soit ce que par nature  
 De char ait en soi queque faille,  
 Toutevois Jhesucrist li baille  
 Clarte de saintee; la la prent  
 76 Et di li sens et bien aprent,  
 Si com l'Apostre le demoustre  
 Qui dit que de tenebres outre  
 Fait en nos cueurs lumiere luire  
 80 Pour nous adrecier et conduire  
 Clerement devant Jhesucrist.  
 Jehan en s'evvangile escript  
 Qu'ausinc est il lumiere vraie  
 84 Qui sus tout home u monde raie:  
 C'est cele qui transfiguree  
 Fu en la montaigne et moustree  
 A Jaque, a Jehan et a Pierre.  
 88 Bien le puet on trouver et querre  
 En l'evvangile qui en dit  
 Que lors Jhesucrist resplendit  
 Si come soleil en sa face;  
 92 Dont il reçurent si grant grace  
 Que Moysen avec Helye  
 Connurent, lesquielz en leur vie

60 Hypermetric: omit *Que*?

62 "Ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos." Ps. xcix, 3.

65 "Alia claritas est solis . . . alia lunae." I Cor. xv, 41.

71 Hypermetric: omit *le*?

75 *saintee*=*sainté*; -ee a diacritical symbol to distinguish e from ē. Pope 1235. Cf. 313; but *sainté* 263.

77-81 "Quoniam Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lucem splendescere, ipse illuxit in cordibus nostris, ad illuminationem scientiae claritatis Dei, in facie Christi Jesu."

II Cor. iv, 6.

83-84 "Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum." John 1,9.

90-91 Matt. xvii, 2: "Et resplenduit facies ejus sicut sol."

102 Hypermetric: omit *Sire*?

102-06 Cf. Mark, ix, 4: "Respondens autem Petrus, dixit ad Jesum: Domine, bonum est nos hic esse: si vis, faciamus hic tria tabernacula, tibi unum, Moysi unum, et Eliae unum."

- fol. 3r      Veu n'avoient ne esgardé.  
 96 Mes tout ce leur fut fait par Dé  
     Qui, par sa clere sapience,  
     Mist en leurs cueurs la connoissance;  
     Et ce demoustra clerement  
 100 Saint Pierre qui devotement  
     Dit en priant Jhesu son mestre:  
     ("Sire,) bone chose est ici a estre.  
     Et se tu veulz, Sire, faisons  
 104 Trois tabernacles et maisons:  
     A toi l'une et l'autre a Moysé  
     Et la tierce Helye devise".  
     Ainsinc la lumiere devine—  
 108 C'est le soleil, Dieu—enlumine  
     Les sains—c'est la lune—en creance  
     Dont il ont la senefiance.  
     Et toutevois chose est commune  
 112 Qu'aucune fois faut ceste lune  
     A luire et devient obscurcie;  
     Et pluseurs saint, je n'en dout mie,  
     Furent d'autel condicion  
 116 Ainz que Diex souffrit passion,  
     Car leurs cueurs estoupéz estoient  
     Si que clerement ne pvoient  
     Entendre le devin mistere.  
 fol. 3v      120 Et ainsiques n'estoit pas clere  
     Leur lune, mes default avoit  
     Dont Jhesucrist, qui ce savoit,  
     Leur dit: "Je vous ai mout a dire,  
 124 Mais quant a or bien vous veil dire  
     Que tant ne porriéz porter".  
     Saint Pierre ausinques transporter  
     Se volt, et en foi chacia  
 128 Et chancela, quant s'escria  
     Du grant vent qu'il vit sus la mer  
     A Dieu qu'il amoit sanz amer:  
     "A Sire! A toi me fai venir  
 132 Et me veilles sauf maintenir".  
     E lors Diex par la main le prist  
     Et en tel guise le reprist:  
     "Home de foi petite, escoute!  
 136 Pour coi as tu esté en doute?"  
     Ausinques en la passion,  
     Quant trois foiz fist negacion,

107-10 Cf. Latin: "Sed quia de inlustratione ecclesie a Christo Domino jam diximus . . ." French exactly the same.

123-25 *John* xvi, 12: "Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere: sed non potestis portare modo."

124 Ms.: *veil* underlined; marginal *puis* in a different hand.

126 *Saint Pierre*. Lat.: "futurus pastor ecclesie" (160<sup>r</sup>) O.Fr. pr.: "Saint pere qui estoit ausi comme a venir pour estre pasteur de l'eglise." (30<sup>a</sup>).

127 Ms.: *chatia*; i.e. became bleary-eyed, probably from VL \**caccitare*. It is equiva-

lent to the Latin *caligavit* (160<sup>r</sup>); O.Fr.pr.: "clost les ielz" (30<sup>a</sup>). Cf. also 139 (same for Lat. and O.Fr.pr.) and 143 *chacierent*=*caligaverunt* (160<sup>r</sup>), "clostrent les ielz" (30<sup>a</sup>). Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Paris, 1883, lists *chacier* (2) as noun *châssis*.

131-32 Cf. *Matt.* xiv, 30: "Domine, salvum me fac."

135-36 *Matt.* xiv, 31: "Modicae fidei, quare dubitasti?"

137-42 *Luke* xxii, 55-60, who alone has 3 denials; cf. *John* xviii, 25-6.

143-45 Cf. *Mark* xiv, 50; *Matt.* xxvi, 56.

- Bien chacia et obscurci  
 140 Et en cor fu plus endurci  
 Qu'il jura en foi et fiance  
 Que de li n'avoit connoissance.  
 De Jhesu ausi chacierent  
 fol. 4r 144 Li apostre qui le lessierent  
 Qui prochein li furent et pres.  
 Ausint obscurcirent après  
 Les deus disciples qui disoient  
 148 Quant ou chastel d'Emaus aloient:  
 "Nous audions, sanz contrestre,  
 Que Jhesu deut racheter  
 Israel et sa grant lignie(e)".  
 152 Ainsic estoit leur foi faillie;  
 C'est leur lune et dire le faut:  
 Eclypse souffroit et defaut.  
 Mes puis la resurrection  
 156 Qu'en corporele vision  
 Sa majesté moustra presente,  
 Leurs cuers fist clers e mist en sente  
 Des escriptures toutes entendre;  
 160 Et si leur dit sanz plus atendre:  
 "Le saint Esperit recevéz  
 Par coi les pecheurs devéz  
 Deslier et ausinc lier".  
 164 En ce leur volt senefier  
 Que touz leur cuers et leurs pensees  
 Furent luisanz et esclarees  
 Du vrai soleil—c'est Jhesucrist—  
 fol. 4v 168 Et sorent quanque estoit escript.  
 Et non pas singulerement  
 Aus apostres, mes ensement  
 A pluseurs qui orent creance,  
 172 Donna et vout donner puissance  
 D'esconmenier et d'asoudre  
 Sanz symonie d'argent soudre,  
 De curer toutes maladies,  
 176 De retourner les morz a vies,  
 Des demoniaques curer  
 Et des deables conjurer,  
 Et force donna de conbatre  
 180 Contre ceus qui la foi abatre  
 Vodrent. Et en ces dons donnant,  
 Qu'estoit il mes qu'abandonnant  
 De sa clarté les granz lumieres?  
 184 Et de tout ce, ça en arrieres,  
 Parla Abbacuc le prophete  
 Qui tel parole en a retrete:

145 Belongs to author. Lat.: "ut legitur: et relicto eo omnes fugerunt" (160\*). O.Fr. pr.: "si comme il est leu: Qué il le lessierent et s'en furent tuit" (30<sup>e</sup>).

149-51 *Luke* xxiv, 21: "Nos autem sperabamus quod ipse esset redempturus Israel."

151 Ms.: *ligniee*; Rime demands *lignie*.

159 Hypermetric.

161-63 Latin: "Accipite Spiritum sanctum, quorum remisieritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt." Cf. *John* xx, 22-3. *Matt.* xviii, 18.

162 Ms.: *pecheurs* with *o* superscript between *e* and *u* in another hand; *pechëurs* = 3 syllables.

187-88 *Habacuc* iii, 11: "Sol et luna stete-

- "Soleil et lune s'aresterent,  
 188 En leur habitacle habiterent".  
 Par celi hatbitacle entendre  
 Devons la meson Dieu et prendre,  
 En laquelle il prophecia  
 192 Par la parole qui ci a  
 Dites, les sains ou ciel a estre  
 Avec Dieu, le soleil celestre.  
 Et en disant soleil et lune,  
 196 Il acorde a l'Apostre en une  
 Chose qui soleil nostre chief  
 Jhesucrist dit, et derechief  
 Par la lune entent sainte eglise  
 200 Si com l'Escripture devise.  
 Et pour ce, quant au voir retraire,  
 Que chief et membres doivent faire  
 Un cors plain de perfection  
 204 En bone conversacion,  
 David met resonnablement  
 Dieu et ses sains conjointement  
 Quant dit: "Ausi com vous loéz,  
 208 Que vous Dieu en ses sainz loéz".  
 Pour ce devons, si comme samble,  
 Dieu et ses sains loer ensamble.  
 Et en ce dona enseignement  
 212 Qu'en les doit loer doublement,  
 Car tout premier—qu'en ne mespreigne  
 A Dieu—touz ses sains acompaigne;  
 Après nous moustre le profit  
 fol. 5v 216 De la conjunction qu'i fist:  
 Profit y a, car quant nous f[i]mes  
 Entre nous, qui ça aval somes,  
 Des cors sains digne remembrance  
 220 Et de douce amour honorance,  
 En euz deprianz a genouz,  
 Batanz les piz sique de nous  
 Vers Jhesucrist facent memoire  
 224 Qu'il nous soit propiciatoire;  
 Et qu'il facent toutes saisons,  
 Par leurs devotes oraisons,  
 Que nous soions purs des pechiéz  
 228 Desquieux nous somes entechiéz;  
 Qu'il nous en absolt et pardone.  
 Ainsinc l'evvangile le sone,  
 Qui nous en fait certaine preuve  
 232 En laquele l'en lit et treuve  
 Que Jhesucrist dit aus apostres:

runt in habitaculo suo."

195-98 Cf. 83-84.

198-200 Cf. 66-71. The poem does not render the Latin original: "Quos enim ipse per solem et lunam nominavit hos apostolos caput Christum et ecclesiam membra ejus dixit." *Ephesians* v, 30: "quia membra sumus corporis ejus," and *Eph.* i, 22: "et ipsum dedit caput supra omnem ecclesiam

quae est corpus ipsius."

204 *conversacion*: life, manner of life. (Cf. Godefroy, s.v.)

207-08 Cf. *Ps.* cl, 1: "Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus."

213-14 *mesprendre a*: to offend, provoke, give offense to.

217 Ms.: *fumes*. The sense requires *fimes* —faire digne remembrance; cf. 219. The re-

- "Toutes les fois que pour les vostres  
Amis requerréz quelque chose,  
236 Pas ne sera l'oreille close  
De mon Pere, mes tout fera  
Ce que de vous requis sera".  
Et pour ce qu'avec ceus en gloire  
fol.6r 240 Regne monseigneur saint Magloire  
Reluisanz de clarté sanz nombre  
Et de si clere qu'el n'a ombre,  
De ses vertuz, de ses merites  
244 Aucun pou ci après escriptes  
A[i] selon mon entendement,  
Si com il apert clerement,  
Pour ce que hui et ceste jornee,  
248 Ouquel sa feste est celebree,  
Et chascun an en sa memoire  
Puisse l'en lire de s'estoire.  
Et Diex nous en doint si retraire  
252 Que, par ses merites, retraire  
Nous doint de mal par son atrait,  
Car mains pecheurs a atrait  
A Dieu, et gardé de mestraire.  
256 Or nous doint si desormés traire  
Et u monde tel traire trait  
Q'u ciel soions lassus retrait. Explicit.

Ci commence la vie monseigneur saint Magloire. Coment il fu premier mis a l'escole et coment li anges li escripsoit en ses tables la leçon et rendoit plus .ii. temps ou .iii. que le mestre n'i li prenoit.

- Li glorieus non de Magloire  
fol.6v 260 Vaut autant comme grant en gloire.  
Par ce li est tel non parfait,  
Car gloire grant aquist par fait,  
Par la sainté qu'il ot au monde  
264 En cuer, en conscience monde,  
En sainte conversacion.  
Des Bretons fu sa nacion,  
Nez de la Breteigne petite

sult is a bad rime, *fimes* : *somes*.

234-38 Cf. *Matt.* xviii, 19: "de omni re quamcumque petierint fiet illis a Patre meo qui in caelis est."

245 Ms.: a. Space has been left for the i but it has not been filled in.

249 Feast celebrated 9 Kal. November= October 24.

251 Ms.: *nous si endoint* with *si* deleted by dots.

251-58 Not in Latin or Prose French. Cf. conclusions of other chapters. The following is a free translation of the first *annominatio*: "And may God vouchsafe to us so to narrate it that, by his merits, he may grant to draw us back from evil and by his attractiveness, because he has attracted many sinners to God and has kept them from doing wrong. May he now grant us so to behave in the future and to shape our course in the world that we may be restored to heaven above."

254 Ms.: *pecheurs*, with o hyperscript between e and u=*pechèurs*; cf. 162.

259 *Ci commence*. Compare the O.Fr.pr. heading: "Ci commence la vie du benoît saint confesseur monseigneur saint Magloire qui fu arcevesques de Dol et comment entre li et saint Sanson furent de bone vie et li dit que il se aroit arcevesque" (31<sup>o</sup>). Lat.: "Incipit vita sancti Maglorii episcopi et confessoris que est 9 Kal. Novemb." The Lat. and O.Fr.pr. omit the episode of his going to school, etc.; they stop at 272.

260 No etymological source in either the Latin or the Old French prose. *Ma-* is apparently the simplex of the word for great or large which appears in the Celtic *\*ma-r-os* > Welsh *maur*, O.I. *mór*, O. Bret. *mor*; the comparative *\*mā-jōs* O.I. *mó*, *māu*, *mā*, *māu*, *mōu*. Cf. Morris Jones, *A Welsh Grammar*, (Oxford. Univ. Press 1930), p. 249.

265 *En sainte conversacion* = in holy life.

- 268 Et, si com(e) l'estoire recite,  
De haut sanc, de noble lignage:  
Cousin du glorieus et sage  
Saint Samson. Umbrapel son pere
- 272 Ot non et Affrelle sa mere.  
Liquel, ou temps que joene et tendre  
Fu, l'ont fait a l'escole aprendre  
Et Dieu li donna tant de grace
- 276 Qu'il seurmonta en pou d'espace  
Ceus qui avec li aprenoient;  
Son mestre et touz s'en merveilloient:  
A retenir pas ne failloit
- 280 Plus d'escript qu'en ne li bailloit.  
Dont puis avint une jornee  
Que la leçon fu demandee  
Du mestre a Magloire prendre;
- 284 L'enfant son tabliau li va tendre,  
Mes des lettres dedenz descript  
Plus trouva qu'il n'avoit descript.  
Lors pensa et fu en doutance
- 288 Son mestre ce mist en souffrance  
Dedenz son cuer repotement  
Jusqu'i seut certainement  
Se c'estoit voirs ou fausseté.
- 292 Lors tantost n'a plus arresté;  
Le tabliau prist, ciré de cire,  
Et dedenz a volu escrire  
De lettres autant et pourtraire
- 296 Come ot a coustume de faire.  
Et le tabliau mist en sa garde  
Sou clef sique nul n'i regarde.  
Mes quant il le prist l'endemain,
- 300 Il i trouva escript de main  
D'ange trois tans qu'escrit n'i ot.  
Adonques sans noise et riot  
A touz en apert fist le mestre
- 304 La grant vertu de Dieu conneestre,  
Car droit n'estoit pas de celer  
Ce que Diex voloit reveler.  
Lors de l'enfant tuit s'esjoirent

fol. 7v

Cf. 204.

267 *Breteigne petite* = Wales. Cf. 516.268 Hypermetric: *come* = *com*?

269-72 According to the *Vita Samsonis* I, 1; ed. Robert Fawtier, (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes 197, Paris, 1912), p. 100, Magloire was in fact a double first cousin of Saint Samson. The sister of Anna, Samson's mother, Afrella by name, married Umbrapel, the brother of Amon, Samson's father. Both families were of noble blood: Anna and Afrella daughters of the *altrix* of the King of Deventia (Dyved); Amon and Umbrapel sons of the *altrix* of the King of Dementia (Gwent). Cf. the genealogy erected by Fawtier, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Fawtier is included to think that Umbrapel and Afrella are neither biblical nor Celtic in origin but "ils sont vraisemblable-

ment le resultat de quelque cacographie" (*ibid.*). The identification of *altrix* as "royal steward" by Duine, *Saint Samson et sa legende* (Paris, 1900), p. 1, is questioned by Fawtier who is inclined to see in *altrix* "personnage chargé d'élever des enfants du roi" (p. 35, n. 2). According to the *Vita Sancti Samsonis* II, Magloire was one of three children. (*ibid.*, p. 100).

273-420 O.Fr.pr. omits here and transposes to next chapter (33<sup>d</sup>).

282-3 O.Fr.pr. (33<sup>d</sup>): "Et ce fu ainsi fet que une jornee que li maistres le priast de rendre sa leçon." Transl.: Whence it happened one day that the lesson was demanded by the teacher to be taken by Magloire; i.e. the teacher asked Magloire to render the lesson. *Prendre* should read *rendre*?

- 308 Et a Dieu loenges rendirent  
Que sa grace tant abandone  
Que neiz au petiz il en done.  
Pour ce de Magloire penserent
- 312 Mout de gent et prophecierent  
Sa saintee, sa condicion,  
L'estat de sa religion  
Et que religieux seroit,
- 316 Et les miracles qu'il feroit  
Et les granz vertuz et les signes;  
De ce furent il tesmoigns dignes,  
Car tout ce le fait desclaira
- 320 Si com veu après sera.  
[C]este science departie  
A saint Magloire senefie  
Que Diex en son cuer li escript,
- 324 Si com en cire, cest escript,  
Car aussiques com le Sauverre  
Vout escrire en tables de pierre  
A Moysen, son bon amant,
- 328 La loi et le viéz testament  
Qui la vengeance des meffais  
Enseigne qui estoient fais  
Pour eus punir crueusement,
- fol. 8r 332 Tout einsiques certainement,  
Par cestes lettres qu'en la cire  
Magloire escript, nostre Sire  
L'evvangile, la loy nouvele,
- 336 Par sa grace u cuer li revele.  
Et de tant com la loy premiere  
.....  
.....
- 340 Oevre qui fait conmdement  
De prier non pas pour amis  
Sanz plus, mes pour les anemis,  
Ainsinc de Jhesucrist fu dit
- 344 A ses disciples quant il dit:  
"Avéz vous oÿ qu'en disoit  
Aus anciens et qu'en lisoit  
Que chascun amast son ami
- 348 Et qu'en haït son anemi;  
Et je vous di nouvellement:  
Voz anemis comunement  
Améz, et bien ainsic leur faites.
- 352 Ne leur soient voz mains retraites;  
Pour ceus qui mal vous font, proiez

321 Ms.: initial l este with miniscule c (corrector) written beside it.

325 Ms.: *sauvuerre*, with third u deleted by a dot.

337, 340 Ms.: in another hand in right margin + signs: to indicate omission of two lines, one that would rime with *premiere* 337, and one with *commendement* 340. O.Fr. pr.: "Laquele de tant comme cele loy espoente ses subgiez par la hastiue apresce

de son amonestement, de tant plus ceste assoage doucement qui commande prier du cuer non pas seulement pour ses amis mes pour ses anemis." (34<sup>b</sup>).

345-54 *Matt.* v, 45-6: "Audistis quia dictum est: Diliges proximum tuum, et odio habebis immicum tuum. Ego autem dico vobis: Diligite immicos vestros benefacite his qui oderint vos: et orate pro persequentibus, et calumniantibus vos." Cf. *Luke*



- Sique de Dieu vrai filz soiéz".  
 Ceste loy nouvelle et hestoire  
 356 Revela Diex a saint Magloire  
 fol. 8v Par l'Esperit qui vivifie,  
 Mes la lettre qui tue vie,  
 Si comme saint Pol devise,  
 360 Cele fu donnee a Moyse  
 En la pierre et en nue obscure,  
 Car a la gent des Juis dure  
 L'esperitel entendement  
 364 Tout droit jusque a l'avenement  
 De Jhesucrist fu tout repot,  
 Si com l'Apostre nous expot.  
 Mais a huis clos furent en cire  
 368 Baillies de part nostre Sire  
 A saint Magloire et en s'anfance  
 Les lettres, par senefiance  
 Qu'après la resurrection  
 372 Fu faite revelacion  
 A huis clos de sainte Escripture;  
 Car, li apostre en serreure  
 Enclos, Jhesucrist vint de la  
 376 Qui le sens leur en revela  
 Et dit que toute rien couverte  
 Adonc leur estoit descouverte,  
 Et ce qui fu ca en arriere  
 380 Tenebres leur estoit lumiere  
 fol. 9r Pour preeschier tout ouvertement  
 Ce qu'estoit dit couvèrement.  
 Ainsi la cire decourut,  
 384 Qui les mescreanz secourut,  
 Des cuers com pierres endurcis  
 Et com tenebres obscurcis  
 Par l'evvangile et par le cresseme:  
 388 C'est la liqueur du saint baptesme.  
 A l'amour de nostre Seigneur  
 Tournèrent et grant et meneur;  
 Ceus aussi qui nyé l'avoient  
 392 A li servir se retournoient.  
 Et Salomon en leur persone  
 En *Cantiques* bien le nous sone  
 Qui dit: "Trai moi, Sire, apres toi,  
 396 Car nous courrons avecques toi

vi, 27-8.

359 *II Cor.* iii, 6: "Littera enim occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat."366 Cf. *II Cor.* iii, 14-16.369 Ms.: *ā s'anfance*, nasal till in a later hand.371 Ms.: *resurrection* with a corrected and rounded to o.374 *serreure*: lock; *en serreures* in a locked room.374-75 Cf. *Acts* ii, 1-5.377-82 *Matt.* x, 26-27: "Nihil enim est opertum, quod non revelabitur: et occultum, quod non sciatur. Quod dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine: et quod in aureauditis, praedicate super tecta." Cf. *Luke*, xii, 2-3; *Mark* iv, 22; *Luke* viii, 17.383-87 Transl.: Thus did the wax draft off, which overflowed upon the unbelievers (*subcurrere*). Cf. O.Fr.pr.: "Mes a saint Magloire sont baillié les elemenz en cire fondant pour ce que les cuers des paiens, qui jadis aoroient les pierres pour Diex, estoient ja retornéz en l'amor de celui nostre redempteur a lui servir par les douces paroles du saint evvangile et avoient pris la liqueur du saint baptesme." (34°).385 Ms.: *De cuers*. Corrector has written s superscript to *De*.395-98 Cf. *Cant.* i, 3: "Trahe me: post te

- En l'odeur de tes oignemenz  
 Pour faire tes commendemenz".  
 Moyses dont nous vout retraire  
 400 Tout ce qu'a venir et a faire  
 Estoit, mes Diex par saint Magloire  
 La chose douteuse fist voire  
 Et moustra la chose parfaite  
 404 Qui des sains peres fu retraite,  
 fol. 9v Car cilz qui des mestres est mestre  
 Li fist en s'enfance conestre,  
 Et tout ainsinc l'alegorie  
 408 De cetui fait le segnefie  
 Que Jhesucrist li enseigna  
 Dont mainte gent puis enseigna  
 Et bien s'en devoit enseigner.  
 412 Or li deprions qu'enseigner  
 Nous veille tel enseignement  
 Que de la croiz le seignement  
 U cuer ayons; et tele enseigne  
 416 Me doint il que je vous enseigne  
 De sa vie, sique enseigné  
 En soiéz et de Dieu seigné  
 Lassus u ciel ou il assigne  
 420 Ceus qui sont saigniéz a son signe. Amen.

Comment monseigneur saint Magloire mena sainte vie avec Sanson et comment  
 il fu arcevesques de Dol après saint Sanson.

- Li sainz, li douz, li gracieuz,  
 De nom et de fait glorieuz,  
 Saint Magloire du temps d'enfance  
 424 En foi et en ferme creance  
 De Dieu fonda son fondement.  
 Et pour ce qu'il vot saintement  
 fol. 10r Vivre tout le cours de sa vie,  
 428 Il eslut sainte compaignie;  
 Avec saint Sanson volt il estre  
 Pour demener vie celestre:  
 Regle tindrent religieuse,  
 432 Douce, plaisant[e] et gracieuse  
 Come moines et soir et main.  
 Et des disciples saint Germain,  
 Qu'evesques estoit lors d'Aucerre  
 436 Et venu fu en celle terre,—  
 Et cilz avoit Heltute a nom,

currentem in odorem unguentorum tuorum."

412-20 *Annominatio*. Transl.: Now let us beg him that he deign to instruct us in such teaching in order that we have the mark of the cross on our hearts, and may he give me such instruction that I may tell you about his life, so that you may be instructed in it and signed by God thereabove in heaven where he assigns those who are signed by his sign.

430 Latin and O.Fr.pr. begin again.

432 Ms.: *plaisant*. The feminine is required. Present participles in O.Fr. are de-

clined like adjectives. Foulet No. 100.

434 *des disciples*: from among the disciples, i.e. from one of the disciples. Lat.: "a quodam discipulo". O.Fr.pr.: "per un des disciples."

434 Saint Germain, born at Auxerre (378-448), consecrated bishop of Auxerre July 3, 418. Among his disciples come from Great Britain were St. Patrick and St. Brieuc. Cf. Louis Prunel, *Saint Germain d'Auxerre* (Paris, 1929), especially p. 40.

435 Ms.: *auceurre* with second *u* deleted by dot.

- De grant sens et de grant renom,—  
 Aprirent la philosophie  
 440 Et devine theologie;  
 Entroduit par li si bien furent  
 Que touz les ars en brief temps surent.  
 Cis sainz Germainz, dont j'ai parlé,  
 444 Estoit lors en Bretaigne allé  
 Pour une heresie nouvelle  
 Qui la fu et pour oster celle.  
 Li herite qui la estoient  
 448 En leur heresie disoient  
 Que, puis qu'il baptisié feussent,  
 Les enfans que engendré eussent  
 fol. 10v Point baptizier ne couvenoit;  
 452 Ceste heresie les tenoit,  
 Car il pooient sanz baptesme  
 Touz estre sauz selonc leur esme,  
 Ja soit ce que Diex le contraire  
 456 Veille en l'evvangile retraire  
 Qui tesmoigne que nul ou regne  
 Dieu, s'il n'est baptizié, ne regne.  
 Mes sainz Germain par la puisance  
 460 Dieu ceste erreur et mescrance  
 A foi crestienne torna;  
 Puis en son leu s'en retorna.  
 Apres duquel la departie,  
 464 Saint Sanson ot de sa partie  
 Clers et lais de cele contree,  
 Et d'un cuer et d'une pensee,  
 Car il estoit au Dieu servise

443-46 In 429, the bishops of Great Britain sent a deputation to the Gallican bishops to ask for learned and able apologists to help them combat Pelagian errors rampant then in their country. According to Constantius, the biographer of Germanus and Lupus, bishop of Troyes: "Eodem tempore ex Britanniis directa legatio Gallicanis episcopis nuntiavit, Pelagianam perversitatem in locis suis late populos occupasse et quam primum fidei catholicae debere succurri. Ob quam causam synodus numerosa collecta est, omniumque iudicio duo praeclara religionis lumina universorum precibus ambiuntur, Germanus et Lupus, apostoli sacerdotes, terram corporibus, caelum meritis possidentes." *Vita Germani*, c. 12; ed. Krutsch and Lewison, MGH, Script. Rer. Merov. VII (Hannover, 1919), p. 259. Prosper of Aquitaine in his *Chronicon*, published just four years after the event, assigns to Pope Celestine the essential role in dispatching the missions: "Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani episcopi Pelagiani filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrumptit, sed ad insinuationem Paladii diaconi papa Caelestinus Germanum Autisiodorensem episcopum vice sua mittit et deturbatis hereticis Brittanos ad catholicam fidem dirigit." *Prosperi Tironis epitoma chronicon*, ed. Th. Mommsen. MGH, auct. antiq. IX, (Hannover, 1892), p. 472.

For the apparent contradiction between

the accounts see Louis Prunel, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-69. For an account of Germanus' work in Britain against the Pelagians, cf. "Les Campagnes de saint Germain en Grande-Bretagne", G. de Plinval, in *Saint Germain d'Auxerre et son temps*, (Auxerre, 1950), pp. 135-49.

448-51 This Pelagian error was refuted by St. Augustine in his *De Peccatorum meritis et remissione* II, 27-28: "Quare baptizentur qui jam de baptizatis nascuntur." (PL 44, 177-79), and III, 8: "Sed si Baptismus, inquit, mundat antiquum illud delictum, qui de duobus baptizatis nati fuerunt, debent hoc carere peccato. Non enim poterunt ad posteros transmittere, quod ipsi minime habuerunt." (PL 44, 194-95).

449 Ms.: *que li baptisie* with *e* of *que* stroked out and *i* superscript, with *i* of *li* deleted by a subscript dot.

454 *esme*; verbal noun made from *esmer* > *aestimare* = opinion.

455-58 John iii, 5: "Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei." Cf. Mark xvi, 16.

464 A synod, anxious as to Samson's whereabouts on his return from Ireland, invites him by letter to leave his hermitical life, to join them and so share his virtues with them. Samson agrees and is joyfully received: "Sanctum Samsonem honorifico exceperunt obsequio, abbatemque eum

- 468 Abandonnéz de toute guise  
Et a sainte religion.  
Et pour ce a la prelacion  
D'evesque le vodrent eslire,  
472 Et ja soit ce que contredire  
Vosit, li prelat s'assemblerent  
Et arcevesque l'ordenerent  
fol. 11r Selon le[s] statuz des sainz peres.  
476 Et après ne demora gueres,  
Qu'einsinc fu arcevesque fait,  
Que saint Magloire qui de fait  
Estoit honestes jouvenierres,  
480 Chastes et larges aumosnierres,  
En vigiles, en oroisons  
Continuant toutes saisons,  
Fu fait de saint Sanson diacre:  
484 Et pour estre avec li u sacre  
Du vrai cors de nostre Seigneur,  
Saint Sanson li fist ceste honneur  
Et reverance(s) ausinques mainte  
488 Pour ce qu'il menoit vie sainte;  
Et pour la parole Dieu dire,  
Quant temps et lieu seroit de dire,  
Sus son pueple dispensatour  
492 Le fist et en lieu de pastour.  
Avec ce pueple, ci prés dit,  
Longuement fu sanz nul mesdit  
Saint Sanson; miracles et signes  
496 Sanz nombre et enseignemenz dignes  
Et essamples leur fist de la.  
Et apres Diex li revela,  
fol. 11v Par la parole qu'il ot dite  
500 En l'evvangile ou il recite  
A ses disciples qu'il alassent  
Par tout le monde et preechassent  
A touz la foi de verité

volentem in monasterio quod, ut aiunt, a sancto Germano fuerat constructum constituerunt." *Vita Samsonis* 42, ed. cit. p. 138. The monastery of which Samson was made abbot may be that of Lanturt major. Cf. Fawtier, p. 52, n. 1. The synod in question is thought to have been held at Caerleon in 520, presided over by Dubricius. Cf. Fawtier, p. 51, n. 3.

471 The miraculous choice of Samson as bishop, a choice revealed in vision to him and to Dubricius, sways the bishops assembled at the monastery to elect him. He is consecrated by Dubricius on the customary day of consecration, the Feast of Peter's Chair, February 22. *Vita*, 43-44, ed. cit. pp. 138-9. For the controversy on the authenticity of Samson's bishopric, cf. Fawtier, op. cit., pp. 52-57.

475 Ms.: *statuz*. The reference may be to the *Vita Samsonis* where we read that during the episcopal synod: "Venientibus autem illis episcopis ad diem conductum consuetumque duos apud illos ad ordinandum auferentes tertium *secundum morem*

*antiquitus traditum ordinare volentes*, sed quis adhuc esset ignorantes . . ." Ch. 43, ed. cit., p. 139.

483 Magloire is nowhere mentioned by name in the *Vita Samsonis*. It is stated however that his mother and father, his uncle and aunt and their three sons put aside their wealth and possessions to follow Christ only. His mother and aunt are bidden to found a monastery (Ch. 30, p. 128). When he left, Samson was accompanied by his father and uncle, but nothing is said of his three cousins.

487 Hypermetric: *Reverance* would normalize the line by allowing elision.

501-03 *Mark* xvi, 15-16: "Euntes in mundum universum, praedicate evangelium omni creaturae."

504-05 *Matt.* xxviii, 19: "Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes: baptizantes eos in nomine Patri, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti."

A combination of both texts. In the *Vita Samsonis*, 45, p. 141, an angel appears to him on Easter night to announce that he is to leave his country and to travel

- 504 Et q'u nom de la Trinité  
 Il baptizassent toute gent,  
 Que d'eulz partit lors bel et gent.  
 Ensamble saluéz les a
- 508 Et congié prist et les lascia;  
 Et d'iluec avec saint Magloire,  
 Si com nous raconte l'estoire,  
 Avec pluseurs, et clers et lais,
- 512 La mer passa sanz nul relais.  
 Et pour la gent de son langage  
 Qui vers occident fait estage—  
 C'est en la Bretagne petite—
- 516 Ensaignier la loy Dieu escripte  
 Vint, et a Dol droit le conduit  
 Diex a sain et a sauf conduit.  
 Et la du noble roi de France,
- 520 Childebert, fu a honorance  
 Receu, qui en ot grant joie,  
 Et l'ar[ce]veschié li ostroie.
- fol. 12r Ainsiques a secondement
- 524 De Dol pris le gouvernement;  
 Et non pas en l'arceveschié  
 Fu son nom sanz plus preeschie,  
 Mes par toute la region
- 528 De Bretagne fu mencion  
 De li de lonc et large faite.  
 Et lors de vie si parfaite  
 Fu que plus de vertuz et faiz
- 532 Fist que devant n'estoient faiz  
 Et en brief temps et en po d'eure.  
 Et pour ce que plus n'i demeure,  
 Les miracles ça en arriere
- 536 Que fist, le nombre et la maniere,  
 Et deça la mer et dela,  
 Cuer, bouche ne lettre ne la  
 Povoir de dire ne comprendre:
- 540 Pour ce je ne l'ose entreprendre;  
 Si veil leissier ceste matire

beyond the sea.

509-12 After visiting the monastery founded by his mother and aunt, strengthening the faith of the people of that district by his miracles (45-51, pp. 141-47), we are told: "Recepto itaque suo consobrinio in principio nostri operis jam dicto, atque diaconatus officio excepto a . . . navigationem citra mare secundum suam promissionem. Deo ducente, destinavit comitantibus cum illo plerisque monachis et maxime diacono illo de quo jam nos dixisse sufficit, prospero cursu portum in Europa desideratum tenuerunt." The cousin and deacon is likely Magloire.

513 Ms.: *language* with *u* superscript in corrector's hand.

522 Ms.: *arveschie*.

523 *Secondement* corresponds to *iterum* of the Latin (162<sup>r</sup>) and *encore* (32<sup>b</sup>) of the O.Fr.pr. Probably it refers to Samson's governance of Dol as abbot of the monas-

tery he founded (*Vita* 52, p. 148) and as archbishop. The *Vita* makes no mention of the archbishopric. Lat.: "Ubi strenuissimo rege Francorum Childeberto accepto iterum archipresulatus regimine." O.Fr.pr.: "Ouel quant il ot encore pris le gouvernement d'arcevesque par le noble roi de France Childebert."

533 Ms.: *Ot*. Sense seems to require *et*.

534 The Latin adds: "ut in gestis ejus legitur" (162<sup>v</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "si comme il est leu en ses gestes" (31<sup>b</sup>). It is the *Vita Samsonis* that is referred to. Immediately after the founding of the monastery at Dol, the *Vita*, in words that bring to mind the poet's, writes: "multa inde mirabilium opera seminans, ac multa monasteria per totam paene provinciam fundans, quae, si per singula omnia scribantur, ad excissum de inceptis ducemur." (Ch. 52, p. 148).

539 Ms.: *pouvoir de dire*; *pourroient* seems demanded by sense.

- Et de sa fin vous veil escrire.  
 Quant grant temps ot passé de vie  
 544 Ou mis il ot son estudie  
 De vivre a Dieu de bon cuer fin,  
 De fievre au lit jut en la fin.  
 fol. 12v Et quant la mort senti procheine  
 548 Qui fort le traveille et le paine,  
 Saint Magloire, dont ça arrieres  
 Fis mencion, avec les freres  
 Devant li venir conmanda  
 552 Et puis a Dieu les conmanda.  
 Auquieulz ensamble doucement  
 Denonça son trespassement  
 Et en regardant saint Magloire,  
 556 Si com nous raconte l'estoire,  
 Devant les freres de s'eglise  
 Saint Sanson li dit et devise:  
 "Je sai, Magloire, tres chier frere,  
 560 Qu'après ma mort, c'est chose clere,  
 Ceste eglise qu'ai gouvernee  
 Te sera en cure livree;  
 Tu en receveras la maistrise.  
 564 Pour ce t'amoneste et avise  
 Que ton propos qu'as comincié  
 Soit de plus en Dieu avancié;  
 Et si t'avise encor en ce  
 568 Que la lumiere de science,  
 Que fait t'a Diex recevoir,  
 Que bien en faces ton devoir:  
 fol. 13r Ne la muges mie ne chaces,  
 572 Mes devant touz avant la saches;  
 Sus le chandelier hautement  
 La met sique communement  
 Ceus de la meson Dieu la voient  
 576 Siqu'adreciez par toi en soient.  
 Jusques ci je me sui pené,  
 Si conme Diex m'a ordené,  
 A mon povoir et bel et gent;  
 580 Filz, conmise t'est ceste gent:  
 Ce sont les berbiz Jhesucrist  
 Selonc ce que nous dit l'escript;  
 Veilles sus eulz a diligence  
 584 Sique puisses en audience  
 De Dieu oïr ceste parolle  
 Qu'au justes en la fin parolle:  
 'Li beneoait enfanz venéz,

543 In the Lat. and O.Fr.pr. there is a long diversion (Lat. 162<sup>v</sup>-164<sup>r</sup>, Ch. 4; O.Fr. pr. 32<sup>b</sup>-33<sup>a</sup>) on the figurative meaning of Samson, his relationship to the biblical Samson and their common work, the allegorical meaning of the sea Samson crossed, the people to whom he came to preach, etc.  
 550 *fis*; Ms.: *filz*.  
 552 *conmanda*; Ms.: *conmanda* with a in corrector's hand superscript.

563 *receveras* = *recevras* for syllable count.

571-76 Cf. *Matt.* v, 15. (Also *Luke* xi, 33; *Mark* iv, 21.) "Neque accendunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt."

587-90 *Matt.* xxv, 34: "Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi."

- 588 De mon Pere le ciel prenéz  
 Qui prest vous est; tant avéz fait  
 Ançois que le monde fust fait'".  
 Et quant saint Magloire et si frere
- 592 Ont veu saint Sanson leur pere  
 Prochain de la mort a son terme,  
 A maint cri et a mainte lerne
- fol. 13v 596 D'ont li ont: "Pere douz et tendre,  
 Pourquoi ne veulz a nous entendre?  
 Pourquoi nous guerpiz et delesses?  
 Pourquoi d'estre avesques nous cesses?"  
 Lors leur dit: "Freres, ce ne faites
- 600 Et soient voz lermes retraites.  
 De ma mort, freres, ne grouciéz,  
 De ma mort ne vous courrouciéz,  
 Car tout aussiques conme Helye
- 604 Vot delessier après sa vie  
 Bon desciple—ce fu Helyse—  
 Et je de Dieu donne et devise  
 Après ma mort menistre et mestre
- 608 Magloire, lequel savéz estre,  
 De son premier commencement,  
 Religieus et noblement  
 Vivre touz en religion,
- 612 Et de sainte operacion.  
 Cesti après moi vous delais,  
 Après la voie de ce relais".  
 Le cors de Jhesucrist pris a
- 616 Que tant honora et prisa.  
 Et puis devant touz trespasa  
 Sique la seue ame passa
- fol. 14r 620 Ou ciel ou Diex la corona  
 Et sanz fin la vie donna:  
 C'est la corone de droiture  
 Que Diex garde et sanz fin dure.  
 Ceste a Sanson fu donnee,
- 624 Car de pieça li ot gardee,  
 Dont il ores joie a sanz fin.  
 Pour ce qu'il ama de cuer fin  
 Et sa vie ala afinant,
- 628 L'a fait Diex en bien afinant.  
 Cist glorieus saint afiné

590 Ms.: *fu* with *st* superscript in corrector's hand.

593 Ms.: *prohchain* with first *h* deleted by subscript dot and *c* corrected from original *t*.

601 *grouciéz* = complain.

603-05 Cf. *III Kings*, xix, 19-21; *IV Kings*, ii, 11-13.

606 *Et*; cf. Foulet, # 335. "On le trouve, surtout après une enjonction de temps, pour annoncer la proposition principale. Il indique alors qu'au moment où prend place l'action exprimée par le verbe subordonné, il se passe encore quelque chose d'autre que la principale va mettre en relief."

614 Hypermetric. Transl.: After the course

of this resting-place (i.e. this world). Nothing in Latin or French; can it be attached to the *corona justitiae*, 621? "Cursum consumavi." *II Tim.* iv, 7.

621 Cf. *II Tim.* iv: "In reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiae."

626-36 A free translation might run: Because he loved purely and persisted in refining his life, God made him increase in worth. May this glorious spotless saint grant that we may be purified of life firmly and perfectly so that we may see God at death. Because, if it please Him to purify us, we shall be able better to press on (to our goal). And may God give us to live purely so that each one of us may

- Doint que si soions afiné  
De vie bien et finement,  
632 Que Dieu voions au finement  
Car, si li plaist nous afiner,  
Nous en porrons miex afiner;  
Et Diex nous doint de sa vie fine  
636 Vivre siqu'en bien chascun fine. Amen.

Le trespasement monseigneur saint Sanson et comment monseigneur saint Magloire fu arcevesque de Dol après Saint Sanson.

- Aprés dont le trespasement  
Saint Sanson, tout ainsinc briement  
Com de li ot ja esté dit,  
fol. 14v 640 Saint Magloire sanz contredit  
L'onneur d'evesque a receu  
De l'eglise Dol et eu.  
Et la Dieu tant li a presté  
644 Par sa grant debonnereté,—  
Que sanz reproche largement  
Eslargir veut communement,—  
D'aide et grace qu'au profit  
648 De mains pluseurs granz vertuz fist.  
Et ainsinc le dit nostre Sire  
A ses disciples ou vost dire:  
"Luise touzjourz vostre lumiere  
652 Devant touz, devant et derriere,  
Sique ceus qui regarderont  
Voz bons faiz glorifieront  
Dieu vostre Pere chascune heure  
656 Qui es cielx habite et demeure".  
En ceste guise saint Magloire  
Resplendi—ce doit chascun croire—  
Et tant resplendi clerement  
660 De vertu et d'enseignement  
Q'une nuit en dormant .i. ange  
Li apparut et dit: "Estrange  
Ce país. Plus loign t'estuet traire  
664 Et mener vie solitaire.  
fol. 15r Jusqu'a or ci as habité  
Cum evesques en auctorité  
Et le peuple eu Dieu en garde,  
668 Mes a Dieu plet qui te regarde,  
Pour ce qu'en ton cors touz reluises  
De simple oiel, qu'ailleurs te reduises

die well.

643-47 Latin: "ubi ejus de Christi clementia qui dat multa et non impropertat et semper bona largitur" (165). O.Fr.pr.: "Ouquel leu par l'ayde de la debonnereté d'icelui Jhesucrist qui donne largement moult de biens et ne le reproche pas." Therefore, *que* 645 = *qui*, and refers to God as antecedent.

651-56 *Matt.* v, 6: "Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus: ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent patrem vestrum, qui in

celis est."

657 At this point the Latin (165<sup>r</sup>-166<sup>r</sup>) and the O.Fr.pr. (33<sup>a</sup>-35<sup>a</sup>) continue with the material that Geoffroy de Nez transferred to the beginning of his life of St. Magloire—his education and early training (cf. 272). The poet follows the Latin pretty closely as regards the incident of the letters written by the angel, but shortens somewhat the significance of the waxen letters, then connects them to the letters of the Law written on the stone tablets, which foreshadow the



- Ou plus sanz empeeschement  
 672 Dieu puisse loer saintement.  
 Car ceti lieu ou or habites  
 Et au pueple de Dieu profites  
 Est de par Dieu a saint Sanson,  
 676 Et en sa gloire et au son  
 Nom l'a donné nostre Seigneur;  
 Et a toi garde il honneur  
 Ou le pueple Dieu garderas  
 680 Autre part et pastour seras  
 De moines en religion  
 En sainte conversacion;  
 Maintes oevres i feras dignes  
 684 Et pluseurs miracles et signes".

Coment saint Magloire lessa l'arceveschié de Dol et s'en ala en hermitage.

- Lors fu en admiracion,  
 Quant veu ot la vision.  
 Si dit quant il fu esveillie:  
 fol. 15v 688 "Ha! Sire, pour moi as veillié.  
 Graces te rens quant ton message  
 Me fait savoir ce qu'en corage  
 Avoie pieça désiré.  
 692 E! Diex, quant il te plait, je iré".  
 Lors tantost entra en pensee  
 A cui lairoit cele contree  
 Pour le pueple Dieu entreduire  
 696 Et quel part se porroit esduire.  
 En penssant de ceste ordenance,  
 Venu li est en remembrance  
 D'une terre devers la mer  
 700 Que un roi qu'en soloit clamer  
 Vidual, en accroissement  
 De s'arceveschie proprement,  
 Donee ot; la se pensse a traire  
 704 Et sa demeure illecques faire.  
 Après cela, asés briement,  
 Un pseudome qui saintement  
 Avec li menee ot sa vie  
 708 Et d'enfance eu compaignie—  
 Budoc estoit apelé—  
 Si com Dieu li ot revelé,  
 Evesque de Dol ordena;  
 fol. 16r 712 La le sacra et amena  
 En leu de li. Quant ce ot fait

new Law (1321 ff.).

678 *honneur*: lands or possession as *honor* is used in V.L. and the Theodosian Code. Translates Latin: "Tibi omnipotens Deus tuus specialem alium preparabat locum" (167\*). O.Fr.pr.: "Mes a toi apparlera Dieu le tout puissant especialement autre leu" (35\*).

690 Ms.: *Me fait "ce quen corage" savoir*.

701 Ms.: *Vidual* is certainly the reading with an initial V as in *Venu*, 698. The story

of Judual, the deposition from his throne by Conomorais of Domnonian, and his eventual rescue and restoration by St. Samson as related in the *Vita Samsonis*, p. 148-153, and by the *Vita Sancti Leonorii*, *Acta SS*, Julii I, 105-11. For the story and its historicity cf. *op.cit.* pp. 64-71. The *Vita Samsoni* records the variant *Uidualum* for *Judualum* in Mss. E, F, L, M, N, O, P, Cf. variants *op. cit.*, pp. 148-153.

709 Lacks one syllable. *Budoc*. In O.Fr.pr.:

- Magloire, de nom et de fait,  
 Et qu'il se vit tout deschargié,  
 716 Au pueple apris et au clergie  
 Congié a pris et en la terre  
 Desus dite pris a son erre.  
 Mes a la seue departie  
 720 Te pleurs ot et tel crierie,  
 Tel doleur, tel plaint et tel ire  
 Que bouche ne le porroit dire.  
 Et quant en ce leu fu venu,  
 724 Ou servise Dieu si tenu  
 S'est il par journees chascunes,  
 En vegiles et en jeunes,  
 En oroisons si fervaument  
 728 De cuer et si tres ardaument  
 Qu'il sanbloit que il ne parlast  
 Et que l'esperit s'en alast.  
 Et quant son nom, sa renomée  
 732 Fu conneue et esprouvee,  
 Lors de diverses regions  
 Pluseurs a granz devociions:  
 Malades, boiteus, langoureux  
 736 Et avegles vindrent pour eus  
 fol. 16v Guerir: mesiaus, demoniacles;  
 Et de touz ceus faisoient miracles.  
 Pluseur[s] ausinc pour sa doctrine  
 740 Et pour avoir la medicine  
 De leur salut a li venoient  
 Et lieement le visitoient;  
 Et li plus ausinc de la gent  
 744 Tresors, comme d'or et d'argent,  
 Li offroient et autres dons  
 Pour graces et pour guerredons.  
 Mes li sainz, qui n'en faisoit force  
 748 Ne plus que un petit d'escorce,  
 Au[s] povres tout abandonnoit  
 L'or et l'argent qu'en li donnoit.  
 Et quant vit que point ne cessoient  
 752 De donner, mes touzjorz cressoient  
 Et genz venoient chascun jour,  
 Com courrouciéz a dit un jour:  
 "Helas! et que m'a profité  
 756 Le mien lessier et ma cité  
 Et l'autrui prendre et recevoir,  
 Ou plus richesce truis de voir  
 Et plus grant de pueple assamblee  
 760 Que je n'avoie en ma contree?  
 fol. 17r Despoillier me cuidai du monde  
 Et de ses desirs estre monde,  
 Et de plus plus m'en revest  
 764 Ma mesoigne pas bien ne vest;

"Bucheon" (35<sup>n</sup>). Lat.: "Budocum" (168).  
 716-17 *Au pueple apris* = experienced,  
 well instructed. Lat.: "tam clero quam

plebi valefaciens". O.Fr.pr.: "prit congie  
 au clergie et un pueple".  
 752 Ms.: *cressoient*. A later hand has

- Du monde estre cuidai delivre,  
 Et je me voi richement vivre".  
 Si com telz choses ot pensé,  
 768 Après bien tost s'est apensé  
 Et de l'evesque li souvint  
 Que la laissié avoit. Dont vint  
 A Dol si l'a envoié querre  
 772 Par un message en cele terre;  
 Et cilz i vint sanz grant demeure.  
 Et saint Magloire plaint et pleure  
 Et a li a conté en plorant  
 776 Coment du pueple demourant  
 En ce païs estoit mené;  
 Puis li dit qu'il a ordené  
 De soi en tel païs retraire—  
 780 "Ou de genz ne truisse repaire;  
 Fuirai la gent voit quequ'aviegne"—  
 Siqu'a lui nus ne voit ne viegne.  
 Et quant li evesques a veu  
 784 La douleur que au cuer a eu,  
 fol. 17v Au cuer en ot compassion  
 Du courrouz, de l'affliction  
 Qu'en li vit et de la grevance;  
 788 Si se tut et fait a silence.  
 Et après ce, asséz briement,  
 Fait li a un douz parlement;  
 Si li a dit en tele guise:  
 792 "Sire, bien voi a ta devise.  
 Que pour le grant pueple de gent  
 Qui te va et vient assement  
 En requerant leur sauvement  
 796 Traveilliéz ies mout durement;  
 Et pour ce veulz faire depart  
 De ci et aler autre part  
 En aucun desert demourer,  
 800 La Dieu servir et honorer.  
 Mes s'ainsi[n]t faites, biaux douz pere,  
 Garder devéz que s'ainsint ere  
 Par le vivre au povres retraire,  
 804 En peril vous en porriéz traire  
 Se l'esperituel viande  
 Tolléz que Jhesucrist conmande;  
 En aucun las cheoir porriéz,  
 808 Quant vie au povres torriéz.

written oi above e.

780-81 Change of discourse: indirect to direct, suggested by the Latin. Transl.: Then he told him that he has arranged to withdraw into such a country "where I may not find habitation of men. I shall flee the people, come what may" (lit. see whatever may happen), so that nobody may go or come to him. Cf. Lat.: "Pro certo noveris me hinc impromptu egressurum et ad locum ubi nulla existunt hominis judicet profecturum" (168"-169").

789 Ms.: *briement*.

801 Ms.: *ainsit*.

802-03 *ere* = *erat*. Transl.: You to beware that if such were to come to pass (be) by taking away the means of life (food) from the poor. Lat.: "Verum si id exegui agonizaveris, Pater, valde cavendum est ne dum spiritalis alimonie pauperibus Christi qua illos vivere est triticum subtraxeris, cujuslibet incidas laqueum discriminis" (169"). O.Fr.pr.: "Pere, se tu mes cure a ce par-faire, tu dois garder que se tu ostes as povres le forment de la norreture esperituele de quoi li povres Jhesucrist doivent vivre, que tu chees ou laz de blasme" (35<sup>d</sup>-36<sup>a</sup>).

- fol. 18r Mielz vaut la gent Dieu assambler  
 Que departir ne dessambler;  
 Mielz vaut les cuers dolanz sains rendre
- 812 Que malades laissier en cendre.  
 Jadis, quant devers nous demoras,  
 Tu ta propre gent laboras;  
 Et s'en l'estrange maintenant
- 816 Laboures en, de maintenant  
 Come bon pastour te demaines  
 Siqu'en la granche Dieu amaines  
 Ses oeilles de .ii. parties:
- 820 Et toi sauves tu et leur vies  
 Et en auras doubles loier,  
 S'ainsint veuz ton temps emploier  
 Et en ce sambles vraiment
- 824 Jhesucrist qui premierement  
 As Juis, qui son pueple furent,  
 Preescha et sa doctrine eurent;  
 Puis aus autres genz se en allerent
- 828 Les apostres et preeschierent.  
 S'aucunes paines donc endurens  
 De ses genz, ne te soient dures,  
 Car penser doit selonc l'escript
- 832 Que le jou du douz Jhesucrist  
 Est legier et souef le fais,  
 Et se tu donc ainsinc le fais,  
 En tres grant retribucion
- fol. 18v 836 Iert ta recompensacion.  
 Ausi ses tu que nostre Sire  
 De son haut souverain empire  
 Du sain du Pere vint u monde
- 840 Pour sauver tout a la reonde:  
 Malades, langours, maladie,  
 Com l'Escripture le die  
 Que li sain n'ont mestier de mire,
- 844 Mes li malade qu'en les mire  
 Mestier ont? Et pour ce a lettre  
 Daigna Diex s'ame pour eus metre;  
 Pour ce de soi meismes dit
- 848 En une evvangile dont dit  
 De saint Ysaie prophete:  
 "L'Esperit Dieu a sus moi fete  
 Unction de misericorde
- 852 Pour ce qu'au povres je recorde  
 L'evvangile par coi je saine

813 Hypermetric: *devers* = *vers*? Omit *quant*?

813-17 Transl.: Formerly, when you dwelt in our vicinity, you worked among (lit. ploughed) your own people; and if abroad you now work (plough) among (people); from now on act like a good pastor concerning it. Lat.: "Olim vero in propriam laborasti missem, nunc autem in alienam et copiosam id exercere" (169). *en* misplaced; *de maintenant* come *bon pastour* *t'en demaines*.

813 *granche* = *grange*, < *gránica*.

832-33 Cf. *Matt.* xi, 30: "Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve."

842-45 *Matt.* ix, 12: "Non est opus valentibus medicus, sed male habentibus."

845 *a lettre*: literally. (Not in Latin.)

848-64 Cf. *Luke* iv, 18-19: "Spiritus Domini super me: propter quod unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus misit me, sanare contritos corde; praedicare captivis remissionem, et caecis visum; dimittere confractos in remissionem; praedicare annum Do-

- Cuers dolanz et que je rassaine  
 Les chetis a remission,  
 856 E[t] aus avugles vision  
 fol. 19<sup>r</sup> Puisse par ma douceur donner,  
 Et aus pecheours pardonner  
 Et l'an de grace couvenable  
 860 Et le grant jour esperitable,  
 Auquel chascune nacion  
 Prendra sa retribucion,  
 Preeschier. Et tout pour ce fait  
 864 Vost pour nous Diex homs estre fait".  
 Quant saint Magloire l'ot oï,  
 Esperituelment s'esjoï  
 Et sa sainte admonicion  
 868 A pris en grant devocion,  
 En recordant ce que vost dire  
 A ses apostres nostre Sire  
 Jhesucrist qui leur dit tel mot:  
 872 "Frere, qui vous ot, il m'at,  
 Et qui ne vous veut escouter,  
 Aussinc me veut il debouter".  
 Et pour ce a volu saint Magloire  
 876 La parole a l'evesque croire.  
 Bon fait es bons avoir creance;  
 Qui saus veust estre, croie en ce  
 Qui fait a oir et a croire.  
 880 L'en ne doit pas les bons mescroire,  
 fol. 19<sup>v</sup> Mes faire en bon creantement  
 Ce qu'i dient creantement.

Còment monseigneur saint Magloire gueri le conte Loiescon de sa meselerie.

- L'evesque ainsinques s'en torna  
 884 Qi saint Magloire destorna  
 D'aler en une autre partie.  
 Et après cele departie,  
 .i. conte Loyescon nomméz—  
 888 De riches es[t] moult renomméz—  
 Qi en une isle demoroit  
 De mer, quant il sot que coroit  
 Partout de Magloire le nom,  
 892 La renomee et le renom,—  
 Lequel ot une maladie  
 Qu'en apele meselerie  
 Pour laquele il ot despendu

mini acceptum, et diem retributionis."

849 Cf. *Isaias* lxi, 1-2.

854 *rassaine*—to redirect, to put on right road again. *re-assener* < Germ.: *sinn* crossed with *assigner*; cf. Block s.v. *asséner*.

856 Ms.: *Es*.

872 Lacks one syllable. *mē ot*?

872-74 *Luke* x, 16: "Qui vos audit, me audit; et qui vos spernit, me spernit."

877-82 *Annoninatio* introduced by *croire* of 876. Transl.: It is good to believe in good men. Let him who would wish to be

saved (safe) believe in what causes attention (notice) and belief. One is not to misbelieve (doubt) the good, but to do in all certitude (unhesitatingly) what they say credibly.

890 Ms.: *coroit*—*u* added by a later hand, hyperscript between *o* and *r*.

893-94 The Latin (169<sup>v</sup>) and the O.Fr.pr. (36<sup>b</sup>) add the information that the count had been afflicted with leprosy for seven years. Lat.: "septenis annis leprosus"; O.Fr.pr.: "par vii ans avoit esté mesel".

- 896 Mout en mires, ne nul rendu  
Santé ne li ot n'alegence,—  
Vint a li en humilliance.  
A terre a ses piéz s'est geté
- fol. 20r 900 Et l'ordure et l'enfermeté  
Du mal dont taint est et noirci  
Li moustra en requérant merci.  
Quant saint Magloire l'a veu,
- 904 Si li dit comme quas eu:  
"Pour coi vienz ça ne que demandes?"  
"Sire, pour ce qu'a moi entendes  
Par tes aides et prieres
- 908 Que j'ai sus toutes choses chieres  
Et que je soie nestoiéz  
De la lepre dont vous voiéz".  
Lors saint Magloire a respondu:
- 912 "Sui de toute[s] parz confondu.  
He! biaux amis, comment porroie,  
Com ors et vilz pechierres soie  
Ou cuer et tu corporelment,
- 916 Toi faire ne parfaitement?  
Biaux amis, par moi ne puet estre;  
Ce puet on bien chascun connestre,  
Mes pour toi et je et mes freres
- 920 [En] serons en devotes prieres".  
Adonc a commandé au conte  
Que trois [jours] jeunast en conte  
Saint Magloire; ausint ensement
- 924 Prestres, clers, lais, devotement  
Qui adonc avec li esterent  
Trois jourz ensamble jeunerent  
En oroisons et letanies.
- fol. 20v 928 Quant ces choses furent fenies,  
Saint Magloire un baign fait faire  
Et le conte fist dedenz traire;  
Ses mains mist sus li, ses ielz dresce
- 932 U ciel et envers Dieu s'adresce,  
Puis dit: "Jhesucrist, biaux douz Sire,  
Qui tout feiz, forme et matire,  
Et qui Naaman, le prophete,
- 936 Nestoias, quant la santé fete  
De sa lepre li fu u fleuve  
De Jordan, si comme l'en treuve,  
Et pour nous sauver entendis
- 940 Tant que ça aval descendis  
Et qui ou fleuve desus dit,

904 Ms. reading is certainly: *comme quas eu*. There is nothing that corresponds in the Latin. *quas*, *cas* < *casum*: a crisis, accident, emergency in an absolute construction: he answered as though a crisis or emergency had struck. Otherwise < *cassus*?

906 *qu'a moi entendes*: that you take care of me, that you cure me. *Faire*, 916, refers to this line.

912 Ms. *toute parz*.

920 *prieres* is ordinarily elsewhere trisyllabic. If the poet's ordinary usage be followed, the line would have to be emended. Omit first *en*: *Serons en devotes prieres*.

922 Ms. omits *jourz*. Lat.: "triduanum" (170").

931 Ms.: *ielz*—later hand superscript *u*.  
935-38 Cf. IV *Kings* v, 1-14, especially 14.  
938 Cf. *Luke* iv, 27.

942 Possibly the reference is to the bap-

- Si com t'evvangile le dit,  
 Les pechiéz de humain lignage  
 944 Que formé euz a t'image  
 Et effaças, l'anemi pesme,—  
 C'est le diable—par le baptesme  
 Vainquis et victoire eus plaine,  
 948 Et puis Marie Magdalene  
 De ses pechiéz entierement  
 Adsolz misericordement,  
 fol. 21r Je te requier et te soupploie,  
 952 Non pas pour ce que justes soie,  
 Car en noz biens ne nous fions,  
 Mes en tes miseracions  
 Que cis ta debonereté  
 956 A la gloire et la majesté  
 De toi sante, et la maladie  
 De ceste grant meselerie  
 Li cesse et soit nestoiez,  
 960 Sique [vous] touz glorifiéz  
 Soies qui vis un Dieu et trine  
 En ta grant gloire qui ne fine".  
 Quant ce fu dit, ne plus ne mains,  
 964 Le conte atouche de ses mains  
 Et tout ainsinc comme li sains  
 Le touche, li cors devient sains;  
 Et si la lepre li chiet toute  
 968 Qu'en li n'aparut une goutte  
 N'en trace, n'en leu, n'en samblance,  
 Mes char ot comme enfant d'enfance.  
 Si ne porroit nus homs descrire  
 972 Ne cueur penser ne bouche dire  
 De ceste cure qui fu faite  
 La chose qui en fu retraite  
 fol. 21v De ceus qui le miracle virent,  
 976 Qui le sorent et qui le oient.  
 Après ceste curacion,  
 Le conte a grant devocion  
 Saint Magloire a genouz souplie  
 980 Et Dieu, et puis li mout mercie  
 En plorant, en affection pure  
 De la santé et de sa cure.

Coment le conte donna la moitié de sa terre a saint Magloire.

- Ce conte que vous ai nonmé  
 984 De richesce fu renonmé;

tism of Jesus by John in the Jordan: cf. *Mark* i, 9-11; *Matt.* iii, 13-17. *John* iii, 22, states that both Jesus and John baptized: "Post haec venit Jesus, et discipuli ejus, in terram Judaeam; et illic demorabatur cum eis, et baptizabat." Cf. *John* iv, 1.

945 Et. Cf. use of *et*, 606, and Foulet, # 335.

948-50 *Luke* vii, 47-48. Cf. *Matt.* xxvi, 27; *Mark* xiv, 5; *John* xi, 2.

960 Lacks a syllable. Add *vous* or *tu*.

970 Cf. *IV Kings* v, 14. The Latin has this

but it is a remembrance of the cure of Naaman: "sed facta est caro ejus, sicut caro pueri parvuli."

977 The O.Fr.pr. interpolates here the chapter heading of poem 983: "Auquel nostre Sires donne tant de grace que non seulement les homes mes les oisiaus du ciel et les poissons de la mer obeissoient a son commandement ainsi que la on il aloit il aloient et revenoient avec li."

981 Hypermetric. The suffix *-ion* is in-

- D'or, d'argent, de possessions;  
 Bestes, diverses regions,  
 De sergenz et de chamberieres  
 988 Ravoit il mout ça en arrieres.  
 En aucuns leus ot terre assise  
 Et cele en trois leus se devise  
 Dont l'une moitié droit par conte  
 992 Vost a saint Magloire le conte  
 Donner. Li si l'en mercia  
 Et cele a soi l'apropria.

Coment les oisiaus et les poissons qui estoient en la partie du conte vindrent  
 en la partie saint Magloire.

- En celes terres devisees  
 996 Qui vous ont esté ci nonmees  
 Ot mout d'oisiaus, c'est verité,  
 Et biaux et granz en quantité  
 fol. 22r Qui entour ces leus habitoient;  
 1000 Les genz aussint mout i prenoient  
 Poissons, car la marine plaine  
 A ces terres estoit procheinne.  
 Un jour a saint Magloire avint  
 1004 Qu'en sa moitié donnee vint  
 Et quant entré la et venu  
 Fu, ainsinc l'en est venu  
 Que les oisiaus touz toute a route  
 1008 Et les poissons ausinc sanz doute  
 Qui en la part du conte furent  
 Se departirent et s'esmurent  
 Et en la moitié saint Magloire  
 1012 En vindrent, ce fu chose voire,  
 Com si vosissent reverance  
 A li faire et obedience.  
 Laquel chose porta griement  
 1016 La fame au conte voirement  
 Et vost le conte amonester  
 Que la terre sanz arrester,  
 Qu'a saint Magloire avoit livree,  
 1020 Par devers soi feust tournee;  
 Et pour ce a ce amis s'estuide  
 Que saint Magloire eut la wide  
 fol. 22v Des poissons et d'oisiaus ensamble,  
 1024 Et l'autre part ou s'asamble

variably disyllabic.

991 Latin: "Quarum utique unam scilicet  
 divisionem non integram sed dimidiam"  
 (171'). O.Fr.pr. the same.

994 O.Fr.pr. omits chapter heading. It had  
 it at 977. Latin omits chapter heading.

1001 *marine plaine* corresponds to the  
 Latin: "in sinum maris" (171'). O.Fr.pr.:  
 "en .l. saing de la mer" (37'); i.e. shore of  
 a bay. *Plaine*, then, would be from *plana*,  
 flat, level: the level beach. One might be  
 tempted otherwise to see in the expression  
 "flood-tide".

1005 Ms.: two letters erased between  
*entré* and *la*.

1007 *toute a route* is intended to render  
 the Latin "velut perterrita expavit" (171')  
 that refers to *avium multitudo*. O.Fr.pr.:  
 "se esbahi et ausi comme espoorée"; literal-  
 ly: in serried flight.

1021 *s'estuide*—everts herself, strives. Cf.  
 Tob.—Lom. s.v. *estuidier*; Godefroy IX, 568  
 c s.v. *estudier*. Latin *suasit ei* (171'). *ce*  
*amis* is intended to render the Latin *ei*,  
 i.e., the countess' husband = *s'ami*.

1022 Ms.: *Que saint "eut la wide" ma-*



- D'oisiaus et poissons la compaigne  
 A li et au conte remaigne.  
 Ainsinc tant fist par son afaire  
 1028 Que cele terre a fait retraire,  
 Mes pour ce que plus a sa fame  
 Creu que le profit de s'ame,  
 Des poissons la grant assamblee  
 1032 Et des oisiaus la assamblee  
 S'en parti, car par couvoitise  
 Oste l'avoit et reprise;  
 Dont touz les poissons s'en alerent  
 1036 Et les oisiaus et retournerent  
 A saint Magloire et an sa part,  
 Et du conte firent depart  
 Come s'entr'euz leur parlement  
 1040 Fait eussent communement.  
 Et quant la chose sot le conte,  
 Dolant en fu et en ot honte;  
 Repentanz fu mout de ce fait  
 1044 Et pour amender le mesfait  
 A saint Magloire maintenant  
 A tout donné le remanant.  
 fol. 23r Pria qu'il li fust pardonné;  
 1048 L'une et l'autre part a donné  
 A saint Magloire entierement.  
 Lors tantost et soudainement  
 Poissons et oisiaus se departent  
 1052 Et parmi la terre s'espartent;  
 Parmi la terre s'espartirent  
 Ainsi conme au premier le firent  
 Et par leur coustume devant.  
 1056 Chascun en fu apercevant,  
 Car non pas en cele contree  
 Sanz plus fu cele chose alee,  
 Mes en lointains païs seue  
 1060 Fu et pour merveilleuse eue.  
 En ice lieu fu saint Magloire.  
 Et en l'oneur Dieu et la gloire  
 Il edefia une eglise;  
 1064 S'i conversa en tele guise  
 Qu'a touz bons essamples donnoit  
 Et leur preescoit et sarmonnoit  
 Du tresor de sa bone vie.  
 1068 Et la fist il une abbaie;  
 Soixante et deus moines i mist  
 Et d'euz enseignier s'entremist  
 fol. 23v Et leur ordene et devise  
 1072 De faire a Dieu devot servise,  
 Et de nuit et de jour ouvrer  
 Et des sains ausinc honorer.  
 Uquel lieu, quielz faiz ne quielz signes  
 1076 Il fist, quielz enseignemenz dignes,
- gloire.*  
 1032 la *assemblee*: assembled there, i.e. the assembly of fishes and birds.  
 1077 Ms.: *sest* with c superscript over first

- Cilz sest qui les estoilles conte,  
 Car nul autre n'en scet le conte.  
 Et pour ce, briement, mencion  
 1080 Veil de sa conversacion  
 Tres sainte faire et raconter;  
 Et premier ne doi mesconter  
 Que non pas chastes seulement,  
 1084 Mes vierges du commencement  
 Qu'il nasqui du ventre sa mere  
 Luit il comme lumiere clere.  
 Pain d'orge et un pou de potage  
 1088 Vil prenoit sanz point davantage;  
 Nule viande au mecredi  
 Ne prenoit ne au vendredi:  
 Au mescredi, quar lors traïe  
 1092 Fu la char de Dieu beneïe;  
 Lors fust il traïz et venduz  
 Et au vendredi fu penduz  
 fol. 24r En croiz de la juiverie.  
 1096 Et pour ce fist toute sa vie  
 Tele penance sanz retraire;  
 Tou[z] jourz a sa char ot la haire.  
 De robes se tint humblement:  
 1100 Ne povrement ne richement,  
 Mes moienement se vestoit;  
 Et pour ce ainsinques tiex estoit:  
 Pour le los aschiver du monde,  
 1104 Car c'est la rez qui l'ome afonde  
 En dempnacion pardurable;  
 Pour ce avoit habit moiennable.  
 Des lors que s'eveschié lascia  
 1108 Et qu'au desert il s'abaissa,  
 Quant l'ange revelé li a—  
 Si con Dieu li senefia—  
 Il ne [b]ut cervoise ne vin;  
 1112 Tout esperitel et devin  
 Vers Dieu fu. Es solempnitéz,  
 Par aucunes necessitéz,  
 De petiz poissonnéz briement,  
 1116 Aussi com par contreignement  
 De ses freres religieux,  
 Prenoit li douz sains glorieus  
 fol. 24v Qui de la char fuioit les vices;  
 1120 Et ce tenoit a granz delices.  
 La nuit, quant (se) dormoient li frere,  
 Tout seul se retraioit arriere  
 Et sus la rive de la mer

s in corrector's hand.

1080-01 *de sa conversation tres sainte*: of his very holy life. Cf. 204.

1088 Ms.: point with *autre* superscript in later hand. Point is not deleted. *Autre* would make the line hypermetric.

1095 Marginal two lines are added: *Ces .ii. jourz especiaument / Pour Dieu qu'il ama loiaument*. They have no correspond-

ence in the Lat. or O.Fr.pr.

1095 Ms.: *tout jourz*.

1103 *eschiver* — avoid, eschew < Germ. *skiwan*.

1104 *rez*: net, snare < Lat. *retem*; translates Lat. *muscipula* (172r) and O.Fr.pr. *piège* (37<sup>d</sup>).

1111 Ms.: *dut*.

1121 Hypermetric. Omit *se*?

- 1124 Veilloit de cuer contrist, amer,  
Jusques a l'eure de matines.  
Aus orfelins et orfelines  
Et a touz en necessité
- 1128 Faisoit il hospitalité,  
Car en son cuer avoit escript  
Ce que saint Pol l'apostre escript:  
"Diex ainme", ce dit voirement,
- 1132 "Celi qui done lieement".  
Et que porroit on plus conter?  
Toutes vertuz, sanz mesconter,  
Que saint Pol a volu descrire
- 1136 Ot saint Magloire sanz desdire:  
Charité, pais et joie ensamble,  
Et pacience en li s'asamble,  
Perseverance et puis bonté;
- 1140 Touz ces biens sont en li conté:  
Benignitéz, foi, atemprance  
Et chasté avec contenance.
- fol. 25r 1144 Saint Magloire ainsint fu paréz  
Et de vertuz que comparéz  
Est au sains par comparement,  
Car en li ot saint parement.  
Et pour ce en est s'ame paree
- 1148 De gloire qu'il a comparee;  
Par penance la conpara.  
Et pour ce cele aus sains par a  
U ciel, en paradis paré;
- 1152 La l'a Diex de gloire paré.

Coment le keu monseigneur saint Magloire ala peeschier en la mer et se noia et par la priere du saint fu resuscite.

- Pour entendre plus clerement  
De ses vertuz plus clerement,  
Ce que j'ai estrait de sa vie
- 1156 Droiz est qu'aucune chose en die.  
Un jour a une matinee  
Est de sa mesnie envoiee  
A la mer et les roiz fist tendre
- fol. 25v 1160 Pour aucun pou de poisson prendre  
Dont feist au moines pitance.  
Et lors par cas de mescheance  
L'un des vallez qu'il envoia

1130-32 *II Cor. ix, 7*: "Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus."

1135-43 *Galat. v, 22-23*: "Fructus autem Spiritus est caritas gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas."

1143-52 Annominatio introduced by *paréz*. Transl.: Saint Magloire was adorned with virtues so that (*ainsint que*) he is grouped with the saints by association because in him was holy adornment. Therefore is his soul bedecked with glory which he has merited. He merited it by penance. And

therefore in heaven in glorious paradise he has that (glory) equal to (that of) the saints. There God of glory has placed him. 1154 Ms.: marginal in later hand: *l'es-movement*.

1158 *De sa mesnie*. Partitive use; cf. Foullet # 95 and p. 75. Began in conversation in thirteenth century and then penetrated gradually.

1159 *roiz* < *retem*—net. Cf. 1104. Latin *retia* (172°).

1161 *pitance* < *pietatem* with change of suffix first of all meant pity, piety. Rapidly took on meaning "portion qu'on donne a

- 1164 En la mer chei et noia;  
 Mes tantost et sanz demoree  
 Li fu cele mort revelee.  
 Lors saint Magloire crie et pleure
- 1168 Et courpables s'apele en l'eure  
 De la mort du vallet noïé.  
 Adonc forment s'est esmoïé  
 Et li avec tout son couvent
- 1172 Devant le saint autel souvent  
 Tout ce jour a Dieu souplia,  
 Du vrai cuer contrist qu'en li a,  
 Que Dieu vers li ne soit iré
- 1176 Pour celi qui fu adiré.  
 Lors au soir, que ja la lumiere  
 Du soleil fu retraite arriere,  
 Il et ses moines sus la mer
- 1180 En sont venu Dieu reclamer;  
 Seaumes et letanies dirent,  
 Maintes oroisons de cuer firent.  
 Et saint Magloire ne se tarde,
- fol. 26r 1184 Mes en plorant le ciel regarde;  
 A terre estendu Dieu souploie  
 Que la mer li rende et envoie  
 Celi que mort a et noïé.
- 1188 Et quant ainsint ot Dieu proïé,  
 La mer enflee a hors bouté  
 Celi qu'ele avoit transglouté,  
 Et celi qu'ele ot mort tenu
- 1192 A la rive vif est venu.  
 Et ce fist Diex a la priere  
 Saint Magloire et en la maniere  
 Que la mer Jonas le prophete
- 1196 Vomit jadis. Ainsi fu faite  
 La chose que j'ai recité.  
 Et quant vit le resuscité  
 Et sot que Diex n'ot ses prieres
- 1200 Deboutees ne mis arrieres,  
 A Dieu en a fait sacrefice  
 Avecques le devin office;  
 Et pour le cas et la cheance
- 1204 Du mort fist veu en l'audiance  
 De Dieu que, tant con vif [s]eroit,  
 De nul poisson ne mengeroit;  
 Mes de ce diré encor(e) veu.
- 1208 La septieme nuit de ce veu,

chacun dans les repas des communautés religieuses." Jean de Meun, *Rose* 8146. These distributions of food were often assured by pious foundation—Block *s.v.* *pitié*. Cf. 3188.

1170 *esmoïé* = *esmaïé* < *ex makare*—to be bereft of strength, made unhappy.

1176 *adiré*—lit. mislaid, lost. Cf. Lacurne; still in use in Normandy. Quite popular in Paris in sixteenth century.

1179 *sus la mer*. Lat. *litus maris* (173<sup>r</sup>). O.Fr.pr. *au rivage de la mer* (38<sup>b</sup>).

1185 Ms.: *souplie*, with *o* hyperscript

above *i* and *e* in a later hand.

1195-96 Cf. *Jonas* ii, 11.

1204 *veu* = *vōtum*, vow.

1205 Ms.: *feroit*.

1207 Transl.: But I shall speak more or again of this vow. Hypermetric *encore* = *encor*. There is no correspondence in the Latin. The O.Fr.pr. has ch. heading: "Des poissons et coment un en amenoit tant comme il en couvenoit pour la table Saint Magloire si comme il est leu ci apres" (38<sup>b</sup>).

- fol. 26v      Qu'a matines dire entendi,  
                  L'ange du ciel li descendi  
                  Et li dit: "Diex veut que tu m'oies  
 1212 Et des poissons que tu avoies  
                  A coustume devant user  
                  Te couvient et le veu ruser  
                  Que tu fait as novelement;  
 1216 Et te di que communement  
                  Touz engins par coi l'en puet prendre  
                  Poissons ne que l'en i puet tendre  
                  Des ores en avant laisseras.  
 1220 Et a la mer envoieras  
                  Un de tes valléz maintenant  
                  Et le premier poisson devant  
                  Qu'il trouveras et qu'il prendra  
 1224 A l'emmeçon qu'i le tendra,  
                  Les pennes trenchast de sa keue  
                  Et l'enmeçon qu'en la main seue  
                  Tendra et le poisson avecques  
 1228 En la mer getera illecques.  
                  En ce aura senefiance  
                  Que toute foiz qu'en apparance  
                  Ce poisson a li revendra  
 1232 Que de peeschier se tendra,  
 fol. 27r      Et jusques tant qu'a li reviegne  
                  Peechast et bien ce retiegne".  
                  Et ainsiques con l'ange dité  
 1236 L'ot, fu il fait, c'est ver[i]té,  
                  Car en peeschant labouroit  
                  Li vallés tant com demouroit  
                  Le poisson de l'yaue a saillir;  
 1240 Et adonques soloit faillir  
                  Quant a ce jour la peescherie.  
                  Et tant com plus grant compaignie  
                  Avec soi saint Magloire eust,  
 1244 De tant la demeure feust  
                  Plus grant du poisson a venir,  
                  Pour plus poissons faire venir;  
                  Et quant mains de genz il tenoit,  
 1248 Le poisson plus tost revenoit.  
                  Ceti poisson de bon endroit  
                  Puet senefier orendroit  
                  Le loial serjant du Seigneur,

1209 *matines dire*. Lat.: "nocturnes temporibus sacras vigilias" (173<sup>r</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "ou temps de nuit les saintes vigiles" (38<sup>b</sup>).

1214 *ruser* — abrogate, set aside.

1219 Hypermetric; *ores* = *ore*?

1224, 1226 *enmeçon*: fish hook. Lat. *hamum* + suffix of *poinçon*.

1232 *de peeschier se tendra* — he will refrain from fishing. Lat. *piscatio. cessabit* (173<sup>v</sup>). O.Fr.pr. *il laissera a peeschier*.

1235 Hypermetric. Omit *et or ainsiques* = *ainsinc*.

1236 Ms.: *verté*. *Verité* amends line count.  
 1238-39 *demouroit . . . a saillir*: delayed in emerging from the water.

1242-46 Lat.: "Quanto major circa beatum virum inerat hominum coadunatio, tanto diutius habebatur piscis accultatio." (173<sup>v</sup>) O.Fr.pr.: "de tant comme il avoit plus grant assamblee de gent, de tant estoit le poisson plus longuement repost." (38<sup>c</sup>)

1244 Transl.: The greater was the delay of the fish in appearing in order to cause more fish to appear.

1249-70 The poet summarizes the slightly longer allegorization of the Latin, 173<sup>v</sup>-174<sup>v</sup>, and the O.Fr.pr., 38<sup>c-d</sup>, introduced by the admission that what has gone before was said "*sub ridiculo*"; O.Fr.pr. "aucun pou rudement."

- 1252 Qui pour son profit et s'onneur  
 Amenistre de son mestier  
 Ce qu'est necessaire et mestier,  
 Et doucement fait son servise  
 1256 Et ses compaignons si avise  
 fol. 27v Qu'i sevent quant doivent venir  
 Pour leur servise maintenir,  
 Et il meismes va derriere  
 1260 Com si deist en tel maniere:  
 "Ne refuséz d'aler devant  
 Quant vous estes apercevant  
 En ma keue derrier le signe;  
 1264 C'est ce que ce poisson nous signe".  
 Ceste guise de peeschier  
 Ne pot nus homs empeeschier  
 Tant comme vesqui saint Magloire;  
 1268 Mes puis sa mort, c'est chose voire,  
 Deniee fu et tolue  
 Et l'ancienne fu rendue.

Comment le keu monseigneur saint Magloire ala peeschier et perdi son coutel  
 en la mer et comment par la vertu monseigneur saint Magloire il le trouva en  
 i. poisson.

- En laquele peescherie,  
 1272 Quant saint Magloire estoit en vie,  
 Li valléz qui peeschier savoit  
 En sa main i. coutel avoit  
 Et l'aim ausiques, ce me samble;  
 1276 Et d'aventure tout ensamble  
 Coutel et haim en mer geta,  
 fol. 28r Mes son coutel mout regreta  
 Et dolant en fu et iré  
 1280 De ce qu'ainsi l'ot adiré.  
 Laquel chose aucun raporterent  
 A saint Magloire et li conterent;  
 Et il le fist a soi venir  
 1284 Et li dit: "Ne veilles tenir  
 Ire, biau fil, en ta penssee,  
 Car demain sanz plus demoree  
 Un poisson(s) que tu peescheras  
 1288 Uquel ton coutel trouveras".  
 Mes li valléz ne vot rien croire  
 Chose que deist saint Magloire,  
 Mes folie la volt clamer:  
 1292 Pour ce qu'u parfont de la mer  
 L'ot perdu, bien cuida savoir  
 Que ja ne le poist ravoïr.  
 Pour peeschier lendemain  
 1296 Li valléz se leva de main  
 Qui du coutel se desconforte;

1256 *avise*: directs, orders, indicates. Cf.  
 1369 — *avise* = indicates, points out.  
 1275, 1277 *aim* and *haim*: fish hook; Lat.  
*hamum*.

1280 *adiré* — lost. Cf. 1196.

1287-88 Elliptical. Transl.: There will be a  
 fish which you catch wherein you will find  
 your knife.

- Des poissons prist si les aporte  
 Devant saint Magloire en presence.  
 1300 Et tout aussitot demoustrance  
 Li fist Diex du poisson connoistre  
 Uquel le coutel devoit estre.  
 fol. 28r Au baton le touche au vallet,  
 1304 Puis a dit qui mot ne parlet:  
 "Effondre ce poisson briement;  
 Ton coutel i est vraiment".  
 Quant effondré l'ot, trouvé l'a.  
 1308 Chascun s'esbahit de cela,  
 Car u coutel qu'il ot trouvé  
 Vrai prophete l'ot esprouvé,  
 Car ce qu'il avoit dit devant  
 1312 Vont de voir apercevant;  
 Du serjant aussinc la doutance  
 Fu du tout mis en oubliance.  
 Ceus qui ce fait et autres virent  
 1316 De ses miracles et oient,  
 Et plus qu'en ne porroit comprendre  
 Merveilles orent de l'entendre.  
 Qui seroit de li loer dignes  
 1320 Par cui Diex tant a fait de signes,  
 Que non pas la gent seulement,  
 Mes si con le dist ensement  
 David: "Les oisiaus qui demeurent  
 1324 U ciel et les poissons" l'onneurent  
 "De la mer" et li appareillent  
 Viandes dont genz s'enmerveillent,  
 fol. 29r Quant si tost et apertement  
 1328 Il sont a son commandement.  
 Qui le porroit donc orendroit  
 Loer bien selonc son endroit  
 A laquel voiz la mer trembla  
 1332 Et l'ome vif, que li embla  
 Et vie osta par son outrage,  
 Rendi tout vif a son rivage?  
 A Dieu en soit loenge et gloire  
 1336 Qui tez faiz fit en saint Magloire,  
 Et en touz et en chascun oevre,  
 Si con dit l'Apostre toute heure.  
 Tout ce que devant dist ci é  
 1340 Puet estre a Dieu apropié  
 Et ce que saint Magloire fait  
 A, nous fist Jhesucrist de fait:  
 Quant vers la mer ot habité  
 1344 Ou Diex prist nostre humanité,

1303 Transl: He touches it with the youth's (servant's) rod. Lat. does not indicate whose rod it is: "Quem baculo tangens" (174). O.Fr.pr.: "prist un baston et toucha le poisson" (39<sup>b</sup>).

1304 *qui* = *cui*; dat. He said to him who spoke no word.

1312 Lacks one syllable. *vont il*?

1323-25 Cf. Ps. viii, 9; "Volucres caeli, et

pisces, maris qui perambulant semitas maris."

1334 Ms.: *vif en son* with *en* deleted by dots. and *a* written above it in a later hand.

1338 Line is an addition of the poet: Latin "Unde laus ei et gloria Christo Domino qui operatur omnia in omnibus." Cf. I Cor. xii, 6: "Idem vero Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus."

- La mer le monde senefie  
 Et la terre la charnel vie  
 Et le rivage, qui va outre,  
 1348 La fin du monde nous demoustre;  
 Et le mesel tout sain rendi:  
 fol. 29<sup>v</sup> Quant touz plaiéz en croiz pendi  
 Pour sauver tout l'umain lignage.  
 1352 Puis de ceste mer fist passage  
 En une autre terre habitable  
 D'oisiaus et poissons delitable,  
 Car Diex après sa passion,  
 1356 Droit le jour de s'assension,  
 Monta tout droit en paradis  
 Qu'Adam avoit perdu jadis.  
 La sont oisiaus—ce sont li ange  
 1360 Et avec eus li archange—  
 Qui pennes ont pour nous noncier  
 Ce que Dieu plait a nous noncier;  
 Et granz sont, car aus adversaires  
 1364 Combatent qui nous sont contraires.  
 Et si sont biaux, n'autre biauté  
 Humaine a eus n'a egauté,  
 Si conme il fu du premier ange  
 1368 Dit—de Ezechiel la pren je—  
 Qui de sa biauté nous avise  
 Par .ix. pierres qu'il nous devise  
 Qui la ornerent et parerent  
 1372 Et encor les bons anges perent:  
 Sarde, topaze et jaspre, après  
 fol. 30<sup>r</sup> Crisolites qui li est pres,  
 Oniz, berilles et saphir,  
 1376 Escharbocle et puis afir,  
 Esmeraude la darreniere;  
 Ceste biauté grant est et chiere.  
 En ceste terre ou Diex monta,  
 1380 Quant nostre anemi seurmonta,  
 Ra poissons: ce sont certes genz  
 Qui sont en consciences genz  
 Et par ame—c'est par boutesme—  
 1384 Sauvé sont avecques le cresseme;  
 Oisiaus donc et poissons ensamble  
 Ja ce moustre, ce me samble,  
 Tou droit con ligne sanz oblique,  
 1388 Qu'avec la nature angelique  
 L'umaine u ciel lassus demeure  
 Qui Jhesucrist sert et honneure,  
 Si con les sainz escriz l'espreuvent.  
 1392 Et en cele terre la treuvent  
 Li saint leur pardurable gloire,  
 Entre lesquiex luit saint Magloire  
 Com ame du ciel gracieuse
- 1351 Ms.: *linage* with *g* superscript be-  
 tween *i* and *n* in the same hand.  
 1360 Lacks one syllable.  
 1371 *la*—fem. direct obj. referring back  
 to *biauté*, 1369.  
 1381 *Ra*—*ravoir*. *re* with iterative value.  
 Transl.: There were in . . .  
 1386 Lacks one syllable.



- fol. 30v
- 1396 Entre les autres precieuse,  
Car ça aval si Dieu servi  
Que sa gloire en a deservi,  
Et pour ce ores dist lieement:
- 1400 "Je apparrai droiturement  
Devant ton regart, biau douz Sire,  
Et avec ce, bien puis je dire,  
Que lors saoul je me verrai,
- 1404 Quant a ta gloire apparrai,  
Et que je verrai la hautesce,  
Siqu'en toi m'ame se eleesce."  
Et grant joie a il voirement,
- 1408 Quar desliéz est franchement  
De la char, sique sa sainte ame  
Est avec Dieu et nostre Dame;  
Et des anges a compaignie,
- 1412 Car de ceste chetive vie  
U ciel glorieus en victoire  
Monta, ce devons nous touz croire.  
Se nous le volons donques suivre,
- 1416 En meurs honestes devons vivre;  
Il est le propre patron nostre.  
Donc selonc ce que dist l'Apostre,  
Nous le devons d'esperitables
- 1420 Chanz honorer et delitables,  
Siqu'après jour du jugement  
Avec li pardurablement
- fol. 31r
- Et en cors et en esperite
- 1424 Regner puissons par sa merite.Amen.

Coment la grant famine fu en Bretaine et coment li enfant furent gouverné en la nef parmi la mer de la croce monseigneur saint Magloire sanz nul autre gouvernail.

- De maintes guises et manieres  
Fist en la mer ça en arrieres  
Signes, si vous en veill descire
- 1428 D'aucuns de ceus qu'ai oï dire  
A pseudomes religieux:  
Saint Magloire, le glorieus,  
Fu tiex que de celi le nom
- 1432 Vola partout et le renom.  
De lors en un temps em Bretaine  
De biens temporeus fu brehaigne;  
Chierté li fu lors si voisine
- 1436 Que partout estoit la famine,  
Si fu lors Bretaine en tel guise

1401 Ms.: *biau*'.

1400-04 Cf. Ps. xvi, 15: "Ego autem in justitia apparebo conspectui tuo: satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua." NB: The poet mistranslates *cum apparuerit gloria tua*.

1406 Cf. Ps. xxxiv, 9: "Anima autem mea exultabit in Domino."

1418 Cf. Col. iii, 16: "docentes et communes vosmetipsos, psalmis, hymnis, et canticis spiritualibus, in gratia cantantes in

cordibus vestris Deo."

1433 ff. Gregory of Tours mentions a famine in 585, *Hist. Franc. VII*, 45, which desolated the largest part of France. St. Magloire's famine in Bretagne—Amorica—is generally linked to this date.

1434 *brehaigne*—scarcity, dearth; cf. *chiereté*, 1435. Of unknown origin, common to all romance languages; first used as a noun to denote "a sterile land". Synonymous

- Qu'en ne trouvoit marcheandise  
De chose dont l'en poist vivre.
- 1440 Dont pluseurs nobles pour leur vivre  
fol. 31v Leurs heritages delaissent  
Et vindrent et se transporterent  
A saint Magloire tout le cours
- 1444 Pour de famine avoir secours;  
Et ja soit ce que requerissent  
Du glorieus saint et vosissent  
Sanz plus viande corporelle,
- 1448 De la viande esperituelle  
Plus pensa et du sauvement  
De leur ames. Et vraiment  
Leur dist que si se departoient
- 1452 Des vices, que habundance auroient  
Et de eus se partiroit famine;  
Ainsi leur dist, car de devine  
Escripture assez il savoit
- 1456 Entre les vertuz qu'il avoit.  
Et pour ce de norrisement  
Esperituel premierement  
Leur cuers paissoit et sarmonnoit,
- 1460 Puis la viande leur donnoit  
Qui au cors estoit necessaire;  
Et ainsinc repaitre et refaire  
Les voloit le saint doublement.
- 1464 Dont pour ce a Dieu devotement  
fol. 32r Tuit graces rendoient en ce  
Qu'en leur temps home de science,  
Bon en Dieu pour eus ordener,
- 1468 Leur avoit volu assener,  
Et qui en leur necessité  
Conseil leur estoit en pitié.  
Entremantes qu'ainsinc a Sarge
- 1472 Saint Magloire a touz sa main large  
Faisoit et donnoit qui venoient,  
Puisque de fain se conplaignoient,  
La substance de l'abbaie
- 1476 Fu pres degastee et faillie,  
Lors le procureur et dean  
Du conseil qu'il orent mean  
Des moines que leenz estoient

as an adj. with *infructuosus*.

1443 *tout le cours* = in droves, lit. endlessly. Latin: *cateruatim* (177'); O.Fr.pr.: *a granz tourbes* (40').

1454 Ms.: *leur a dist car devine*, with a deleted by dot, and *de* superscript between *car* and *devine* in the same hand.

1454-55 *de devine Escripture*. Author misunderstood: cf. 1466. The Latin, not Scripture but letters: "litteralibus studiis satis erat imbutus" (177'). O.Fr.pr.: "estoit assez bien appris es estudes des lettres" (41').

1465 Lacks one syllable.

1471 *Sarge*—i.e. the Island of Sark, one of the smaller Channel Islands where Saint Magloire had established his monastery after abandoning the bishopric of Dol.

Count Loiescon's gift. It lies 7 miles east of Guernsey, about 3 m. long and 1½ m. at extreme breadth. Divided into 2 unequal parts, Great Sark (more northern) and Little Sark, connected by the Coupée, an isthmus, more than 100 yds. long and 6 ft. wide, with precipices on each side going down 300 ft. to the sea.

1477 *procureur*: i.e. in the Rule of St. Benedict, the cellarer chosen by the Abbot to whom is confined the working and material conditions of the monastery, the management of its possessions, the care and distribution of the food. (*Rule* ch. 31 ed. Butler, p. 65-67; P. Delatte pp. 233-42.) The Latin (178') uses *economus* rather than *cellarius*. This is used by Cassian, *Conlat*.

- 1480 Et de ce griement se doloient,  
 Un jour, puis matines chantees,  
 A saint Magloire ont leur pensees  
 Descouvert de voiz tristement
- 1484 Et dit: "Pere saint, bonement  
 Pense de ton devot couvent  
 Qui a Dieu et a toi couvent  
 D'obediance a tant tenu
- fol. 32v 1488 Et le jou de Dieu soutenu.  
 Conseil quierent de vie avoir  
 Et humblement te font savoir  
 Que blez et vin tout est delivre;
- 1492 Ceenz n'a point dont puissent vivre".  
 Quant saint Magloire a ceus oï,  
 De riens n'en fu mains esjoï,  
 Mes leur demanda sagement
- 1496 Quiex estoit leur entendement.  
 Lors le dean et procurriere  
 Qui le conseil vindrent requerre,  
 Dirent que le gre et sentence
- 1500 Des freres est que par licence  
 De li voisent en autre terre  
 Une part d'euz leur vie querre:  
 "Et quant la famine iert passee,
- 1504 Qu'a vous facent leur retournee  
 Et avec vous l'autre partie  
 Sera sanz estre departie".  
 Lors par pou que cuer ne fandi
- 1508 Saint Magloire, quant entendi  
 De sa gent la disperssion:  
 Maint sanglout, mainte affliction  
 Au cuer ot; maintes lermes gete
- fol. 33r 1512 Et en taisant son duel regrete.  
 Mes après le pleur et la plainte  
 Qui l' ot jusques ou cuer atainte,  
 Il se revint et revertue;
- 1516 Ne plus ne tint sa bouche mue,  
 Mes d'evvangile et prophecie  
 Sa responsse leur a baillie  
 Et en tel guise leur recite:
- 1520 "E! freres de foi tres petite,  
 Pour coi avéz au cuer paour?  
 Ne puet pas le Dieu que j'aour

xxi, i; *Inst.* V, 40. Rules other than St. Benedict's designate the *cellarius* as provider or *procurator*. The O.Fr.pr. does not translate but retains only the Dean (41<sup>a</sup>). The choice and function of the *decanus* is set forth in Ch. xxi of the Rule of St. Benedict; cf. *Sancti Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum*, ed. Cuth. Butler (3rd ed. Freiburg 1935), p. 56-57; and Paul Delatte. *The Rule of St. Benedict, A Commentary* (London, 1921), p. 194-99. The deans were chosen by the Abbot when the community was rather large, to help him in the direction of the monastery.

1478 *mēan*, used as prep.: lit. by means of

the monks, through the medium of the monks.

1486-87 *couvent d'obediance*: their profession of obedience. Lat.: "tuo regimine" (178<sup>a</sup>); O.Fr.pr.: "souz ton gouvernement" (41<sup>b</sup>).

1507 *Par pou que* = *peu s'en fallut que* = very nearly heart broken; lit. very little was lacking that St. Magloire's heart did not break.

1507 Ms.: *fandi* with a deleted by dot and e superscript above a in a later hand.

1520-21 *Matt.* viii, 26: "Quid timidi estis, modicae fidei?"

1522-23 Cf. Ps. lxxvii, 19: "Numquid

- Table ou desert apparlier?  
 1524 Cilz qui jadis vost conseillier  
 La gent juive irreguliere  
 U desert en mainte maniere  
 Et de viande d'ange pestre;  
 1528 Et leur vesteures garda de estre  
 Envielliz quarante anz entierz;  
 Et puis après, entrementierz  
 Que le pueple estoit en murmure  
 1532 Pour la soif, de la pierre dure  
 Fist l'aue habundaument decourre  
 Pour li et les jumens secourre:  
 Tout ce fist Diex selonc l'escrypt.  
 1536 Ausint puet faire Jhesucrist  
 fol. 33v Pour nous se le volons requierre,  
 Car il est le pain et la pierre  
 Qui de .v. pains et poissons deus  
 1540 Cinc mil homes, touz vergondeus,  
 Repestre vost, ça en arrieres,  
 Sanz les enfanz et sanz les meres".  
 Entrementes qu'en tele guise  
 1544 Le saint home ce leur devise,  
 De mengier au disner fu heure;  
 Lors le procureur sanz demeure  
 Li requist quiex genz dineroient  
 1548 Avec li ne se nus vendroient.  
 Lors li respondi lieement  
 Que touz sanz nul deveement:  
 "Enfanz qui testoit les mameles,  
 1552 Toutes genz sanz fausses querelles,  
 Joines, viellars, privé, estrange,  
 Gardéz que nus l'en ne n'estrange,  
 Mes touz tot en amour fiable  
 1556 Viegnent a nostre povre table".  
 Et ainsinc moustroit que commune  
 Charité avoit non pas une.  
 Et quant li diners fu finéz  
 1560 Et li frere furent disnéz  
 fol. 34r Et que leur fain fu departie,

poterit Deus parare mensam in deserto?"

1524-27 Cf. *Exodus* xvi *passim*, and especially 35.

1528-29 *Deut.* xxix, 5: "Adduxit vos quadraginta annis per desertum; non sunt attrita vestimenta a vestra."

1530-34 *Numbers* xx, 8-11: "Cumque elevasset Moyses manum, percutiens virga bis silicem, agressae aquae largissimae, ita ut populos biberet, et jumenta."

1538 *John* vi, 35, 48: "Ego sum panis vitae;" vi, 51: "Ego sum panis vivus." *I Cor.* x, 4: "Petra autem erat Christus." Cf. *II Kings* xxii, 2: "Dominus petra mea."

1539-42 Cf. *Matt.* xiv, 17-21. Cf. also *Luke* ix, 13-17; *Mark* vi, 38-44.

1540 *vergondeus*. No equivalent in the Latin or O.Fr.pr. It means shameful or timid. Also late Vulgar Latin *venerable*. There is no indication in Gospel except *Matt.* xiv, 14: "Et exiens, vidit turbam

multam, et misertus est eis", preceding the feeding.

1552 Apparently this line is a result of the author's inability to understand the Latin original: "adolescens prima lunagine gaudens, efphebi juvenes." (179") The O.Fr.pr. rendered it simply: "li autre joene home." (41°)

1554 Renders the Latin: *nullo prohibente* (179"), and O.Fr.pr. *sanz estre deffendu de nul* (41°). Ms.: *nus len* has been corrected with initial *n* partially erased and the *u* corrected to an initial *u* or *v*. The initial *l* seems to have been corrected to a *t*. Transl.: Take care that one (*l'en*) does not exclude any ones (*nus* < *nullos*).

1558 Both the Latin (179") and O.Fr.pr. (41") interpolate that the foregoing incident was to illustrate the Saint's charity and gentleness of speech, and that it is time to get back to the order of the narrative.

- Des freres lors une partie  
 Ala lire et l'autre aourer  
 1564 Et dormir, l'autre labourer  
 Selonc ce que il couvenoit  
 Et con a chascun partenoit.  
 Lors li enfant de l'abbaye,  
 1568 Moines nez de noble lignie  
 Qui en descepline vivoient  
 En cloistre et de leenz n'issoient,  
 A terre a genouz se geterent  
 1572 Et de saint Magloire enbracierent  
 Les piez et li distrent: "Saint pere,  
 Nous vous faisons une priere:  
 Laissiez nous au rivage aller  
 1576 Sique par nostre haut parler  
 Les freres dormanz ne nous oient  
 Ne par nous esveilliez ne soient,  
 Et que par nostre parlement  
 1580 Noz leçons plus legierement  
 Puisse consommer a memoire".  
 Laquel requeste saint Magloire  
 A gre recut, a gre leur donne  
 1584 Et puis ainsinc les aresonne:  
 fol. 34v "Aléz u nom de Jhesucrist  
 Qui, selonc ce que dist l'escript,  
 Les enfanz courroucier ne vost,  
 1588 Mes leur fist debonnaire vot.  
 Sobrement et seurement  
 Alléz, non infantiblement,  
 Et sanz mal qui vous viegne seure  
 1592 Retourniez en couvenable heure".  
 Adonc la beneïçon prise  
 Et le congié a leur devise  
 Du glorieus saint, saint Magloire,  
 1596 Liéz furent plus qu'en ne porroit croire.  
 Par montaignes et roches leur voie  
 Ont pris et si Diex les avoie  
 Que a la mer sainnement vindrent,  
 1600 Et droit en un leu descendirent  
 Qui dist est en grec, ce me samble,  
 Acte; la vindrent il ensamble  
 En un des bouz de ce rivage

1567-70 These were the oblati. The Rule of Benedict, ch. 59, fixed the status of these children offered by their parents to the monastery. By the rite of oblation, they became members of the Benedictine family with the rights and privileges as well as the obligations of real monks. Cf. Dom Henri Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* XII (ii), (Paris, 1936), pp. 1857-67. M. P. Deroux, *Les Origines de l'oblation bénédictine*, (1927), especially pp. 13-16. For the daily life and discipline of the oblates in the eighth and ninth centuries, cf. Sister M. Alfred Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism as reflected in the Warnefrid — Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule* (NY 1941) especially 76-80, 141-46.

1587-88 Cf. Matt. xix, 14. (Also Mark x, 14.) "Sinite parvulos, et nolite eos prohibere ad me venire."

1588 vot = *voult* < *vultum*: looked kindly upon them.

1596 Hypermetric. Omit *ne*?

1597 Hypermetric. Corr. *montaignes* to *montaigne* to allow elision. The Latin has singular: "per devexa montis latera" (179). O.Fr.pr. has pl.: "par les grieveces des montaignes" (42<sup>a</sup>).

1602 Ms. underlines *Acte la vindrent*. Greek *Akté*: 1) Generally, tract of land running out into the sea. 2) headland, promontory, and rugged back or strand of river.

1603 Lat. in *litoris extremitate*. Very likely Creux, then as now the little port of Sark

- 1604 Ou chalour de mer ne orage  
N'avoit, pour ce que la montaigne  
Le couvroit qui estoit hautaingne.  
Une nef grant a demesure
- fol. 35r 1608 Virent li enfant d'aventure,  
Et sambloit dejointe et pourrie  
Et de lonc temps illec lessie;  
Et quant en leu seur la virent
- 1612 A la rive, dedenz se mirent  
Pour ce que lire ou jouer veulent,  
Si con les anfanz faire seulent.  
Cele nef qui estoit de fust
- 1616 Si longue et large et grande fust,  
Que *triremis* puet estre dist.  
Quant li enfant sanz contredist  
Du bout a l'autre couru orent
- 1620 Et leu et joué se furent,  
Une malina vint soudaine,  
Si grant qu'en le creit a paine,  
Qui les anfanz et ensement
- 1624 La nef porta isnelement.  
Quant se virent enmi la mer,  
Saint Magloire vont reclamer,  
Car sanz gouvernail n'aviron
- 1628 La nef aloit tout environ,  
Laquel chose autre temps n'au nostre  
N'avint qu'a saint Pierre l'Apostre.  
S'en orent li enfant doutance,
- fol. 35v 1632 Quant se virent en tel balance  
Et pour ce en plorant s'escrierent  
Et saint Magloire en apelerent.  
Et saint Magloire, qui leur lermes
- 1636 Vit et senti leur cuers enfermes,  
Vint en corporel vision,  
Si con leur fu a vision,  
Et leur demoustre bele chiere,
- 1640 Et de paternele maniere  
Les conforta et les conjoie  
Et la nef gouverne et convoie  
De son baston sanz autre estrive
- 1644 Sainement jusqu'a l'autre rive.  
Ainsinc les arriva ensamble  
Sains de par Dieu, si con leur semble.

which lay on the east side of the Island. This would be secluded and protected and in contrast to the rocky shore coast-line of the rest of the Island.

1617 Ms.: *Que triremis peut est dist* is underlined: a vessel with three banks of oars. Lat.: "triremis vocitari poterat" (179). O.Fr.pr. omits.

1621 *Malina*. Translated by the O.Fr.pr. as *grant marine* (42\*), i.e. *grant marée* of Lacurne and Godefroy s.v. Ducange s.v. is insistent that *malina* does not designate the ordinary flux and reflux of daily tides, but those flood tides that occur at the new or

full moon: "aestum maris vehementiorem, qui certis diebus secundum lunae effectum in littus prorumpit, quod vulgo dicimus *la haute marée*."

1628 *tout environ*: in all directions.

1630 Cf. *Matt.* viii, 23-25.

1643 *estrive* = conflict, strife, struggle < Ger. *striban*. Cf. 1694.

1644 The boat was apparently brought to land on the continent opposite the Island, that is on the shore of the Cotentin — near the Baie du Rosel possibly.

1645 *arriva* < *adripare*: brings them to shore. Cf. 1648.

- Et quant la gent de la contree  
 1648 Virent si grant nef arrivee,  
 Grant joie orent de la venue,  
 Car il cuiderent que venue  
 Feust enz mainte marcheandise  
 1652 Par la maniere et par la guise  
 Qu'a coustume pieça avoient.  
 Et pour ce a monciaus contre aloient;  
 Or et argent trouver penserent;  
 1656 Pour ce lieement la alerent  
 A grant joie et a grant leesce.  
 Et quant il virent la grandescce  
 De la nef sanz marcheandie  
 1660 Et sanz estrument qui la guie,  
 Les iex tournent de la merveille  
 Et chascun si s'en esmerveille  
 Qu'entr'eus par ceste occasion  
 1664 En ont fait altercation:  
 Dont d'euz disoit une partie  
 Que diable et fantosmerie  
 Tel chose estoit; li autre dirent,  
 1668 Qui tel nef voient et remirent,  
 Que c'estoit le fait proprement  
 De Dieu et non pas autrement.  
 Ainsinc entr'eus en desputoient,  
 1672 Car de ce trop se merveilloient  
 Et en furent en grant descorde,  
 Car ne voile, ne rains, ne corde  
 N'avirons ne gouvernement—  
 1676 Pour ce que plus die briement—  
 Ne chose dont puist gouvernee  
 Nef estre ne fu la trouvee.  
 Ainsinc chascun s'opinion:  
 1680 Tuit par grant ostinacion,  
 fol. 36v Ne une part a l'autre partie  
 Consentir ne se voloit mie.  
 Toutesvoi(e)s de conseil commun  
 1684 Puis se sont acordé comme un  
 D'envoier messages au roi  
 Qui leur contenz et leur desroi  
 Au roi dient grant alleure  
 1688 Et la merveilleuse aventure,  
 Sique par la gent de science  
 Responssse fust donnee en ce.

1650-53 Translates Lat. *diversa negotia more solito peregrino litore adducta [negotia] captaturos* (180<sup>r</sup>). Transl.: that they thought that the boat would contain a large amount of goods and that they would seize it in the way and manner that they usually did when such an event occurred in the past.

1651 Ms.: *enz a marcheandise* with a deleted by dot.

1654 a *monciaus* — together: *moncel* — a little mountain, hill, heap. Cf. Godefroy, *s.v.*: a *un moncel*, V, p. 385.

1674 rains < *rāmum* — oar.

1683 Hypermetric. *toutevoies* = *toutevois*. Cf. 1909.

1684 The king in question at this time, ca. 585 (when the famine in question is dated by Gregory of Tours VII, 45) was probably Clotaire II (born 584), son of Chilperic, who was murdered in Sept. 584. However, Clotaire would be only two years old. It is likely then that the messengers were sent to the representative of the royal power, the Count of Loutances. Ref. to reign *Hist. Gen. I*, p. 259; also Greg. of

- Et quant chose fu ainsinc faite,  
 1692 Le roi qui'l oï sanz retraite  
 Avec grant gent vint a la rive  
 Pour le miracle et pour l'estrive  
 Mestre a fin que ses genz avoient.  
 1696 Et quant la nef si vuide voient—  
 Ne appareil n'i a ne mestre—  
 Et les petiz enfanz la estre  
 Com demi-homes et eus taire,  
 1700 Un haut banc de la nef fist faire—  
 Son siege roial maintenant,  
 Si conme estoit appartenant—  
 Puis les enfanz sanz atargence  
 1704 A fait venir en sa presence  
 fol. 37r Et devant touz qui la estoient—  
 Et il point ne s'esbahissoient—  
 Si leur a le roi demandé  
 1708 Par un latimier qu'ot mandé  
 Comment, par quele occasion  
 Vindrent en cele region,  
 Ne comment la estoit venue  
 1712 Si merveilleuse chose et veue.  
 Lors li enfanz premierment  
 Du conseil de Dieu qui ne ment  
 La grant famine de leur terre  
 1716 Dirent qui les tenoit en serre,  
 Et de leur saint maistre parlerent  
 Et de ses moines qu'i laissierent,  
 Et au roi ont fait mencion  
 1720 Puis de leur navigacion  
 Et de saint Magloire ont conté  
 Comment par s'aide et bonté  
 A ce port les a amené,  
 1724 Si con devant l'ai ordené.  
 Tout li raconterent et dirent  
 Quanque fait avoient et firent.  
 Quant li rois ot ce qu'en li nonme  
 1728 Et le grant renom du saint home,  
 fol. 37v Adonc soupire, adonques pleure  
 Et se deut et complaint grant heure,  
 Quant home de si grant renom  
 1732 N'avoit pieça seu le nom;  
 Quant home de tel vie sainte  
 Et renommé de vertu mainte  
 De pieça n'avoit conneu;  
 1736 Grant duel au cuer en a eu.  
 Lors par le conseil des evesques  
 Et de plus granz qui la avecques  
 Furent, li rois sot vraiment  
 1740 Que cele nef divinement

Tours, VI, 45, 46.

1693 Ms.: *avec la grant* with *la* deleted  
 by dots.

1708 *Latimier*: interpreter; cf. Froissart

XV, 324; XVI, 43.

1716 *en serre* — tightly, closely, con-  
 strainedly.

1730 *se deut* < *dolet* — bewails, bemoans.



- Et de Dieu fu la arrivee,  
 Sique par li soit alegee  
 Et de la roial habundance  
 1744 La souffrete, la defaillance  
 Du saint home et la grant famine.  
 Lors li rois fist metre farine  
 Dedenz cele nef largement  
 1748 Et de touz biens comunement:  
 Forment, vestementz et de laine  
 Tant que la nef fu toute plaine,  
 Et puis d'or et d'argent grant sonme  
 1752 A il envoié au saint honme.  
 fol. 38r Puis il seela et escript  
 Unes lettres ou ot escript  
 Qu'il envoiast chascune annee  
 1756 Mariniers et gent esprouvee  
 De mer a li sanz oubliance,  
 Par coi poist la soutenance  
 Et ce qu'est necessaire a vie  
 1760 Aus freres et a l'abbaye  
 Envoyer et la li portassent;  
 Dont il et li frere priassent  
 Dieu pour li pardurablement,  
 1764 Et qu'il le tenit sauvement  
 Et son regne en stabilité,  
 Et que ses pechiéz en pité  
 Li pardonnast par les prieres  
 1768 De saint Magloire et de ses freres.  
 Et quant la nef fu si emplie  
 Que plus entrer ne pooit mie  
 Ne par devant ne par derriere,  
 1772 Au roi fu conseillé quiere  
 Sage gent de la mer qui la duie  
 Si avec sa charge et conduite  
 Que sanz afondre soit menee  
 fol. 38v 1776 A saint Magloire et presentee  
 Avecques toute la richesce  
 Qui dedenz fu a grant largesce.  
 Lors li rois, par conseil d'evesques  
 1780 Qui la furent et d'arcevesques  
 Et des plus granz comunement,  
 Leur a respondu sagement:  
 "Se par la devine puissance  
 1784 Ceste nef vint ci en presence  
 Sanz fantosme et sanz nul menant,  
 Je croi ausinques maintenant  
 Qu'au port dont ele est ça venue  
 1788 Sera legierement rendue,  
 Sanz avoir nul aide d'onme,  
 Par la vertu Dieu; c'est la sonme".  
 Et ainsinc con li rois le dist

1761 la li portassent: they should bring it  
 (la soutenance) to him (Saint Magloire).

1774 Ms.: sa Sarge charge, with Sarge  
 deleted.

1778 Ms.: dedenz a with fu hyperscript  
 before a, in the same hand.

1783-91 In Latin indirect discourse. *rex*  
 . . . *respondisse fertur* (181v).

- 1792 Diex le fist sanz nul contredist,  
Car quant le roi ot sa parole  
Dist, [un] vent i vient qui la vole:  
La nef eslieve et maine et guie
- 1796 Que galerne ne la desuie,  
Ne bise en rien ne li contraire  
Ne nul vent ne li fait contraire,  
Ne peril de mer ne l'encontre
- fol. 39r 1800 Ne nul grief ne li vin encontre,  
Mes si la mer passent et fend[e]nt  
Qu'au tierz jour sain et sauf se rendent  
Au port premier dont parti furent.
- 1804 Dont touz grant joie au cuers en urent  
Quant nef, biens, enfanz ensement  
En tierz jour vindrent sainement  
Par l'aide de Dieu qui regne
- 1808 Trine et un u souverain regne  
Entremantes qu'au ge[n]s contoient  
Li enfant qui a rive estoient  
Et ramenoient a memoire
- 1812 Le grant benefice et la gloire  
Dieu qu'il orent en sejourant,  
Et qu'en alant et retournant  
Leur ot saint Magloire apparu
- 1816 Et par li, si con apparu,  
La nef a este gouvernee  
De son baston jour et nuitee,  
Dont ceus qui en l'isle habitoient
- 1820 De la joie que orent ploroient.  
Adonc saint Magloire a mandé  
Son clacelier et conmandé  
Qu'il voit tantost sanz atargier
- fol. 39v 1824 Pour faire la nef deschargier;  
Et cilz pour les biens amener  
.vi. jous de bués fist ordener  
A un char qui bien sorent traire.
- 1828 Au rivage vont pour ce faire.

Coment les biens de la nef furent amenéz a l'abbaie.

- Mes souvent voit on avenir,  
Quant Diex veut les siens soutenir  
Et faire leur misericorde,
- 1832 Li anemis i met descorde;  
Ainsinc Sathan faire cuida.  
Mes Diex son barat devuida,  
Car quant touz les bués chargé furent
- 1836 Et li bouvier mener les durent,

1794 Ms.: *dist movent i vient qui la vole*.  
The Latin: *Zephirus* (181\*) — a gentle west  
wind. O.Fr.pr.: *le vent d'occident* (43\*).

1796 *galerne*: northwest wind.

1797 *bise*: northeast wind.

1801 Ms.: *fendant*.

1802 Ms.: *jour saint et sauf se rendirent*,  
with *t* of *saint* and *ir* of *rendirent* deleted

by dots.

1809 Ms.: *geus*.

1822 *clacelier* < *clavicularius*, s.v. Du-  
Cange, he who carries the keys — i.e.  
cellarer. Cf. 1477. Lat. *economus* (182\*  
O.Fr.pr.: *pourvoieur* (43\*).

1834 *barat*: trickery.

1836 *bouvier* < *bovarius* — ox-drivers. Cf.

- Si con par la montaigne aloient  
 Et les bués joins au char menoient,  
 Li anemis un vent contraire  
 1840 Leur soufla si les fist retraire:  
 N'avant n'arrier aler ne pueurent,  
 Mes enmi voie se demeurent.  
 Adonc chascun bouvier s'esforce  
 1844 Des bués poindre plus a grant force  
 Par les flanz et par les costéz,  
 Puis au char ce sont acostéz  
 Pour plus bouter et plus enpaindre;  
 1848 Nul d'eus onques ne si sot faindre,  
 fol. 40r Mes riens ne valut, car le vent  
 Les .x. bués qui furent devant  
 Deslia et puis s'en alerent  
 1852 Ca et la. Ceus qui demourerent,  
 .ii. qui joins au timon devinrent,  
 Jusques a la nef descendirent  
 A tout le char. Ceus qui ce voient  
 1856 Et qui après le char sivoient  
 Tel duel ont qu'a pou qu'i ne pleurent;  
 Mes quant il virent et il seurent  
 Ne bués ne char nul mal avoir,  
 1860 A l'evesque l'ont fait savoir.  
 Et quant ainsinc l'a entendu,  
 A Dieu gran[z] graces a rendu  
 Et dit ceus qui dit li avoient  
 1864 Que de riens courrouciéz ne soient:  
 "Car se l'ennemi par envie  
 Sus nous cuida avoir seignorie,  
 Entremantes que vaincre cuide,  
 1868 Vaincuz cherra par son estuide  
 Par la vertu Dieu souveraine.  
 Or aléz et ne doutéz paine  
 Droit a la nef et ne targié;,  
 fol. 40v 1872 Et le char doublement chargié;  
 Et les diz bués, qui deslié;  
 Sont, laissiéz et aus deuz lié;  
 Au limon du char seulement  
 1876 Dites leur par conmandement  
 Que ça sanz nul obstacle viegnent  
 Et que le double fais soutiegnent  
 Et que toute en ceste abbaie  
 1880 Aportent sanz nulle autre aie".  
 Lors li bouvier le char chargerent,  
 Les bués menerent et guierent  
 Ne ne verserent ne cheirent,  
 1884 Mes de par Dieu menant vinrrent  
 A l'abbaie sainment.  
 Ainsinc par bon assenement

also 1881.

1853 *timon* — the pole of the cart.

1862 Ms.: *grant*.

1868 *estuide* — effort, toil, care. < *studium*.  
 Cf. 1021 for the verb.

1875 *limon*: shaft (of cart). Unknown  
 origin. Cf. *timon*, 1853.

1884 Lacks one syllable.

1885 Ms.: *sainment*, with *i* superscript  
 between *a* and *n*.

- Furent de Dieu si assené  
 1888 Qu'a l'evesque, sage et sené,  
 S'en vindrent; Diex les assena  
 Que par les siens pas cessé n'a,  
 Mes les a volu assener  
 1892 Cui estoient a assener.

Coment la fille d'un noble home qui Nivo estoit apeléz parlla et oï qui estoit sourde et muete par la prieres monseigneur saint Magloire.

- fol. 41r      Apres ceti fait merueilleuz,  
 Que le temps de fain perilleuz  
 Passa et qu'adonques en Sarge  
 1896 Partout et de lonc et de large  
 Les granz vertuz de saint Magloire  
 En honeur estoient et gloire,  
 L'isle de Bissarge, procheine  
 1900 A Sarge, de richesce pleine  
 Estoit et de blez grandement,  
 Et appartenant proprement  
 A un qui Nivo fu nonmé  
 1904 De granz richesces renonmé.  
 Et conbien que de terre eut  
 Cent charrues prest et peut  
 En la mer et nes et navie  
 1908 Sanz nonbre avoir toute sa vie,  
 Toutevois il ot tel fortune  
 Que masle lignee, nesune  
 N'avoit et pour ce en grant destresce  
 1912 A autre gardoit sa richesce.  
 fol. 41v      Car combien qu'il ust une fille  
 Tres bele et sage et soutil  
 Et de marier en aage,  
 1916 Fortune qui fait maint damage  
 Cele fille avoit fait muete;  
 Et combien qu'ele fust estrete  
 De noble sanc, querre ou prier  
 1920 Nul ne la vost de marier.  
 Et pour ce un jour s'en vint le pere  
 Faire a saint Magloire priere  
 Et granz benefices a faire  
 1924 Li promist, se tant pooit faire  
 Qu'ele fust a santé rendue.  
 Mais le saint evesque l'argue

1886-92 Annominatio introduced by *sainnement*, 1885. Render: Thus they were so apprised by God through perfect instruction that they came to the wise and prudent bishop. God willed to indicate that He has no limits (*n'a pas cesse*) for (*par = pour*) His own, but He has willed to direct them who were still to be directed (taught).

1899 Bissarge = Guernsey. Bis — Sargia, that is, twice the size of Sark in extent.

1902 *proprement*, i.e., by right. The Latin: *vire hereditario* (1827). O.Fr.pr.: *par droit de heritage* (43<sup>a</sup>).

1905-06 Transl.: And although he had at

his disposal a hundred ploughlands and . . . *eut* . . . . *prest*: *praesto* — adv., at hand, ready. *charrues de terre*: ploughland, i.e., a measure of land, as much as could be ploughed by oxen in the year. Cf. Du Cange s.v. *carrucagium*.

1906 *prest*: adv. *praesto* goes with *eut* of 1905; *eut prest*: had available.

1906 *Charrués de terre* ploughland or land that is ploughable or workable. Celt. *carruca* — 4 wheeled cart. Cf. Ruteb. II, 374. Cf. DuCange, s.v.; *Monast. Anglic.* I, 922: "nota quod un carue de terre est un plowland." Lat.: "terram pene verteret

- Et respont en soi escusant:
- 1928 "Biau filz, ne me voises rusant  
Ne ne me faiz nule moleste,  
Car pas n'appartient ta requeste  
A la nostre fragilité,
- 1932 Mais a la sainte Trinité,  
Car quant souvent malades sonmes  
En ce monde, fames ou hommes,  
De nos maus s'eschaper porrions
- fol. 42r 1936 Nous ne savons ou s'en morrions;  
A Dieu tient tout, non autrement.  
Et quant nous n'avons proprement  
De nos maus guarir seignorie,
- 1940 Coment l'estrange maladie  
Oster de ta fille porroie?"  
Ainsinc li sains homs le chastoie  
Qui de soi oster le conveite
- 1944 Et de retourner l'amoneite,  
Et de faire larges aumosnes  
Pour sa fille au povres persones  
U non de Dieu devant toute oevre,
- 1948 Car c'est cil qui clost et nul ne oevre  
Et si oevre et nul ne puet clorre;  
C'est cil qui puet donner et torre.  
Et quant cil a veu de voir
- 1952 Que saint Magloire recevoir  
En rien n'a volu sa priere,  
Mout courrouciéz s'en tourne arriere  
Et par ordre a sa fame conte
- 1956 Ce que dit li ot sanz mesconte.  
La fame qui ot sa parole  
Un po se tut ne ne parole  
Jusqu'atant qu'il fu repeu
- fol. 42v 1960 Au disner et, quant l'a veu  
Plus liéz que par devant il n'iere,  
Si li a dit en tel maniere:  
"He! Monseigneur, que nous vaudront
- 1964 Ces richescs qui nous faudront  
Aprés la mort, puis que lignie  
Ne laissons après nostre vie?  
Et pour ce, sire, en toute guise,
- 1968 Je conseilte que l'en devise  
Terre et argent en parties  
Dont les deuz qui seront parties  
Nostre soient, et qu'en depart
- 1972 A Jhesucrist la tierce part  
Et a saint Magloire ensement;  
Et ce soit fait tost et briement  
Pour la santé de la pucelle".
- 1976 Et quant entendue fu celle,

aratam" (182').

1943 Transl.: who (i.e. the saint) desires him (Nivo) to withdraw. Lat.: "verum a se repellere eripians" (182'). O.Fr.pr.: "il convoitoit cel home a renvoyer de li".

1948 Ms.: ne superscript in the same hand.

1948-49 Apoc. iii, 7: "qui aperit, et nemo claudit; claudit, et nemo aperit."

1965 Ms.: ligniee with first e deleted by dot.

- A chascun plut ce qu'ele dit  
 Et fu tantost sanz contredit  
 Terre et peccune devisee,  
 1980 Et avec(ques) eus en ont menee  
 Leur chiere fille a saint Magloire  
 Qu'il trouverent en s'oratoire  
 Dont il fu un pou esmeu;  
 1984 Lors a ses piéz li sont cheu  
 fol. 43r Et de terre et d'argent offrande  
 Li font et prient qu'il entende  
 A Dieu prier pour leur fillete:  
 1988 Mainte priere i ont retere.  
 Mais l'offrande et [do]nation  
 Avecques leur peticion  
 Refuse le saint humblement  
 1992 Et leur dit con irieement  
 Que outre sa force et son pooir  
 Tel fait estoit, si con veoir  
 Pooit, car toutevois li frere  
 1996 Tant l'ont contraint, qu'avant qu'arriere,  
 Que par leur grant coaction  
 Et par leur grant devocion  
 Et la foi que li parenz urent  
 2000 Qui pour leur fille venu furent,  
 A terre se mist estendu  
 Et vers Dieu les mains a tendu.  
 Ceus qui la furent, ensemment  
 2004 En pleurs et lermes largement,  
 Devotement mout Dieu prièrent  
 Et puis, quant d'oroison leverent,  
 Du saint cresse prist saint Magloire,  
 2008 Si con nous [raconte] l'estoire,  
 fol. 43v Et de l'iaue beneoite ensamble.  
 Ainssi ces deuz choses assamble  
 Et mis les a droit en la bouche  
 2012 A la fille; ainsi la touche,  
 Puis a dit: "Sire Jhesucrist,  
 Qui, selonc que nous dit l'escrpt,  
 Du sain du Pere descendis  
 2016 Et ton sanc en croiz espandis  
 Pour rendre home a sa dignité  
 Qui par fraude et iniquité  
 Du diable estoit deceu,  
 2020 Ne soies vers nous esmeu  
 Des maus que par fragilité  
 Fait avons, mes par ta pité  
 Gietes les, Sire, par desriere.

1980 Hypermetric. *avecques*: *avec*, or omit *Et*.

1983 Transl.: Whence he was a bit provoked. Cf. 2020. Intended to translate Latin: "cumque sanctum virum orantem intra cubiculum offendissent" (66<sup>a</sup>).

1989 Ms.: *unacion*. Lat.: "petitiones vel donationes" (66<sup>a</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "La priere et le don" (44<sup>b</sup>).

1992 Ms.: *dit* superscript in second hand.

1996 *qu'avant qu' arriere*: on all sides. No parallel in Latin.

2008 Ms.: *Si con nous en l'estoire*; for [raconte] cf. 510, 556.

2014 There is no consecutive scriptural passage to account for the following few lines. The poet probably had in mind Ch.I of the Gospel of St. John on the mission of Our Lord: "unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris." *John* i, 18.

- 2024 Et la grant foi et la priere  
De ceus qui ci sont meesement  
Veilles recevoir doucement;  
Des parenz a ceste pucele
- 2028 La cause devote et querele,  
Dont, devotement l'en te prie.  
Et a la pucelle deslie  
Sa langue par misericorde
- fol. 44r 2032 Sique ton non ele recorde,  
Et cil que de li sont a nestre  
Le non de ta gloire connestre  
Qui saint fu, est et sera, puissent
- 2036 Et que touz jour[s] le beneissent".  
A ceste voiz cil respondirent  
'Amen' qui saint Magloire oirent;  
Et puis tantost sanz demouree
- 2040 La langue li fu deliee:  
Bouche, langue saine et deslie,  
Et ausi comme Zacharie  
Diex beneit qui vit et regne
- 2044 Lassus en son souverain regne.  
Ainsinc la fille sainnement  
Et ses parenz joieusement  
Du miracle qu'est venu
- 2048 En leur ostel s'en sont venu.  
Bon fait dont aler et venir  
La dont le bien puet avenir;  
Et pour ce que ceus bien venirent,
- 2052 A leur entente en avenirent.  
Et quant bien furent la venant,  
Bien orent, ce fu avenant.  
Autel nous doit avenement
- 2056 Qui n'apert, n'aprive, ne ment.
- fol. 44v Coment le keu saint Sulin fu delivre d'un poisson qu'en apele congre  
par la vertu saint Magloire.
- Eins que de vous face depart,  
Je vous veil dire d'autre part  
De ce que Dieu fist par sa grace
- 2060 Pour saint Magloire en une place  
Ou il n'estoit pas en presence,  
Mes pour li le fist en sa absence.

2028 *querele*—in the sense of a legal complaint.

2033-35 Transl. And [so that] those who are to be born of her may be able to know the glory of thy name which was, is and shall be holy.

2035 Ms.: *puissant* with *e* superscript over the *a* in another hand. The 3rd pl. present subjunctive in an adverbial clause introduced by *sique*.

2036 Ms.: *jour*.

2041-42 Ms.: These lines are transposed but their order is indicated marginally by the letters *b* and *a* in a corrector's hand.

2042 *Luke* i, 64: "Apertum est autem illico

os ejus, et lingua ejus, et loquebatur benedicens Deum."

2043 Ms.: *Diex*. The oblique is required.

2049-56 Annomination introduced by *venu*

2048. Transl.: Therefore it is good to (go and come) frequent there whence blessing (welfare) may befall. And because these people were fortunate, they attained their desire. And when they were there well befallen, they derived (their) good; it was befitting. May He grant such occurrence to us, He who has no loss nor deprives nor lies.

2057 Ms.: Chapter heading: *Vertu* added by corrector in black ink among the red

- U temps qu'en Sarge demouroit,  
 2064 Ou Diex de vertuz l'onnoiroit,  
 Avecques soixante et deus moines  
 Qu'i garda de maintes essoines,  
 Uns qui saint Sulin fu nonmé  
 2068 Et catholique renonmé  
 Et qui partout generaument  
 Vers touz se porta feaument,  
 Et qui fu de la compaignie  
 2072 Saint Sanson grant temps de sa vie,  
 Sus touz le compaignons parfaiz  
 Par meurs, par lettres et par faiz,  
 fol. 45r En Bretagne ot une abbaie;  
 2076 Et de gouverner la maistrise  
 De moines de leenz avoit  
 Com cil qui faire le savoit.  
 Et celi leu, d'une partie,  
 2080 Ot la champaigne replenie;  
 D'autre part, fleuve delitable  
 Avec le flot de mer courable:  
 Dont joie et plenté li venoit.  
 2084 Et la cilz sains Sulins tenoit  
 Un cuisinier familiale  
 Et mestre l'avoit volu faire  
 Et commis sus touz ses despens;  
 2088 Baillié li avoit touz les pens.  
 S'avint u temps que l'enflamoit  
 Fole amour, pour ce qu'il amoit  
 Une fole ou mis ot sa cure;  
 2092 Et cele fole d'aventure  
 Outre le fleuve l'atendi.  
 Et quant il vit et entendit  
 Qu'au freres ot aministré,  
 2096 En son cuer dit: "Je m'en istré  
 De ci et penserai d'aler  
 Outre ce fleuve pour parler  
 fol. 45v A cele", car l'amour dont l'ama  
 2100 Es os le feu li enflamma;  
 Ne ses parenz ne mors contraire

rubrics.

2066 *essoines*: difficulties, dangers, necessities of life. Frankish < *ex sunnea*. No parallel in Latin or O.Fr.pr.

2075 The monastery, St. Suliac, is on the right bank of the Rance River; cf. AA.SS. Oct., I, 196-98. Cf. also Cottineau II, 2895: "St.-Suliac, S. *Sulianus*, *Sulivus*. St.-Laurent, prieuré bénédictin de St.-Florent de Saumur, 1136 par l'évêque Donoal, diocèse et arrond. St.-Malo doyenné de Poulet, cant. Châteauneuf, Ille-et-Vilaine."

2079-83 In the Latin and O.Fr.pr., this excerpt is placed after 2088.

2085 *cuisinier familiare* — of the family, i.e. monastery. Lat.: "archimagirum" (66°). O.Fr.pr.: "un sien despensier" (44°). Note of Beda Plaine OSB Anal. Boll. 8 (1898) p. 375: "Gallice *Grand-Oueux*, seu primus coquorum, praeffectus culinae, ex duplici voce graeca: *archē māgeiros*. Poeta satyricus

Juvenalis (Satyra 9) eodem modo appellabat coquos magyros. SV Ducange *Archimagiria* (praepositus coquorum)." NB Rule of St. Benedict had no settled cook. They changed every week. Ch. XXXV and Delatte ed. p. 254. He is under the jurisdiction of the cellarer. The Latin indicates that St. Sulinus had allocated the position of chief cook to this monk because of an especial friendship: *prae ceteris speciali familiaritate* (66°). O.Fr.pr.: *par especial familiarité* (44°). *Familiaritas* can mean "intimate" or "of a family."

2091 *une fole*: Lat. *scortum* (66°): a prostitute. O.Fr.pr.: *une fole fame* (44°).

2096-99 Direct discourse for indirect of Latin: *decrevit* (66°); O.Fr.pr.: *ordena* (44°).

2099 Hypermetric.

2101 *ne mors contraire* appears to be a misunderstanding of the Latin source:



- De ce ne le porent retraire  
 Qu'en mer n'entrast cele nuitée  
 2104 Qui de vens estoit ja tourbee.  
 Lors li vient et li saut encontre  
 Un grant congre qui la l'encontre;  
 A li se prent, mout le travaille,  
 2108 Au vallet livra grant bataille  
 Et si fort a li se combat  
 Que presqu'au fons il ne l'abat.  
 Come le poisson fait sa proie,  
 2112 Lors celi a Dieu se ravoie;  
 Mains sainz reclama et pria,  
 Mes nul profit trouvé n'i a.  
 En la fin li vint saint Magloire  
 2116 Especiaument en memoire  
 Et, quant ainsinc l'ot réclamé,  
 Saint Magloire qu'il a amé  
 Li apert—ce fu grant merveilles—  
 2120 Et li dit: "Que ne t'appareilles  
 De toi aidier et deffendre?  
 Veilles, filz, en toi bon cuer prendre.  
 fol. 46r Du coutel qu'as a ta ceinture  
 2124 Fier ce poisson grant aleure;  
 En son piz ton coutel li boute,  
 Car demain au disner sanz doute  
 U non de Jhesucrist le Sire  
 2128 Ce poisson, ce te veil je dire,  
 Aus freres tu presenteras  
 Et ton coutel i trouveras".  
 A ceste voiz le coutiau trait,  
 3132 Ou poisson bouta sanz retrait;  
 L'a lessé et reprent corage  
 Sique sain revint au rivage  
 Qu'ot desirré de par l'aide  
 2136 Jhesucrist qui chascun aide.  
 Entremantes que le jour vint  
 Et que le flot partir convint,  
 Les peescheurs des poissons prirent  
 2140 Asséz; aus freres les offrirent  
 Par la coustume qu'en avoit.  
 Et li cuisiniers qui lavoit  
 Et vit le congre vraiment  
 2144 Que navré ot nouvelement,  
 Confessé leur a le pechié  
 Et comment l'ot enpeeschié  
 fol. 46v La nuit celi congre et maumis,  
 2148 Se n'eust esté ses amis,  
 Saint Magloire, qui allegence

"neque moritura super crudeli funere virgo" (66°). O.Fr.pr.: "ne cele fame qui l'amoit tant que pour lá mort de lui ele deust morir" (44<sup>a</sup>). It is to be noted that the scortum — une fole of 2091 is now virgo.

2106 Un grant congre. Lat.: "pisce magne

severitatis qui vocatur congras" (66°). O.Fr.pr.: "par un poisson qui est apelé congre" (44<sup>a</sup>).

2120 Que ne t'appareilles: why don't you make ready, (bestir yourself).

2138 flot: tide.

2142 lavoit: was cleaning. No parallel in

- Fait li ot et delivrence.  
 Mes de touz qui ilec furent  
 2152 Son dit ou pou ou nus le crurent,  
 Jusqu'atant que le saint Esprit  
 Saint Sulin de sa grace esprit  
 Et ce miracle a revelé  
 2156 A lui. Lors a ceus apelé  
 Et dit: Aiéz en Dieu fiance!  
 Crééz la devine puissance  
 Que vous veéz en ceti leu;  
 2160 Et ce poisson la, du mileu  
 Effondréz. Se trouver povéz  
 La son coutel, Dieu en loéz  
 Et graces rendéz saint Magloire  
 2164 Et tenéz ceste chose a voire".  
 Adonc le poisson effondrerent  
 Et le coutel dedenz trouverent,  
 Et, pour le benefice fait  
 2168 Du miracle, saint Sulin fait  
 Et envoie hatuement  
 Que celi queuz devotement  
 fol. 47r A saint Magloire graces rend(r)e;  
 2172 D'ilec s'en va sanz plus atendre.  
 Lors cilz s'esmeut et achemine,  
 Mais, ainz qu'il la fust, la devine  
 Puissance a celi revela  
 2176 Tout quanque fu fait par dela;  
 Ce sot saint Magloire et le conte  
 A ses freres de conte en conte  
 Et, ainçois que bien fut finee  
 2180 La parole qu'ot commenee,  
 Le queuz qui la estoit venant  
 A l'uis feri tout maintenant.  
 Et quant entréz est, de parler  
 2184 Congiei ot; lors sanz outre aler  
 Ne sanz faire autre proveance,  
 A touz leur dit en audience:  
 "Monseigneur Sulin ci m'envoie  
 2188 Pour ce que saint Magloire voie  
 Et graces rende, car s'aïe  
 M'a gardé et tenu en vie.  
 Et pour cel bienfait monseigneur  
 2192 Li promet et veut a s'onneur,  
 En leu de ce grant guerredon,  
 Maint benefice et autre don"  
 fol. 47v Mes lors saint Magloire humblement

Latin.

2151 lacks one syllable. *ilec* = *illecques*?  
 Or *touz qui* = *touz ceus qui*?

2162 Ms.: *loez* with *u* superscript between  
*o* and *e* in a corrector's hand.

2168 In the Latin, it is the monks who  
 send the cook to Saint Magloire: "eundem  
 coquinarium qui tali miraculo beneficia ex  
 Sulini ridderet" (66<sup>b</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "il envoie-  
 rent hastiement ce cuisinier a saint  
 Magloire a ce que de par Sulin li rendist

graces et le merciast de par li" (45<sup>b</sup>).

2169 Ms.: corrector has written *ordene*  
 above *envoie*.

2171 Ms.: *rendre* = *rende*; subjunctive in  
 a *now* clause after verb of ordering.

2179 Ms.: *fu* with *u* deleted by dot and *ut*  
 superscript in a corrector's hand.

2185 *sanz faire autre proveance* — without  
 making any further preparation, provision,  
 examination. Lat.: "improvisus" (66<sup>b</sup>).  
 O.Fr.pr.: "tout despourveus" (45<sup>b</sup>).

- 2196 A saint Sulin entierement  
Ce dona et a son merite  
Et, que de ce le claime quite,  
Ne guerredon ne veut avoir
- 2200 .....  
"Mes pour ce que Sulin ne die  
Qu'a sa requeste ne maistrise,  
Une ville que ci avons
- 2204 Et aparteindre a li savons,  
En nom de permutacion,  
Non (pas) par remuneracion,  
Recevrons par itele guise
- 2208 Que cele aura qui est assise  
Vers [lui] et qui nous appartient  
Ainsi con elle se contient;  
Entre nous ne somes estranges,
- 2212 Si poons bien faire eschanges.  
Toutesvois par condicion  
Tele, la conmutacion  
Soit que après mon defenir,
- 2216 Mes ou temps a avenir,  
De ci feussent transportéz,  
Qu'en ice soit nostre acort téz:  
fol. 48r Que ma possession entiere
- 2220 Revendra toute franche arriere  
Sanz obstacle qui soit la mis".  
Et tout ainsinc les deuz amis  
Convenancié fu par acorde
- 2224 Et encor dure sanz descorde,  
Entre les sucesseur[s] venu,  
Ce qu'entr'eus deuz fu convenu:  
Les sucesseurs n'ont contredit
- 2228 Ce que des sains a esté dit.  
Mais pour autres miracles dire  
Vous veil lessier ceste matire  
Et d'autre part me veil tirer.
- 2232 Or me doinst Diex si atirer,  
Qui les bons a sa destre tire,  
Qu'en tel mati[e]re je m'atire;
- 2195 Ms.: *lors* superscript in corrector's hand.  
2198 *le claime quite*: absolves him, renounces all legal title on him. *Roland* 2748, 2787.  
2200 Ms.: Space is left for the missing line.  
2202 Transl.: that he does not govern by his request. Lat.: "Sed ne dicat meus frater Sulinus suam petitionem apud me minime locum invenisse" (162<sup>a</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "sa petition n'ait trouvé leu en moi" (45<sup>b</sup>).  
2203 *ci* = in the island, where Magloire and his monks are living. Lat.: "villam quam ille habet in hac insula" (162<sup>a</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "une ville que il e en ceste isle ou nous conversons" (45<sup>b</sup>).  
2206 Hypermetric. Omit *pas*.  
2209 Lacks one syllable. Add *lui*. According to Latin: "nos habemus aliam villam in vicina sui monasterii sitam" (162<sup>a</sup>).  
O.Fr.pr.: "qui est assise en la voisinete de nostre abbaie" (45<sup>a</sup>).  
2216 Lacks one syllable.  
2217 The subject of *fëussent* is "My remains"; understood: were my bones to be transferred . . . the Latin records the condition: "si mea ossa quandoque hic fuerint transportata" (162<sup>a</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "se mes os en estoient portez de ei en aucun temps" (45<sup>a</sup>).  
2225 Ms.: *successeur*.  
2231-40 Annominatio introduced by *matire*  
2230. Transl.: Now may God, who draws the good to his right, grant me so to prepare that I make progress in this matter; and to all of you—since we shall indeed be attracted (lured)—that we be drawn into Paradise by God attracting us. Now let each one go on preparing himself to proceed above into the rank (order) where one does not allure (solicit) the other evilly.

Et vous touz que—puis qu'atiré  
 2236 Serons bien—nous soions tiré  
 En Paradis de Dieu tirant.  
 Or se voit chascun atirant  
 Pour traire lassus en la tire  
 2240 Ou l'un l'autre par mal ne tire. Amen.

Coment li paien assallirent l'isle de Sarge et furent destruis des genz du país  
 par la priere monseigneur saint Magloire.

fol. 48v      Courtoisie qui n'est pas seue  
                  L'en la doit tenir pour perdue.  
                  Pour ce est il droiz et equitéz  
 2244 Que les biens soient recitéz  
                  Des sainz siqu' onoréz en soient  
                  De ceus qui l'oient et le voient.  
                  En ce temps que la gent paienne  
 2248 Estoit contre la crestienne  
                  En rage et en forsennerie,  
                  Une grant gent de Normendie  
                  Maintes regions gasté urent  
 2252 Et devers bise venu furent;  
                  Et tant en mer ce sont tenu  
                  Qu'a Sarge armé sont venu.  
                  Et quant ainsinc soudainement  
 2256 Sont venu, ceus communement  
                  Du país furent en doutance;  
                  Et pour ce que leur pestillence  
                  Eschappassent, il trestournerent  
 2260 A un port de mer ou trouverent  
 fol. 49r      Saint Magloire celeement  
                  Orent acoustumeement  
                  Entre roches sus la marine  
 2264 La ou la haute mer ravine.  
                  Quant la cause de leur venue  
                  Sot, adonques les evertue  
                  A eus et le país deffendre,  
 2268 Et qu'a ce veillent tuit entendre  
                  Et con chevalliers leurs cors traire  
                  A mort, s'il estoit necessaire.  
                  Et ceus l'ostrient lieement  
 2272 Faire, se couvenablement

2241-46 Belongs to poet. No parallel in Latin or O.Fr.pr. Play on *courtoisie* which is object of oient and voient, line 2246.

2250 Obviously an anachronism. Lat.: "incredibilis multitudo Normannorum" (67<sup>a</sup>). At the time when this part of the Latin life was written, about the mid 9th century, raiders or pirates were called Normans due to their incursions. A like incident, historical in character, took place in the Island of Jersey under Childebert I when the Island was attacked by some 3000 Saxons, who were ousted by the Islanders led by a holy hermit Marcouf. Cf. Mabillon, *Annales SS. Benedicti*. I, p. 132.

2252 *devers bise*: from the direction of

north. Latin: "ab aquiloni plaga" (67<sup>a</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "de la partie de septentrion" (45<sup>e</sup>).

2253 *ce = se*

2258 Ms.: *pestillence* with a hyperscript over middle *e* in a corrector's hand.

2260 *un port de mer*: The only harbor then as now is Creux situated on the east side of the Island. The Latin *angiportum* (67<sup>a</sup>) is rendered by *un estroit port* (45<sup>e</sup>). Cf. 1603.

2262 *Orent* = part. *orant*, praying.

2263 *la marine*—the beach. Lat.: "super crepidinem maris" (67<sup>a</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "sus rivage de mer" (45<sup>e</sup>).

2264 An addition of poet; not in Latin. *ravine*: rushes impetuously (headlong). Cf. Block, s. v.

- Eussent armes pour ce faire,  
 Mes au premier leur aversaire  
 Les orent volu si souprendre  
 2276 Qu'il ne porent leur armes prendre;  
 Dont desarméz et conne nuz  
 Au saint home estoient venuz.  
 Adonc saint Magloire se dresce  
 2280 Et mains et iex u ciel adresce  
 En Dieu priant qu'i les sequeure.  
 Et lors une grant roche en l'eure  
 Asséz pres d'ilec a veue  
 2284 Et de son baston l'a ferue;  
 fol. 49v Et lors, par la vertu Dieu vive,  
 Toute icele roche neive  
 En parties neant nombrables  
 2288 Fent et en pierres manuales  
 Pour aidier cele multiude  
 Qui mis ot en fouir s'estude.  
 Lors quant les pierres ont veu,  
 2292 Prises les ont et sont meu  
 Contre ceus qui les assailirent.  
 Pierres leur gietent et tant firent  
 Des pierres que sus eus verserent  
 2296 Qu'onze sanz plus s'en tournerent  
 Au nes; et tout le remanant  
 Chei en enfer maintenant  
 Par la priere saint Magloire  
 2300 Qui a genouz au roi de gloire  
 Devotement priere en fist  
 Dont cil en furent desconfist.  
 [Gr]ant est donc la vertu devine  
 2304 Qi tel gent de dure corine,  
 Baitilleuse et con pierre dure,  
 Mis a, maugré soi, a mesure  
 Sique cele, qui son sauverre  
 2308 Niest, obeï a la pierre  
 fol. 50r Et qui Dieu de pierre aoureit  
 Et en pierre Dieu honoureit,  
 Par pierre vint a son tourment:  
 2312 Ceus qui jadis furent norment.  
 Ainsinc furent cil damoiseil  
 Pris con le poisson ou l'oiseil  
 Qui sa viande cuide prendre,

2280 Poem differs from Latin in making St. Magloire raise his eyes and hands to heaven — by use of *et* conjunctive. Lat.: "oculis et manibus in celum semper intentus" (67<sup>b</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "qui touz jorz estoit entendant au ciel par jex et par mains" (45<sup>d</sup>).

2286 *roche neive*: a real or natural rock. No parallel in Latin: *cautem* (67<sup>b</sup>) = a rough, pointed rock; O.Fr.pr.: *roche* (45<sup>d</sup>).

2295 Ms.: *sus verserent* with *eus* hyper-script in corrector's hand.

2296 Lacks one syllable. The Latin has *duodecim* (67<sup>b</sup>) but the O.Fr.pr. .XI. (46<sup>a</sup>)

arguing that the Latin Ms. used by both Geoffroi des Nez and the author of the O.Fr.pr. translation was not ours. The reading *Que douze sanz plus* would emend the line.

2303 Ms.: *Qant*.

2308 *niest* = *niot*—denied. Lat.: "viscera nescia credere divinitati" (67<sup>b</sup>). Transl.: this [people] who denied their Saviour, obeyed the rock—i.e. the rock broken up by St. Magloire with the pieces of which were fashioned weapons (2288).

2312 *ceus* is in apposition to *cele* [gent] of 2307.

- 2316 Mais l'aim—c'est mort—le va soupren dre.  
 De tant con plus veut, et plus pert;  
 En querant proie, c'est apert,  
 Proie est fait, et engloutissant  
 2320 Il se pert et soi perissant.

Coment une isle qui estoit apelee Ange et les bones qui habitoient furent delivrez d'un serpent par la priere monseigneur saint Magloire.

- fol. 50v  
 Du double testament li sage,  
 Entroduis en devine page,  
 Nous veulent affermer et dire  
 2324 Que les vertuz de nostre Sire  
 Qu'en ses sains fait visiblement  
 Et en mains leus communement,  
 Conbien que Diex soit invisibles  
 2328 Et de leu incirconscribibles—  
 Car l'en ne le puet contenir—  
 Pour ceus qui sont a avenir  
 A leur profit deut on retraire.  
 2332 Donques ne me doi je pas taire  
 Des granz vertuz que saint Magloire  
 Fist Diex, car par son ajutoire  
 Ma langue tardive et liee  
 2336 Porra tost estre deliee,  
 Car charité donne et ostriie  
 La force que non-sens denie.  
 Pour ce di je que temps or est  
 2340 Q'ausinc con(me) d'une grant forest  
 Aucuns petiz rainz de ses signes  
 Die, se d'ooir estes dignes.  
 En ce temps que l'isle de Sarge  
 2344 Estoit et de lonc et de large  
 Tant de saint Magloire honoree,  
 Une isle qui est apelee  
 Ange, de Sarge asséz procheinne,  
 2348 Estoit en grant doute et en peinne  
 D'un serpent qui es bois estoit,  
 Et souvent ausinc s'arrestoit  
 fol. 51r  
 En cavernes repostement.  
 2352 Et mout le païs cruelment  
 Mena et degasta entour,  
 Siques n'en fermenté n'en tour  
 Ceus du païs seurz n'estoient  
 2356 Et leur isle auqués toute voient

2319 *engloutissant*: swallowing, i.e. swallowing the bait or hook—which is death—and destroying itself, it perishes.

2321 Heading of chapter. *bones* = *bones genz*, i.e. the people. Cf. Lacurne s.v. # 44 and 45.

2321-22 *li sage, entroduis en devine page*. Lat.: "doctores divinis paginis instructi" (67"); O.Fr.pr.: "Li maistres . . . qui sont entroduit es devines escriptures" (46"); i.e. scholars, learned in sacred scripture.

2331 *deut*: *doit* (?) The imperfect sub-

junctive does not seem necessary. One would expect the present indicative. If it is *déut* (ordinarily used), it would make the line hypermetric.

2333-34 Transl.: The great feats that God accomplished for Saint Maglorius. Indirect object; cf. Foulet # 36 and 39. Ms. indicates punctuation after *Diex*.

2340 Hypermetric. *comme* = *con*.

2347 *Ange*, the island of Jersey.

2356 *auqués toute*: almost all: Lat. "maxima ex parte" (67°). O.Fr.pr.: "grant

- De cele serpent denavree;  
 Ne de la ne pot estre ostee  
 Ne par armes, ne par menace  
 2360 Ne par engin que l'en i face.  
 Trois anz touz plains ainsiques furent,  
 Jusques atant que conseil urent  
 Du prince a cui estoit cele isle  
 2364 Qu'avecques leur superlectille  
 S'en voient et [qu'il] l'i si lessent  
 Ne jusques atant si ne cessent  
 Qu'a saint Magloire venu soient,  
 2368 Et qu'en plorant il li souploient  
 S'aide. Et ceus ainsinc le firent:  
 Longuement pas n'i entendirent.  
 Et quant saint Magloire entendit  
 2372 Leur dit, humblement leur rendi  
 Responssse et dit en tele guise:  
 "Freres, cil a cui font servise  
 fol. 51v Les elemenz, n'a cui nul home  
 2376 Ne puet contrestre—c'est la some—  
 Ne rien qu'a son gré tout ne viegne,  
 Vous aide, comment qu'avieigne,  
 Du serpent et deliverra.  
 2380 Chascun de vous l'en requerra;  
 Non pas moi qui sui un pecherre,  
 Fait de boe, mes li requerre  
 Devéz, car sus moi sanz doutance  
 2384 Je meismes n'ai pas puissance".  
 Mes ceus touzjourz en haut crierent  
 Et de leur meschief le prièrent  
 Que de la caverne et la fosse  
 2388 La beste venimeuse et grosse  
 Getast et que eussent victoire  
 De li, et pour ce a saint Magloire,  
 Cele beste ocise et tuee,  
 2392 Cele terre feust donnee  
 A touzjouz pardurablement.  
 Lors saint Magloire tendrement  
 De leurz lermes fu esmeu.  
 2396 Sanz couvoitise qu'ait eu,  
 Douze moines avec soi mene;  
 Pour veoir le leu les ordene  
 fol. 52r Avecques li jusqu'au rivage.  
 2400 Puis jeuné de bon corage

partie" (46<sup>b</sup>).

2364 *superlectille*: household goods. The Latin and the O.Fr.pr. say that the inhabitants with their wives and children and goods fled the island and for three years left it deserted. Only then did they approach St. Magloire at the advice of their ruler: "incole triennio cum uxoribus et parvulis et omni supellectile fugam arripientes pre-fatam insulam vacuum dimiserunt" (67<sup>a</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "les genz qui la habitoient s'en foirent et enmenerent leur fames et leur enfanz et leur biens et par .iii. anz lessierent cele isle vuide" (46<sup>b</sup>).

2365 Lacks one syllable. Is the meaning: (Their prince advised them) that they should go forth and that they should abandon it to it (the serpent) there, i.e. abandon the island to the serpent? Supply *qu'il* to make the line read: *et [qu'il] li si lessent*. There is no correspondence in Latin or O.Fr.pr. unless it be the idea of leaving the island deserted.

2370 Ms.: *ni entendirent* with first *e* deleted by dot and a hyperscript above it in a corrector's hand.

2382 Cf. *Isaias* lxiv, 8: "Et tunc, Domine, pater noster es tu, nos vero lutum." Cf.

- Ont troiz jourz, puis a esleu  
Des plus sages qu'il a seu  
En trois nes sanz humaine aide,  
2404 Mes que de Dieu qui les aide.  
En la caverne en la perriere,  
Couverte devant et derriere  
De haies, ou est et demeure  
2408 Le serpent s'en vindrent en l'eure;  
Et le serpent, qui de nature  
Chaude estoit, qui vit l'aventure  
La bouche beee s'avoie  
2412 Comme s'il courut a sa proie  
Encontre sanz avoir doutance.  
Saint Magloire qui la senblance  
Du serpent vit espoentable,  
2416 Et denz et langue ot menaçable  
Et les iex tournéz en la teste,  
Devant li va et si s'aresté  
Et de la vraie croiz le saigne  
2420 Pour ce que son pooir refraigne,  
Et puis, du baston qu'ot, la pointe  
Parmi la gorge li apointe  
fol. 52v Et, par l'aide de Dieu, de plaie  
2424 Mortel en tel guise le plaie.  
Quant les genz du païs ce virent,  
Lors a saint Magloire requirent  
Qu'en cele place ne remaigne,  
2428 Mes u plus haut de la montaigne,  
Conne une berbiz ou ouaille,  
Le maine, mes qu'en s'i veut aille.  
Ainçois Dieu prie en tel maniere:  
2432 "Sire, qui jadis ça arriere  
Euz d'onme compassion.  
Qui par la grant decepcion  
Du serpent estoit deceu,  
2436 Dont tu en fus si esmeu  
Que tu l'en feiz adouler  
Et des piéz de fame fouler,  
Sique la vengeance en preist  
2440 Com sire a cui tout obeist  
Serpent d'air et de feu, en l'erre,  
Et d'iaue aussinc et de terre,  
Dragons et serpens et coulevres,

also *Job* xxxiii, 6.

2405 Transl.: Into the cave in the rock  
quarry; or: Into the cave, into the rock.  
Lat.: "at petram cavernosam". O.Fr.pr.: "a  
la pierre caverneuse".

2406 Ms.: *Couverte devant devant et.*

2410 Cf. *Gen.* iii, 1: "Serpens erat calli-  
dior cunctis animantibus."

2411 *s'avoie*—starts forward < *ad-viare*.

2430 *Mes qu'en si veut aille*. There is no  
parallel in Latin. The meaning and order  
seem to be: *mes qu'en aille s'i veut*: (The  
people ask St. Maglorius to lead the serpent  
high in the mountain like a sheep) except  
that it depart willingly.

2437 *adouler*: to suffer affliction.

2437-40 Cf. *Genesis* iii, 14-15: "Et ait  
Dominus Deus ad serpentem: Quia fecisti  
hoc, maledictus es inter omnia animantia  
et bestias terrae; super pectus tuum gra-  
dieris, et terram comedes cunctis diebus  
vitae tuae. Inimicitias ponam inter te et  
mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius;  
ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis  
calcaneo ejus."

2441 *en l'erre*: immediately; < *iter*. Cf.  
4869.

2441-43 The poet has gathered together  
in concrete form the classical allusions of  
the Latin.



- 2444 Moustre ci tes devines oeuvres  
Et ce serpent, que tant damage  
A fait a ton humain lignage,  
fol. 53r Abat et si veilles destruire
- 2448 Qu'a ton pueple ne puist plus nuire".  
A ceste voiz touz respondirent  
'Amen', puis asséz briement virent  
Ce grant serpent, sanz arrester,
- 2452 Tout le venin de soi geter  
En l'herbe vert[e] et, puis après,  
Par les roches qui sont la pres  
Trebuchier devant et derrieres
- 2456 Et par roches et par perrieres,  
Sanz autre est par soi si bleciéz,  
Qu'en pieces c'est touz despeciéz.  
Et Diex aidant, ce doit on croire,
- 2460 Par la vertu de saint Magloire,  
Vilment au fonz val leenz  
La vie feni touz veanz.  
Lors ceus du país et le prince
- 2464 Qi sires fu de la province  
A genouz prient sanz attendre  
Saint Magloire qu'il veille prendre  
Toute l'isle et li soit livree,
- 2468 Pour ce que franche et delivree  
Par li du serpent a esté.  
Mes saint Magloire a contresté  
fol. 53v Et, con tristes, en gémissement
- 2472 Respondu leur a humblement  
Que celles paroles laissassent  
Et qu'a li pas n'appropriassent  
Tel miracle ne si grant signe,
- 2476 Car de ce ne se tenoit digne;  
Ainçois a leur devocion,  
De quoi Diex ot compassion,  
Et pour le bien qu'en eus savoit
- 2480 Pour eus cel signe fait avoit.  
Mes ceus si longuement plorerent  
Et ses moines tant le prièrent  
Qu'au darrenier a eus s'otrie;
- 2484 Et l'isle en septene partie  
Ont parti, dont les sis parties  
Au bones genz sont departies  
Come a hoirs par succession,
- 2488 Et la septieme porcion  
Saint Magloire a soi et ses moines  
Retint; ce fu ses patremaines.  
Li et ses moines ensement

2453 Ms.: *vert*.

2458 C'est = s'est.

2461 Ms.: *leenz* with a hyperscript in a corrector's hand above the second *e*.

2471 Hypermetric. *tristes* = *triste en* to allow elision (?).

2484 *septene* < *septena*; distributive adjective and by metonymy, seven at once >

seven together. Godefroy: "ensemble de sept choses." Lat.: "septenas partes". O.Fr. pr.: "en .VII. parties".

2491 A monastery, perpetuated in the Middle Ages, under the title of priory or chapel of Saint Mannelier. Cf. Gerville, *Recherches sur les isles du Contentin et sur la mission de Saint Magloire*, Valognes,

- 2492 L'ont pris a perpetuelment  
 En l'onneur de Dieu nostre Sire  
 Qui regne u souverain empire.  
 fol. 54r Liquelez si nous veille inspirer  
 2496 Que nous vivienz sanz empirer,  
 Car se nous vivons par enpire,  
 Nous en arons après du pire;  
 Pour ce li pri que je n'enpir  
 2500 Sique le voie u ciel enpir.  
 Ausinc pas ne vous enpiréz,  
 Mes de vos pechiéz soupirez  
 Sique Diex par espirement  
 2504 Voiéz puis vostre expirement. Amen.

Des deus diacres qui soutenoient saint Magloire quant il aloit a l'eglise.

- Les faiz, les operacions,  
 Les saintes operacions  
 Que saint Esprit li revela  
 2508 Par deça mer et par dela  
 Sont bien a retraire et a dire  
 Et, pour ce, vous en veil descrire.  
 Quant saint Magloire en oroisons,  
 fol. 54v 2512 En jeunes en maintes saisons,  
 Ot laboré de son corage  
 Tant que fu ja de grant aage,  
 Sique ne pot plus a l'eglise  
 2516 Aller ne venir a sa guise,  
 Car il chanceloit en alant,  
 Dont dolant fu, lors vont pallant  
 Les freres du couvent ensamble  
 2520 Et deuz diacres, ce me samble,  
 D'eslite ont volu apeler  
 Pour li garder de chanceler,  
 Et qu'il le peussent soutenir,  
 2524 Quant au moustier devoit venir.  
 Lesquieux de gre le faiz en prirent  
 Et couvenablement le firent:  
 Matin au moustier le menoient,  
 2528 Puis doucement le ramenoient,  
 Quant il avoit fait ses prieres.  
 Puis après ne demoura gueres  
 Q'un de ceus qui le soustenoient,  
 2532 Ainsi con au moustier aloient  
 Un jour qu'il estoit une feste,  
 Enmi voie tout quoi s'areste;

1846, p. 12.

2495-2504 Annominatio introduced by *empire* of 2494. Transl.: May he grant so to inspire us that we may live without growing worse, because, if we spend our lives in growing worse, afterwards we will receive the worse thereby. Therefore I pray Him that I may not grow worse so that I may have in control (grasp) [lit. *imperare* govern] the road to heaven. So also do you not grow worse but lament your sins so

that you may see God after your death by His inspiration.

2520 *deus diacres* . . . *d'eslite*. Lat.: "duos levitici ordinis prestanti corpore fratres" (68<sup>a</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "II. forz homes de cors et qui seroient ordenéz a l'ordre de diacre" (47<sup>b</sup>). The translator apparently thought that these two were to be ordained. But *levita* = deacon. Cf. DuCange, s.v.

2524 Ms.: *devoit d venir*.

2525 *le faiz*: the labor. Lat. *onere*. O.Fr.pr.

- Du cors se senti maubailli,  
 fol. 55r 2536 Son pooir tout li a failli;  
 Ne lever ne pot lors ne faire  
 Ce qu'il ot coustume a faire,  
 Ne les saintes menbres porter.  
 2540 Quant li saint oit desconforter  
 Le voit, si l'enquist sagement  
 Dont ce venoit que bonement  
 Ne faisoit la seue besoigne.  
 2544 Et cilz, qui ot honte et vergoigne,  
 Qui parler ne pot, li demoustre  
 Que vertu et force tout outre  
 Perdu a. Lors a saint Magloire  
 2548 Dieu revela la cause voire,  
 Car cilz Dieu avoit offendu  
 Par cui il estoit souspendu  
 De li touchier, par tele guise,  
 2552 Et de l'entree de l'eglise.  
 Lors en corrigent doucement  
 Conme pere, amonestement  
 Li fait de son pechié connestre,  
 2556 Sique tot en puist absolz estre  
 Du don de la pitié devine,  
 Car c'est la plus grant medecine,  
 Ce disoit il, qui vaille a l'ame:  
 fol. 55v 2560 Que le mal couvert et diffame  
 Nuisent qu'en fait celeement  
 Dire et confesser nuement.  
 Lors cil du dit qu'il li raporte  
 2564 Si doucement se reconforte;  
 A ses genouz cheoir se laisse  
 Et s'enfermeté li confesse  
 Et li a dit en tel maniere:  
 2568 "Saint pere, hier fu, n'avant n'arriere,  
 Qu'a la porte de l'abbaye  
 Une fame de fole vie  
 Vi en estant: mout bien pingniee,  
 2572 Blanche et nuz piéz, face lavez,  
 Le col orné et la poitrine.  
 Si confés qu'en cele meschine  
 De l'ambrusement et arsüre  
 2576 Chei en pechié de luxure,  
 Et trop luxurieusement  
 Espri en fu veraïement".  
 Li sains lors sanz plus demourant  
 2580 Li respondi tout en plourant:  
 "Filz, nostre Sires Jhesucrist

le faissel.

2534 *quoi*: motionless < V. L. *quētus*.

2535 *maubailli*: injured, damaged; not in Latin.

2540 *oit*? Nothing in Latin or O.Fr.pr. One syllable demanded by metre. Main verb is *voit* of 2541. Nothing to be heard (*audit*), in fact 2545 says Deacon could not talk. Godefroy *s.v.* 2. *oit*. Perhaps it is meant

to be read: *li saint oms*?

2557 Ms.: *du du don*.

2560-62 Transl.: To tell and to confess nakedly the hidden evil and noxious shame which one does secretly. Lat.: "*fateri quod nocet abscondi*" (68<sup>b</sup>). O.Fr.pr.: "*de reconnestre ce qui nuit a estre cele*" (49<sup>c</sup>).

2562 Ms.: *nuement*.

2578 Ms.: *fu* superscript in a corrector's

- Qui pardona, selonc l'escrpt,  
Saint Pere et fist remission
- fol. 56r 2584 De sa trine negacion,  
Ce mesfait de charnalité  
Pardoner te veille en pité;  
Et ausinc con il delaissa
- 2588 Au larron, qui se confessa  
En la croiz pendant, son mesfait,  
Tantost ainsi te soit il fait".  
Aprés ceste absolucion,
- 2592 Cilz tantost sanz dilacion  
Se leva et tout en la guise  
Conme devant fist son servise;  
En l'eglise entra franchement
- 2596 Et sains et forz entierement.  
Et lors s'avisa saint Magloire  
Et li retourna a memoire  
Conment fame, ça en arriere,
- 2600 La maniere et cause premiere  
Fu, dont le deable tempta,—  
Qui de malice en soi tant a,—  
Home, et encor ce fait souvent.
- 2604 Du consentement du couvent,  
Pour ce, fait a conmandement  
Que fame pardurablement  
Ou cloistre aus moines n'ait entree
- fol. 56v 2608 Et leur soit ausinc devee[e]  
L'eglise: la n'aillent ne viegnent,  
Mes hors des portes la se tiegnent.  
Ainsinc a il jugié des fames,
- 2612 Pour ce qu'il n'en viegne diffames,  
Car pour la fole fame amer,  
Se puet on chascun diffamer;  
Pour amer une fole fame,
- 2616 Puet on perdre sa bone fame;  
Fame, dont le cors donne infame  
Et l'ame de vertuz affame.

(To be continued)

hand.

2582-83 Cf. *Matt.* xxvi, 69-75; *Luke* xxii, 55-62; *John* xviii, 17-27; *Mark* xiv, 68-72. It is not recorded explicitly that Jesus pardoned Peter. Peter's remorse is indicated: "flevit amare" (except *John*).

2588-89 Cf. *Luke* xxiii, 40-43.

2599-2603 Cf. *Genesis* iii, 1-6.

2605-09 Women were excluded from monasteries generally, but their admission to churches attached to them varied from the beginning of the Church in Celtic lands. An ordo or Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland, written ca. 750, reflects perhaps the shift of the general attitude of the Celtic Church towards the admission of women into monastic churches during the period of St. Magloire. In the First Order: 440-543, it is stated: "Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant (Var.: "Nec laicos nec foeminas de Ecclesiis repellabant." Usher, *Brittanicoorum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, 1687, p. 473) quia super pet-

ram Christi fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant." Hadden and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland II*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1878), p. 292. The second Order, 543-599 reverses the position possibly under the influence of monasticism: "Abnegabant mulierem administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis." Ms. F: "Mulierum quoque consortia et administrationem fugiebant, atque a monasteriis suis eas excludabant." (ibid.)

2608 Ms.: *devee*. The feminine is required to agree with *eglise*. *devee* < *devetata*, forbidden.

2612-18 Annomination introduced by *fames* 2611. Transl.: Thus did he pass judgment upon women so that from there might not arise ignominies because for (having loved) love of perfidious (corrupt) woman, each one may defame himself; for the love of a vile woman, one can lose his good name, —woman whose body bestows disrepute and impoverishes the soul of virtues.